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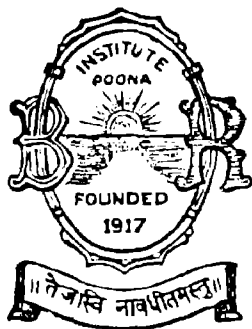
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HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

(ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW IN INDIA)

BY

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Vol. IV

(PĀTAKA, PRĀYAŚCITTA, KARMAVIPĀKA, ANTYEṢṬI, ĀŚAUCA, ŚUDDHI, ŚRĀDDHA AND TĪRTHAYĀTRĀ)

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

1953

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PREFACE

The third volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra was published in October 1946. In the brief preface to that volume I intimated that the remaining topics of Dharmaśāstra would be dealt with in one volume. But as I proceeded with the task I found that that was a miscalculation. To present in one volume all the topics that remained in the manner and on the scale that I had adopted in the first three volumes was found to be impossible. Besides, as my age advanced, I could not maintain the same speed and finish the whole history in a few years as I intimated I would do in the preface to the third volume. Therefore, I had to decide, however reluctantly, to spread the remaining work over two volumes. Owing to the scarcity of paper and paucity of skilled workers, this volume has been in the press for more than three years. This volume deals with eight topics, viz. Pātaka, Prāyaścitta, Karmavipāka, Antyeṣṭi, Āśauca, Śuddhi, Śrāddha and Tīrthayātrā. These subjects are of great interest to anthropologists. There was great temptation for me, when dealing with these topics, to indulge in dwelling upon similar beliefs, usages and rites described in such works as Frazer's 'Golden Bough.' For two reasons, however, I have rarely succumbed to this temptation. In the first place, there was the fear of increasing the bulk of the work which has already assumed enormous proportions. In the second place, dwelling on comparisons of ancient and medieval Indian usages and rites with similar usages and rites found elsewhere is liable to serious misunderstanding. Frazer's volumes are largely made up of materials concerning the beliefs, usages and rites of very primitive people. It appeared to me that readers of such comparisons might be led to think that people in ancient and medieval India were at a primitive stage of culture, while as a matter of fact they had a very high culture in most matters, although they retained certain beliefs and usages derived from remote antiquity. Many cultured societies retain some usages that belong to periods of antiquity. The queen in France was not to leave for a whole year the room in which the death of her consort was announced to her. Wretched old women deemed to be witches were prosecuted and sentenced to death in England up to the beginning

of the eighteenth century, while Manu (IX. 290) more than two thousand years ago prescribed the mild punishment of a fine of two hundred *paṇas* for all incantations intended to destroy life, for magic rites and for raising ghosts and goblins. My main aim has throughout been to discover, collect, classify and interpret the facts of the various departments of Dharmaśāstra and my endeavour has been, as far as in me lies, to present the truth with detachment and intellectual integrity and without bias (except what might have been unconsciously engendered in my mind owing to my being born and brought up in a brāhmaṇa family) to show the continuity, the developments and transformations in Indian beliefs, rites and usages throughout the ages and, while bringing the past in its causal relations with the present, to indicate and suggest future trends and changes in these matters. †

The fifth and last volume will mainly deal with the following subjects: vratas and utsavas; śānti rites; kāla and muhūrta; paurāṇa-dharma; the influence of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā and other śāstras on dharmaśāstra; the cosmological, religious and philosophical background of dharmaśāstra; the fundamental aspects of our culture through the ages; the impact of modern social and other ideas and trends on the dogmas and ideals of dharmaśāstra and the future of the latter. This by itself is rather an ambitious programme. Now that I am over seventy-three years of age and suffering from several ailments I have misgivings whether I would be able to write this last volume and publish it while all mental and physical faculties are sound. I am myself extremely anxious to write this last volume as early as possible and bring to a conclusion an undertaking to which I have devoted all my leisure for over thirty years regardless of monetary losses and bodily ailments. With that object in view I have given up either entirely or very largely most of my other activities and engagements and have thereby offended many of my friends.

This volume also is full of quotations, references to inscriptions and judicial decisions. The reasons for this have

† Prof. J. B. Bury, a distinguished Professor of History in the Cambridge University, thought that freedom from bias was not possible and was not also desirable, since a man writing history completely free from bias would produce a colourless and dull work. Vide 'Selected Essays' (edited by Harold Temperley, 1930) p. 70.

been stated at length in the preface to the second volume and therefore they need not be repeated here. The list of additions to this volume is much larger than in the preceding volumes. I may be pardoned for frankly stating the reason. The first and second volumes of the History of Dharmaśāstra were published so far back as 1930 and 1941 respectively. No second edition of these has yet been called. It seems to me quite possible that during my life-time no second edition of the volumes of the History, or at least of this volume, might appear. Therefore, I tried to incorporate by way of additions such information as had escaped me while the work was being written in order to make it as complete as possible.

I now discharge the pleasant duty of acknowledging my obligations to others. Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance, the Vedic Index of Professors Macdonell and Keith, and the volumes of the Sacred Books of the East have been very useful in preparing this volume as in the case of its predecessors. Paramahaṁsa Swāmī Kevalānanda Sarasvatī of Wai has been a tower of strength in all matters of doubt and difficulty and has helped me by offering prompt guidance in solving some intricate problems. I am highly obliged to Mr. S. N. Savadi of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, for help in the correction of proofs and to Mr. P. M. Purandare, Advocate (O. S.), Bombay High Court, and Tarkatīrtha Raghunath Shāstri Kokje of Lonavla for reading the printed sheets as they came and making valuable suggestions.

It is difficult to name all those who in various ways, during the progress of this volume for over six years, kindly rendered assistance, but I should like to make special mention of Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Mr. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Prof. G. H. Bhatt, Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, Mr. N. G. Chapekar, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, Dr. G. S. Gai, Prof. P. K. Gode, Tarka-tīrtha Lakṣmaṇashāstri Joshi, Mr. G. H. Khare, Pandit Balacharya Khuperkar, Dr. Umesha Mishra, Dr. V. Raghavan, Prof. L. Renou, Prof. H. D. Velankar. Thanks are due to these scholars and many others for help and interest in this volume. I am conscious that in spite of so much help and generous encouragement from friends there are in this volume several mistakes, the sole responsibility for which rests on my shoulders. In a work replete with thousands of quotations and references

it is quite likely that many slips have escaped my attention. § For these and for the elision of a few diacritical marks and the displacement of parts of Sanskrit letters in the process of printing the indulgence and forgiveness of all readers are sought. I sincerely thank the Manager of the Aryabhushan Press, Poona, for carrying out the work of printing this volume with care in spite of difficulties caused by paper and labour shortage.

BOMBAY, 10-10-1953 } P. V. KANE

§ I take this opportunity of correcting two mistakes that I regret I committed in the third volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra. In note 1886 on p. 968 (of vol. III) I refer to a work of Mr. Batuknath Bhattacharya that contains a full treatment of *Kalivarjya*. I suggested in that note that Mr. Bhattacharya probably retouched his thesis after 1937 though it was written in 1933, in view of the fact that he referred to the Smṛtimuktāphala (which was published in 1937 by Mr. Gharpure). Through oversight I forgot that Mr. Bhattacharya had expressly stated that he used the transcript of a ms. of the Smṛtimuktāphala specially made for him. Therefore, I was wrong in my surmise that he probably retouched his thesis and I must say that the thesis as published in 1943 is the same as that written in 1933 for the Jogendrachandra Ghose Research Prize. The second mistake refers to Dr. U. N. Ghosal on p. 32 (of vol. III). I stated 'it is not possible to hold as Jayaswal, U. Ghosal and others do that the theory of social contract was the earlier one and the theory of divine right of kings was later on propounded by the Manusmṛti to support the brāhmaṇa empire of Puṣyamitra'. In writing this sentence my memory was at fault. I find that Dr. Ghosal does not hold the view that I attributed to him. In the 'Indian Historical Quarterly' (vol. 23, pp. 68-70) Dr. Ghosal justly protests against my bracketing him with Jayaswal, but I cannot help observing that the last sentence in the paper shows unexpected acerbity. In his whole career as a writer Dr. Ghosal was not probably guilty of a single slip and could not therefore bring himself to believe that my mistake might have been *bona fide*.

ABBREVIATIONS

(Most of the abbreviations on pp. 728–29 are not included in this list)

A. G. = Ancient Geography of India
Ain. A. = Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazal
Ait. Br. = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
A. I. R. = All India Reporter
A. K. D. = Antyakarmadīpaka
All. = Indian Law Reports, Allahabad series
Anu. = Anuśāsanaparva
Āp. = Āpastamba
Āp. Dh. or Āp. Dh. S. = Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra
Āp. Gr. = Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra
Āp. M. P. = Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha
Āp. Śr. or Āp. Śr. S. or Āp. Ś. S. = Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra
A. S. R. = Archaeological Survey Reports
Āśv. gṛ. or Āśv. gṛ. S. = Āśvalāyana-gṛhyasūtra
Āśv. Śr. S. or Āśv. Śr. = Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra
A. V. = Atharvaveda
Baud. = Baudhāyana
Baud. Dh. S. = Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra
Baud. Gṛ. = Baudhāyana-gṛhya-sūtra
Baud. P. S. = Baudhāyana-pitṛ-medha-sūtra
Baud. Śr. = Baudhayana-śrauta-sūtra
Beng. L. R. = Bengal Law Reports
Bom. G. = Bombay Gazetteer Volumes
B. I. = Bibliotheca Indica series
Bom. = Indian Law Reports, Bombay series
Bom. L. R. = Bombay Law Reporter
Bṛ. Up. = Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad
B. R. W. W. = Buddhist Records of the Western World by Beal
Cal. = Indian Law Reports, Calcutta series
C. I. I. = Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
Chān. Up. = Chāndogyopaniṣad
C. L. J. = Calcutta Law Journal
C. W. N. = Calcutta Weekly Notes
Dh. or Dh. S. = Dharma-sūtra
ed. = edited
E. I. = Epigraphia Indica
Gaut. or Gaut. Dh. S. = Gautama-dharma-sūtra
Gobhila Gṛ. = Gobhila-gṛhya-sūtra
G. O. S. = Gaikwad Oriental series
G. P. S. = Gautama-pitṛmedha-sūtra
Gṛ. R. = Gṛhastharatnākara
H. of D. or H. of Dh. = History of Dharmaśāstra
Hir. Gr. or Hir. gṛ = Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra
Hir. P. S. = Hiraṇyakeśi-pitṛ-medha-sūtra
I. A. = Indian Antiquary or Law Reports, Indian Appeals (according to context)
I. L. R. = Indian Law Reports series

I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly
J. A. S. B. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
Jai. = Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṁsā-sūtra
Jaimini Gṛ. = Jaimini-gṛhya-sūtra
JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
Jiv. = Jivananda Vidyāsagara's edition
J. O. R. = Journal of Oriental Research (Madras)
J. R. A. S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain
Kāt. = Kātyāyana
Kāt. Śr. or Kāt. Śr. S. = Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra
Kāṭhaka Gṛ = Kāṭhaka-gṛhya-sūtra
Kātyāyana = Kātyāyana-smṛtisāroddhāra (ed. by me)
Kauś or Kauśika = Kauśikasūtra
Kauṣ. Up = Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad
Khādira Gṛ = Khādira-gṛhya-sūtra
m. = mentioned
Mārk. = Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa
Mit. = Mitākṣarā, commentary on Yājñavalkya
M. S. = Maitrāyaṇī-saṁhitā
Nir = Nirukta
Nirn. = Nirṇayasāgara Press ed.
Pāṇ = Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī
Pār. gṛ = Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra
Par. M. = Parāśara-Mādhavīya
Pr. M. = Prāyaścitta-mayūkha
Pr. Pr. or Pr. Prakāśa = Prāyaścitta-prakāśa
Pr. Prakaraṇa = Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa
Pr. S or Pr. sāra = Prāyaścittasāra
Pr. T. or Pr. Tattva = Prāyaścitta-tattva
Pr. V. or Pr. Vi. = Prāyaścitta-viveka
q = quoted
Q. B D. = Queen's Bench Division
Ṛg. = Ṛgveda
Sāma. Br. = Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa
Śāṅ. Br. = Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa
Śāṅ. gṛ = Śāṅkhāyana-gṛhya-sūtra
Śāṅ.Śr. or Śāṅ. Śr. S. = Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra
Śat. Br. = Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
Sat. Śr. = Satyāṣāḍhaśrauta-sūtra
S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East (ed. by Maxmuller)
S. K. = Śuddhikaumudī
S. K. L. = Śrāddhakalpalatā
Sm. C. or Smṛ. C. = Smṛticandrikā
Smṛ. M. = Smṛtimuktāphala
Śr. P. or Śr. Pr. = Śrāddhaprakāśa
Śr. K. K. = Śrāddhakriyakaumudī
S. V. = Sāmaveda
Tai. Ā. or Tai. Ār. = Taittirīya Āraṇyaka
Tai. Br. = Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
Tai. S. = Taittirīya Saṁhitā
Tai. Up. = Taittirīya-upaniṣad
Tāṇḍya Br. = Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa
Tīr. C. = Tīrthacintāmaṇi
Tīr. K. = Tīrthakalpataru
Tīrthapr. or Tīr. Pr. = Tīrthaprakāśa
Tri. S. = Tristhalīsetu
T. S. = Tīrthasāra
Up. = Upaniṣad
Vaik. Smārta or Vaik. Sm. S = Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra.
Vaik. Śr. or Vaik. Śr. S. = Vaikhānasa-śrauta-sūtra
Vāj. S. = Vājasaneya-saṁhitā
Vas. = Vasiṣṭha-dharma-sūtra

Visnu Dh. or Visnu Dh. S. = Visnudharmasūtra
Vy. M. = Vyavahāramayūkha
Yāj. = Yājñavalkya-smṛti
अ. क. दी. = अन्त्यकर्मदीपक
अग्नि. or अग्निपु. = अग्निपुराण
अथर्व. = अथर्ववेद
अनु. = अनुशासनपर्व
अन्त्येष्टिप. = अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति of नारायण
आ. गृ. परि. = आपस्तम्बगृह्यपरिशिष्ट
आप. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र
आप. गृ. = आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र
आप. ध. or आप. ध. सू. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र
आप. म. पा. = आपस्तम्बमन्त्रपाठ
आप. श्रौ. or आ. श्रौ. = आपस्तम्बश्रौतसूत्र
आश्व. गृ. परि. = आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट
आश्व. गृ. or आश्व. गृ. सू. = आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र
आश्व. श्रौ. or आश्व. श्रौ. सू. = आश्वलायनश्रौतसूत्र
ऋ. = ऋग्वेद
ऐ. आ. = ऐतरेय-आरण्यक
ऐ. ब्रा. = ऐतरेयब्राह्मण
क. उप. or कठ. or कठोप. = कठोपनिषद्
कल्प॰ = कृत्यकल्पतरु or कल्पतरु of लक्ष्मीधर
कात्या. = कात्यायनस्मृतिसारोद्धार
का. श्रौ. सू. or कात्या. श्रौ. or कात्या. श्रौ. सू. = कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्र
कौ. ब्रा. उप. or कौषीतकि-ब्रा. उप. = कौषीतकिब्राह्मणोपनिषद्
गङ्गाभक्ति. or गङ्गाभ. = गङ्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी
गङ्गावाक्या. or गङ्गावा. = गङ्गावाक्यावलि
गरुड or गरुडपु. = गरुडपुराण
गृह. र. = गृहस्थरत्नाकर
गौ. or गौ. ध. सू. = गौतमधर्मसूत्र
गौ. पि. सू. = गौतमपितृमेधसूत्र
चतुर्विंशति. or चतुर्विंश. or चतु. सं. = चतुर्विंशतिमतसंग्रह
चतुर्वर्ग. = चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि of हेमाद्रि
छा. उप. or छां. उप. or छान्दोग्योप. = छान्दोग्योपनिषद्
ताण्ड्य. = ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण
तीर्थकल्प. = कल्पतरु on तीर्थ (G. O. S.)
ती. प्र. or तीर्थप्र. = तीर्थप्रकाश
ती. चि. or तीर्थचि. = तीर्थचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति
तै. आ. = तैत्तिरीयारण्यक
तै. उप. = तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्
तै. ब्रा. = तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण
तै. सं. = तैत्तिरीयसंहिता
त्रि. से. सा. स. = त्रिस्थलीसेतुसारसङ्ग्रह of भट्टोजि
त्रिस्थली = त्रिस्थलीसेतु of नारायणभट्ट
निर्णय॰ or नि. सि. = निर्णयसिन्धु
पद्म. or पद्मपु. = पद्मपुराण
परा. मा. = पराशरमाधवीय
पा. = पाणिनि's अष्टाध्यायी
पार. गृ. = पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र
पृथ्वी॰ or पृथ्वीच॰ or पृथ्वीचन्द्र. = पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय
प्राय. तत्त्व = प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व
प्राय. प्रकरण or प्राय. प्रक. = प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण
प्रा. प्रकाश = प्रायश्चित्तप्रकाश
प्राय. वि. or प्रा. वि. or प्राय. वि. = प्रायश्चित्तविवेक
प्राय. म. = प्रायश्चित्तमयूख
प्राय. सा. or प्राय. सार = प्रायश्चित्तसार
बृह. उ. = बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्
बृ. सं = बृहत्संहिता of वराहमिहिर
बौ. गृ. = बौधायनगृह्यसूत्र
बौ. ध. सू. = बौधायनधर्मसूत्र
बौ. श्रौ. = बौधायनश्रौतसूत्र
ब्रह्मपु. = ब्रह्मपुराण
भवि. पु. or भविष्यपु. = भविष्यपुराण
मत्स्य. = मत्स्यपुराण
मद. पा. = मदनपारिजात
मनु = मनुस्मृति
महार्णव = महार्णवकर्मविपाक (ms.)
मानवगृ. = मानवगृह्यसूत्र
मिता. = मिताक्षरा
मेधा. = मेधातिथि, commentator of मनु
मै. सं = मैत्रायणीसंहिता
या. or याज्ञ. = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति
राजत. = राजतरङ्गिणी of कल्हण

वाज. सं. = वाजसनेयसंहिता
वायु. or वायुपु. = वायुपुराण
विष्णुपु. = विष्णुपुराण
वि. र. = विवादरत्नाकर
विष्णु. or विष्णुध. सू. = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र
वृद्धया. = वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य
वे. सू. = वेदान्तसूत्र
व्यव. नि. = व्यवहारनिर्णय
व्य. म. = व्यवहारमयूख
शत. ब्रा. or शतपथ or शतपथब्रा. = शतपथ-ब्राह्मण
शातातप = शातातपस्मृति
शाङ्खायनब्रा. or शा. ब्रा. = शाङ्खायनब्राह्मण
शां. श्रौ. or शां. श्रौ. सू. = शाङ्खायनश्रौतसूत्र
शान्ति. = शान्तिपर्व
शु. कौ. or शुद्धिकौ. = शुद्धिकौमुदी
शुद्धिकल्प. = कल्पतरु on शुद्धि
शुद्धिप्र. or शु. प्र. = शुद्धिप्रकाश
श्रा. क. ल. = श्राद्धकल्पलता
श्रा. क्रि. कौ. = श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी
श्राद्धप्र. or श्रा. प्र. = श्राद्धप्रकाश
सत्या. श्रौ. = सत्याषाढश्रौतसूत्र
साम. ब्रा. = सामविधानब्राह्मण
स्कन्द. or स्कन्दपु. = स्कन्दपुराण
स्मृतिच. = स्मृतिचन्द्रिका
स्मृतिमु. or स्मृ. मु. = स्मृतिमुक्ताफल
श्रा. वि. = श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर
हिर. गृ. or हिरण्य. गृ. = हिरण्यकेशिगृह्यसूत्र

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

some important Sanskrit works and authors referred to in volume IV

N. B.—Some dates, particularly of ancient works, are conjectural and disputed by several scholars. Most of the dates about authors from the 8th or 9th century refer to the probable periods of their literary activity except in the case of a few authors such as Śankarācārya and Vidyāpati.

4000 B. C.-1000 B. C.—The period of the Vedic Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. Some hymns of the Ṛgveda, of the Atharvaveda, and in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa may possibly go back to a period earlier than 4000 B. C. and some of the Upaniṣads (even from among those that are regarded by most scholars as the earliest ones) may be later than 1000 B. C. Some scholars have criticized me for ascribing the vedic saṁhitās to such an early date as 4000 B. C. Time and health permitting, I may have to deal with this question in a separate work after I finish the 5th and last volume on which I am now engaged.

800 B. C.-500 B. C.—The Nirukta of Yāska

800 B. C.-400 B. C.—The principal śrautasūtras (of Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Kātyāyana, Satyāṣāḍha and others) and some of the gṛhyasūtras (such as those of Āpastamba and Āśvalāyana)

600-300 B. C.—The Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha and the Gṛhyasūtras of Pāraskara and a few others.

600 B. C.-300 B. C.—Pāṇini

500 B. C.-200 B. C.—Jaimini's Pūrva-mīmāṁsā-sūtra

500 B. C.-200 B. C —The Bhagavadgītā

300 B. C.—Vararuci Kātyāyana, author of Vārtikas on Pāṇini's sūtras

300 B. C.-100 A. D.—Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (rather nearer the former date than the latter)

150 B. C.—100 A. D. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (probably nearer the former date than the latter)

200 B. C.-100 A. D.—Manusmṛti

100 A. D.-300 A. D.—Yājñavalkyasmṛti

100 A. D.-300 A. D.—Viṣṇudharmasūtra

100 A. D.-400 A. D.—Nāradasmṛti

200 A. D-400 A.D.—Śabara's bhāṣya on Jaimini's Pūrva-mīmāṁsā-sūtra (rather nearer the former date)

300 A. D.-500 A. D.—Bṛhaspati-smṛti on Vyavahāra and other topics (not yet found). Extracts on Vyavahāra were translated in S. B. E. vol. 33 and extracts on many topics of Dharma were collected by Prof. Rangasvami Aiyangar and published in Gaikwad Oriental series

300 A. D.-600 A. D.—Some of the extant Purāṇas such as Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Matsya, Kūrma

500 A. D.-550 A. D.—Varāhamihira, author of Pañca-siddhāntikā, Bṛhatsaṁhitā, Bṛhat-Jātaka and other works.

600 A. D.-650 A. D.—Bāṇa, author of the Kādambarī and Harṣacarita

650-665 A. D.—*Kāśikā, commentary by Vāmana and Jayāditya on* Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī

650-700 A. D.—Kumārilabhaṭṭa, author of Tantravārtika and other works.

600 A. D.-900 A. D.—Most of the smṛtis such as those of Parāśara, Śaṅkha, Devala and some of the Purāṇas such as Agni, Garuḍa.

788 A. D.-820 A. D.—Śaṅkarācarya, the great Advaita philosopher

800 A. D.-850 A. D.—Viśvarupa, the commentator of Yājñavalkya-smṛti

825 A. D.-900 A. D.—Medhātithi, *a commentator of* Manusmṛti

966 A. D.—Utpala composed his commentary on the Bṛhajjātaka of Varāhamihira

1000 A. D.-1050 A. D.—Dhāreśvara Bhoja, author of numerous works

1080 A. D.-1100 A. D.—Vijñāneśvara, the author of the Mitākṣarā commentary on Yājñavalkya-smṛti

1080 A. D.-1110 A. D. Govindarāja, a commentator of Manusmṛti

1100-1130 A. D.—Lakṣmīdhara, the author of a vast digest on Dharmaśāstra called Kalpataru or Kṛtyakalpataru

1100-1150 A. D.—Jīmūtavāhana, author of the Dāyabhāga, Kālaviveka and Vyavahāramātṛkā.

1100-1150 A. D. Bhavadevabhaṭṭa, author of Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa and other works

1110 A. D.-1130—A. D. Aparārka, Śilāhāra king, composed a commentary on Yājñavalkyasmṛti

1127 A. D.-1138 A. D.—Mānasollāsa or Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi of Someśvaradeva

1150 A.D.–1160 A.D.—Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa

1150 A.D.–1180 A.D.—Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, author of Hāralatā and Pitṛdayitā

1150 A.D.–1200 A.D.—Smṛtyarthasāra of Śrīdhara

1150 A.D.–1300 A.D.—Haradatta, commentator of the Dharmasūtras of Gautama and Āpastamba and some gṛhyasūtras

1200 A.D.–1225 A.D.—Smṛticandrikā of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa

1150 A.D.–1300 A.D.—Kullūka, a commentator on Manusmṛti

1175 A.D.–1200 A.D.—Halāyudha, son of Dhanañjaya and author of Brāhmaṇasarvasva

1260 A.D.–1270 A.D—Caturvargacintāmaṇi of Hemādri

1275 A.D.–1310 A.D.—Śrīdatta, author of Pitṛbhakti, Samayapradīpa and other works

1300 A.D.–1370 A.D—Caṇḍeśvara, author of Gṛhastharatnakara, Vivādaratnakara, Kṛtyaratnakara and other works

1300 A.D.–1380 A.D.—Sāyaṇa, compiler of bhāṣyas on Vedic Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas

1300 A.D.–1380 A.D.—Mādhavācārya, commentator of Parāśarasmṛti and other works and brother of Sāyaṇa

1360 A. D.–1390 A D.—Madanapārijāta and Mahārṇavaprakāśa compiled under king Madanapāla and his son

1360 A.D.–1448 A.D.—These are the dates of the birth and death of Vidyāpati, author of Gaṅgāvākyāvalī and other works. Vide Indian Antiquary vol. 14 pp 190–191 for an inscription which records in four eras the grant of the village Bisapī to Vidyapati by king Śivasiṁha, son of Devasiṁha (śake 1321, saṁvat 1455, La. Saṁ. 283 and san 807)

1375 A.D.–1440 A.D.—Śūlapāṇi, author of Dīpakalikā, commentary on Yājñavalkya, Prāyaścitta-viveka, Durgotsavaviveka and other works.

1375–1500 A.D.—Pṛthvīcandra, son of Nāgamalla, author of a vast digest called Dharmatattvakalānidhi, divided into Prakāśas on śrāddha, vyavahāra and other topics.

1425–1450 A.D.—Madanaratna, an extensive digest compiled by king Madanasiṁhadeva

1425 A.D.–1460 A.D.—Rudradhara, author of Śuddhiviveka, Śrāddhaviveka and other works

1425–1490 A. D.—Vācaspati, author of Śuddhicintāmaṇi, Tīrthacintāmaṇi and numerous other works.

1450–1500 A. D.—Vardhamāna, author of Daṇḍaviveka, Gaṅgākṛtyaviveka and other works

1490 A.D.–1515 A.D.—Nṛsiṁhaprasāda of Dalapati, of which Śrāddhasāra, Tīrthasāra, Prāyaścittasāra and several more are parts.

1500 A.D.-1540 A. D.—Govindānanda, author of Śuddhikaumudī, Śrāddhakriyākaumudī and other works

1513-1580—Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, author of Prayogaratna, Antyeṣṭipaddhati, Tristhalīsetu

1520-1575—Raghunandana, author of numerous works called Tattvas on Śrāddha, Tīrtha, Śuddhi, Prāyaścitta and other topics

1520-1589—Ṭoḍarānanda compiled under the patronage of Ṭoḍarmal and divided into Saukhyas on Śuddhi, Śrāddha, Tīrtha, Prāyaścitta, Karmavipāka and about 15 more topics

1590-1630 A.D.—Nandapaṇḍita, author of several works such as Vaijayantī (com. on Viṣṇudharmasūtra), Śrāddha-kalpalatā, Śuddhicandrikā, Dattakamīmāṁsā

1610-1640—Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, author of Nirṇayasindhu and over 20 works besides

1610-1640—Vīramitrodaya of Mitramiśra, of which Tīrthaprakāśa, Prāyaścittaprakāśa, Śrāddhaprakāśa are parts

1610-1645—Nīlakaṇṭha, author of Bhagavantabhāskara in 12 Mayūkhas on Prāyaścitta, Śuddhi, Śrāddha and other topics

1700-1740—Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha

1700-1750 A. D.—Nāgeśa or Nāgojibhaṭṭa, author of about 30 works among which Tīrthenduśekhara, Prāyaścittenduśekhara, Śrāddhenduśekhara were used in this volume

1790—Kāśīnātha Upādhyāya, author of Dharmasindhu, composed it in śake 1712

1730-1820—Bālambhaṭṭa, author of a commentary on the Mitākṣarā, called Bālambhaṭṭī

BRIEF SYNOPSIS

OF THE

CONTENTS OF VOLUME IV

PAGES

IMPORTANT WORKS CONSULTED

(N. B.—Works referred to only once or twice have generally been omitted)

Ānan. stands for Ānandāśrama Press edition; B. I. for Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta; Ghar. for Mr. J. R. Gharpure's Publications; G. O. S. for Gaikwad Oriental series; Nirn. for Nirṇayasāgara Press editions; Jiv. for Jīvānanda Vidyāsagar's Publications and Venk. for Veṅkaṭeśvara Press Publications.

Aitareya Āraṇyaka (ed. by Prof. Keith in Anecdota Oxoniensia)

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa with Sāyaṇa's *bhāṣya* (Ānan.)

Atharvaveda-saṁhitā (ed. by S. P. Pandit and sometimes the edition of Pandit Sātavalekar)

Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad

Chāndogyopaniṣad

Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (B. I. series)

Jābālopaniṣad

Jaiminīya Saṁhitā, ed. by Dr. Raghu Vīra.

Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā (Pandit Sātavalekar's ed.)

Kaṭhopaniṣad

Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa (ed. by Lindner, Jena, 1887)

Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇopaniṣad

Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā (Pandit Sātavalekar's ed.)

Ṛgveda Saṁhitā with Sāyaṇa's bhāṣya (ed. by the Poona Vaidika-saṁśodhana-maṇḍala)

Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa (ed. by A. C. Burnell, 1873)

Śāṅkhāyana-brāhmaṇa (Ānan.)

Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (ed. by A. Weber)

Taittirīya-āraṇyaka (Ānan.)

Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa (Ānan.)

Taittirīya-saṁhitā (Ānan.; sometimes Pandit Satavalekar's edition has been used)

Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa (also called Pañcaviṁśa-brāhmaṇa)–B. I. series

Vājasaneya Saṁhitā (ed. by Pandit Sātavalekar).

Śrauta, gṛhya and dharma sūtras, Vedāṅgas

Āpastamba-dharmasūtra with the commentary of Haradatta published at Kumbhakonam by Halasyanatha Sastri

Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra with the com. of Sudarśanācārya (Mysore Govt. Oriental Library series)

Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha (ed. by Dr. Winternitz, 1897).

Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra with Nārāyaṇa's commentary (Nirn.)

Āśvalāyanaśrautasūtra with the com. of Nārāyaṇa (B. I. series).

Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra (Ānan.)

Baudhāyana-gṛhyasūtra with gṛhya-śeṣa-sūtra, gṛhyaparibhāṣā and Baudhāyana-pitṛmedhasūtra (ed. by Dr. Sham Sastri in Mysore University Oriental Library Publications, 1920).

Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra (ed. by Dr. Caland in B. I. series)

Bhāradvāja-gṛhya-sūtra (ed. by Dr. Salomons, Leyden, 1913)

Brahmasūtra—see Vedāntasūtra

Bṛhad-devatā (ed. by Prof. A. A. Macdonell)

Gautamadharmasūtra (Ānan.)

Gobhila-gṛhya-sūtra (B. I. series)

Gobhilasmṛti or Karmapradīpa (Ānan.)

Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhyasūtra (ed. by Dr. J. Kirste, 1889)

Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra with the bhāṣya of Śabara and the Tantravartika of Kumārila (Ānan.)

Kāṭhaka-gṛhya with the commentaries of Ādityadarśana, Devapāla and Brāhmaṇabala (ed. by Dr. Caland, 1925)

Katyāyana-śrauta-sūtra (ed. by A. Weber)

Kauśikasūtra (ed. by Prof. Bloomfield)

Kauṣītaki-gṛhya-sūtra (Benares Sanskrit series) or Madras University Sanskrit series

Khādiragṛhyasūtra with the com. of Rudraskanda (Mysore Govt. Oriental Library series)

Mānavagṛhyasūtra with the com. of Aṣṭāvakra (G. O. S.)

Nirukta of Yāska, ed. by Roth: sometimes the edition of Prof. V. K. Rajwade with a translation and notes in Marathi has been relied upon

Pāraskara-gṛhyasūtra—edited by M. M. Shridharshastri Pathak with a Marathi translation

Ṛgvidhāna of Śaunaka (ed. by Prof. Jagadish Shastri), 1940

Sāṅkhāyana-gṛhya-sūtra (same as Kauṣitaki-gṛhya-sūtra)—published in the Benares Sanskrit series

Sāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra (ed. by Dr. Hillebrandt)—B. I. Series

Satyāṣāḍha-śrauta-sūtra (Ānan.)

Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra (edited with English translation by Dr. Caland)

Vaikhānasa-śrauta-sūtra ed. by Dr. Caland (B. I. series, 1941)

Vārāhagṛhyasūtra (G. O. S.)

Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra (Bombay S. series)

Vedāntasūtra with the bhāṣya of Śaṅkara (Nirn.)

Viṣṇudharmasūtra (ed. by Dr. Jolly)

Smṛtis

Āpastambasmṛti in verse (Ānan.)

Atri-smṛti (Ānan.)

Auśanasa-smṛti (Jiv.)

Bhagavad-gītā

Bṛhat-Parāśara-smṛti (Jiv.)

Caturviṁśati-mata-saṅgraha (Benares Sanskrit Series)

Dakṣasmṛti (Ānan.)

Devalasmṛti (Ānan.)

Harivaṁśa (Chitraśālā Press ed. Poona)

Kātyāyanasmṛti on Vyavahāra (reconstructed by P. V. Kane under the title 'Kātyāyanasmṛtisāroddhāra' with English Translation and notes)

Laghu-Hārīta (Ānan.)

Laghu-Viṣṇu (Ānan.)

Laghu-Āśvalāyana (Ānan.)

Mahābhārata with the com. of Nīlakaṇṭha (oblong Bombay edition)

Manusmṛti with the commentary of Kullūka (Nirn.); where other commentaries on Manu are referred to, it is Mandlik's edition with several commentaries that is cited.

Nāradasmṛti (ed. by Dr. Jolly)

Parāśarasmṛti (Bombay S. series)

Prajāpatismṛti (Ānan.)

Saṁvartasmṛti (Ānan.)

Śaṅkhasmṛti in verse (Ānan.)

Vedavyāsa-smṛti (Ānan.)

Vṛddha-Gautama-smṛti (Jiv.)

Vṛddha-Hārīta-smṛti (Ānan.)

Yājñavalkya-smṛti with the com. Mitākṣarā (Nirn.)

PURĀṆAS

The Ānandāśrama editions of the Agni, Brahma, Brahmavaivarta, Matsya, Padma and Vāyu have been used; the Nirn. edition of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (text only) and the edition of the Narasiṁhapurāṇa published by Messrs Gopal Narayan and Co. have been relied upon; the Veṅkateśvara Press editions of the Bhaviṣya, Brahmāṇḍa, Bṛhan-Nāradīya (or simply Nāradīya), Garuḍa, Kālikā, Kūrma, Liṅga, Mārkaṇḍeya, Viṣṇupurāṇa and Viṣṇudharmottara have been used; the Nīlamatapurāṇa, ed. by Pandits Ramlal Kanjilal and Jagaddhar Zadoo (1924)

COMMENTARIES, DIGESTS, MISCELLANEOUS SANSKRIT, PĀLI AND PRĀKRIT WORKS AND AUTHORS.

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi (= Mānasollāsa), published by Mysore Oriental Library and in G. O. S.

Antyakarmadīpaka of Nityānanda (Kashi Sanskrit series)

Antyeṣṭipaddhati of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (Nirn.) except on pp. 212, 303 where a ms. of it was used.

Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkyasmṛti (Ānan.)

Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (ed. by Dr. Sham Shastri, second ed.)

Āśaucadaśaka of Vijñāneśvara (printed in Appendix pp. 832–833)

Āśaucāṣṭaka of Vararuci (published in Trivandrum S. series)

Bālambhaṭṭī, commentary on the Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya, ed. by Mr. Gharpure

Bārhaspatya-sūtra (ed. by Dr. F. W. Thomas, Lahore 1921)

Brāhmaṇasarvasva—D. C. ms. No. 9 of A 1883–84

Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira with the com. of Utpala (ed. by M. M. Sudhakara Dvivedi)

Daṇḍaviveka of Vardhamāna (G. O. S.)

Dāyabhāga of Jīmūtavāhana (Jiv.)

Dharmadvaitanirṇaya of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa (Ghar.)

Dharmasindhu of Kāśīnātha with Marathi translation (Nirn., 6th ed. of 1936)

Dīpakalikā, com. of Śūlapāṇi on Yājñavalkyasmṛti (Ghar.)

Gaṅgābhakti-taraṅgiṇī of Gaṇapati, published at Darbhangā (oblong size) 1500–1550 A. D.

Gaṅgāvākyāvalī of Vidyāpati under patronage of Viśvāsadevī, ed. by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, 1940

Govindarāja's commentary on Manusmṛti (Mandlik's edition)

Gṛhastharatnākara of Caṇḍeśvara (B. I. Series)

Gṛhyāgnisāgara of Nārāyaṇa Ārḍe (ms. in the Bombay Asiatic Society)

Halāyudha's com. on Kātyāyana's Śrāddhasūtra (ms. No 518 p. 170 of B B. R. A. S. cat.)

Haracarita-cintāmaṇi of Jayadratha (Nirn. Kāvyamālā series)

Haradatta's com. on Gautamadharmasūtra (Ānan.)

Hāralatā of Aniruddha (B. I. series)

Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, section on śrāddha (B. I. Series)

Jātakas (ed. by Fausböll)

Kalpataru or Kṛtyakalpataru, sections on āśauca, prāyaścitta, śrāddha and tīrtha (G. O. S.)

Kāśikā, commentary on Pāṇini's sūtras

Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara (G. O. S.)

Kṛtyaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara (B. I. series)

Kṣīrasvāmin's com. on Amarakośa (ed. by K. G. Oak, Poona)

Kullūka's com. on Manusmṛti (Nirn.)

Kumārila's Tantravārtika and Ṭuptīkā on Jaimini's sūtras (Ānan.)

Madanapārijāta (B. I. series)

Madanaratna (section on *vyavahāra* ed. by P. V. Kane for the Anup Library series, Bikaner)

Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (ed. by Kielhorn in Bombay S. series)

Mahārṇavakarmavipāka of Māndhātṛ—D.C. ms.No. 239 of A 1881-82

Medhātithi's com. on Manusmṛti (Mandlik's edition)

Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara, com. on Yājñavalkyasmṛti (Nirn.)

Nandapaṇḍita, author of Vaijayantī, com. on Viṣṇudharmasūtra

Nirṇayasindhu with Marathi translation (Nirn. 2nd ed. of 1935)

Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī with Siddhānta-kaumudī of Bhaṭṭoji (Nirn.)

Parāśara-Mādhavīya (Bombay S. series)

Pitṛbhakti of Śrīdatta—D. C. ms. No. 152 of 1892-95

Pitṛdayitā of Aniruddhabhaṭṭa (published by Sanskrit Sāhitya-pariṣad, Calcutta, 1930)

Prāyaścittamayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha (Ghar.)

Prāyaścittamuktāvalī of Divākara, son of Mahādeva (D. C. ms. No. 249 of 1886-92)

Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa of Bhavadeva, published by Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi

Prāyaścittaprakāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya)—ms. in the Anup Sanskrit Library No. 2610 at Bikaner

Prāyaścittasāra (part of Nṛsiṁhaprasāda) ed. in Sarasvatībhavana series

Prāyaścitta-tattva of Raghunandana (Jiv.)

Prāyaścittaviveka of Śūlapāṇi with the com. Tattvārthakaumudī of Govindānanda (Jiv.)

Prāyaścittenduśekhara of Nāgoji supplemented by Kāśinātha-upādhyāya, son of Ananta (Ānan.)

Prayogaratna of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (Nirn. pothi size, 1915)

Pṛthvīcandrodaya (section on śrāddha) ms. in the Ichcharam Suryaram Desai collection in the Bombay University. Vide No. 251 of the catalogue by Prof. Velankar

Puruṣottamatattva of Raghunandana (Jiv.)

Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa (Nirn.)

Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa (text and English translation by Dr. Aurel Stein)

Rāmāyana of Vālmīki (ed. by R. Narayansvami Aiyer at the Madras Law Journal Office)

Śabara, author of bhāṣya on Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra (Ānan.)

Ṣaḍaśīti of Kauśikāditya with the com Śuddhicandrikā of Nandapaṇḍita (Chowkhamba S. series)

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INDEX OF CASES CITED

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

N. B.—Some cases where the correction can be easily made [as in the elision of an anusvāra or mātrā or a diacritical mark] have not been noted.]

Page	Line or Note	
8	note 17	Read न स स्वो दक्षो वरुण ध्रुतिः
9	note 19	Add at end 'Vide also विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 33.1'
15	last line	Put a full stop after the word 'Viṣṇu'.
17	note 36	Read 'व्यापारे रूढः'.
18	line 25	Read 'selling of flesh'
19	note 43 l. 8	Read 'अग्निपुराण 173.5'
24	note 58	Read न तु गुरोरङ्गना गुर्वङ्गना
28	note 68 line 7	Read दोषो न संसर्ग०
36	line 34	Read 'they pray'.
37	note 88	Read यत्किंचेदं वरुण दैव्ये
42	line 24	Read 'to be spread over from one'
43	line 23	Read 'yadadivyan' (Tai. Ā. II. 4.1, and Baud. Dh. S. III. 7. 10)'
44	line 29	Read 'by offering either'
46	note 107 line 4	Read अथर्वशिरस्.
47	line 7	Read 'four pakayajñas or mahāyajñas'
47	note 109	Read 'the five mahāyajñas or pākayajñas as they are called in Manu II. 86'
54	note 133a	Add—The verse 'उपावृत्तस्य...वर्जितः' is अग्निपु. 175.5–6 and is cited as from भविष्यपुराण by कल्पतरु on व्रत p. 3. Hemādri on vrata, vol. I. p. 1009 quotes विष्णुधर्मोत्तर on the meaning of गुणs as 'तज्जाप्यजापी तद्ध्यान-तत्कथाश्रवणादिकम्। तदर्चनं च तन्नामकीर्तनश्रवणादयः॥ उपवासकृतो ह्येते गुणाः प्रोक्ता मनीषिभिः।'. The verse उपावृत्तस्य० is ascribed to Vasiṣtha by Hemādri on vrata. vol. I. p. 1004
58	note 139 line 6	Read प्रायश्चित्तं विध्यपराधे
94	lines 19	Add at end 'It may be noted that the digests on Dharma forbid bathing in the see at any

Page	Line or Note	
		time one pleases and allow it only on Full Moon, on Amāvasyā and on *parvan* days and prescribe that at Setubandha one may bathe in the sea on any day. Compare: अश्वत्थसागरौ सेव्यौ न स्प्रष्टव्यौ कदाचन । अश्वत्थं मन्दवारे च सागरं पर्वणि स्पृशेत् । न कालनियमः सेतौ समुद्रस्नान-कर्मणि ॥ धर्मसिन्धु I. 1 p. 36
106	note 242 line 3	Read प्राय. वि.
108	note 247	Add at end 'Verses from गावः सुरभयो नित्यं to हविरन्यत्र तिष्ठति are अग्निपुराण 292. 14–20'
113	note 257	At the end add 'The Mit. on Yāj. III. 280 remarks: यदा गार्हस्थ्यपरिग्रहेण संन्यासात्प्रच्युतो भवति तदा संवर्तोक्तं द्रष्टव्यम्—संन्यस्य दुर्मतिः कश्चित्प्रत्यापत्तिं व्रजेद्यदि । स कुर्यात्कृच्छ्रमश्रान्तः षण्मासात्प्रत्यनन्तरम् ॥ ' This is संवर्त 171–72
114	line 2	Add ' Vide the bhāṣya of Śaṅkara on Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 43 (bahis-tūbhayathāpi)'.
116	line 23	Add after the words ' for a month '—' It appears that simply officiating as a priest or accepting a gift entailed a prāyaścitta; vide Tai. Ā. II. 16. 17 ' याजयित्वा प्रतिगृह्य वानश्नन् त्रिः स्वाध्यायं वेदमधीयीत '. Manu X. 109-111 appear to endorse this view.
140	line 7	Read ' and as marking '
149	line 23	Add at end ' Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III 248 states that in the Āṅgirasa-smṛti an expiation called Vajra is described and it is provided therein that those who are guilty of a mahāpātaka are purified after three years. The Mit. on Yāj. III 254 quotes the same half-verse as of Aṅgiras '.
164	n 395 line 2	Read अष्टाविंशतिकोट्यः
169	n 406	Add ' This verse is quoted by नीलकण्ठ in his commentary on उद्योगपर्व 33. 72 and in the सांख्यतत्त्वकौमुदी of वाचस्पति Chowkhamba S. series p. 45.'
185	line 11	Add after ' namo Vāsudevāya.'—Vide भगवद्गीता 8. 5–6 and पद्मपुराण V. 47. 262 ' मरणे या मतिः पुंसां गतिर्भवति तादृशी ', for the belief about the thoughts of a dying man.'

Page	Line or Note	
185	n 432	Read 'शान्तिपर्व, 285. 74 ff. for शिवसहस्रनाम '
192	n 443 last line	Read ' Fargard '
200	n 476	Read in 2nd line ' recital ' and ' bones ' in line 3.
212	line 12	Add a new paragraph after this line viz ' A peculiar rite called Sampratti (transmission) is described in Br. Up. I. 5. 17 and Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇopaniṣad II. 15, wherein a father when about to die calls his son and transmits to him his own finished and unfinished work such as yajñas.
212		Add footnote 500a ' Though in modern times Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's Antyeṣṭipaddhati is generally followed, it must be stated here in order to avoid misunderstanding that now no one spreads kuśas and antelope skin on the funeral pile nor is the wife made to sit down near the deceased nor is she then raised up by anybody'.
216	n503 l. 1	Read ' मिता. on या. III. 2, मद. पा p. 395 '
239	line 29	Read ' text of Saṁvarta that a '
244	line 6	Put the figure 555 above Ṛg. VIII. 95. 7–9
265	n. 594a	Read in last line but one तद्रूपं देहमन्यं
269	n 603 l. 2	Read तन्तुं तन्वन्रजसेा भानुमन्विद्यक्षानहो
271	l. 35	Add after the word ' death.' ' It should be noted that in almost all parts of India except in Bengal members of all varṇas including śūdras observe by usage only ten days' impurity on death '
277	l. 13	Read ' preferably '
300	n 677, l. 3	Read ' पतितानां च '
308	l. 17	Omit the words ' with Sanskrit explanation '
310	note 695	Read ' संमार्ष्ट्व्या उत '
312	n 700	Add at end "Though Manu V. 130 says generally ' नित्यमास्यं शुचि स्त्रीणाम् ' the words must be narrowed down to the occasions of dalliance in view of what Baud. Dh. S. I. 4. 57 (स्त्रियश्च रतिसंसर्गे), Vas.28.8, S'aṅkha 16.16, Atri V. 14 and most of the commentators of Manu say."

Page	Line or Note	
321	lines 11–15	I should have mentioned here the four verses beginning with 'Hiraṇyavarṇāḥ' of the Tai. S. V. 6. 1.1
345	top	Read 'Pañcajanāḥ'
,,	n. 776 l. 4	Read 'षड् ऋतवस्तान् पितॄन् परिचक्षते'
355	n. 807 l. 1	Read 'मेषमजं वालभते'
368	n. 838 l. 2	Read शकुना इव
377	n. 851 l. 2	Read तीर्थेषु स्वभूमौ च प्रयत्नतः.
382–383	note 861	Add at end "In several works the 96 śrāddhas are enumerated somewhat differently. For example the धर्मसिन्धु II. 2 p. 39 says: 'अमा १२ युग ४ मनु १४ क्रान्ति १२ धृति १२ पात १२ महालयाः १५ ॥ अष्टका ५ अन्वष्टका ५ पूर्वेद्युः ५ श्राद्धैर्नवतिश्च षट् ॥ इति ज्ञेयानि ॥' For 12 Aṣṭakās there is very ancient authority; vide note 861 quoting शतपथब्राह्मण. It is very rare to find 15 Aṣṭakās mentioned; vide p. 361 and note 828 above."
388	note 870	In last line but one read प्रदास्यति
389	note 873	Read अनर्हान् हव्यकव्येषु
410	note 921	Read स याति नरकं घोरं
427	n959l.5 from end	Read यमायाङ्गिरस्वते
441	note 985	Read अर्हणीयानां पुरतः
442	l. 17	Read 'then turn it'
457	note 1018	Add at end of note 'The विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण (III. 176 1–5) reads the names of the ten विश्वेदेवाः somewhat differently'.
532	note 1195	Read 'विस्तृतपार्वणविधिनाऽसम्भवे (separate as विधिना and असम्भवे)'
534	note 1200	Add at end—"Vide 'अन्नं ह प्राणः' ऐ. ब्रा. 33·1"
546	l. 17	Add after 'in an intercalary month' the following:- According to the Nirṇayasindhu (p. 12) the first year anniversary śrāddha has to be performed in the intercalary month and subsequent anniversary śrāddhas are to be performed in the pure month and not in the intercalary month, if the deceased died in an ordinary month, while at the time of the first anniversary or subsequent anniversary śrāddha

Page	Line or Note	
		the year has the same month as an intercalary as well as an ordinary month. The Dharmasindhu also (p. 5) holds the same view 'शुद्धमासे मृतानां तु प्रथमाब्दिकं मलमास एव कार्यं न शुद्धे द्वितीयाब्दिकं तु शुद्ध एव।.'
560	note 1260	After line 13 in note add 'The विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण III. chap. 174 mentions *nine* mountains 'हिमवान्हेमकूटश्च निषधो नील एव च। श्वेतश्च शृङ्गवान् मेरुर्माल्यवान्गन्धमादनः। नवैतान् शैलनृपतीभवम्यां पजयेन्नरः॥' (in पर्वताष्टमीव्रत)'
561	l. 7	Read 'a work like that of Dr. Alexis Carrel.'
577	n. 1308 l. 5	Read 'लभेत्तु सः and attributes it to गरुडपुराण.'
588	note 1333	Read 'दिवि भुव्यन्तरिक्षे च'
592	n. 1340 l. 21	Read 'Another rule is that one makes'
595	n. 1347 l. 2	Read 'जलं स मे प्रीत इति'.
599	note 1360	Read 'पादमोक्षः'
605	n. 1372 l. 6	Read 'the Aphsad stone Inscription'.
609–613		The figures of the notes and the notes themselves have been wrongly arranged in these pages. On p. 609 l. 5 put the figure 1385 above the word 'Gangāvākyāvalī' and note (as printed) 1387 should be 1385 and brought under p. 609. On the same page (both in the text and notes) the figures 1384a, 1385 should be changed to 1386 and 1387. On the same page the note 1386 should really be 1393a, which figure should be placed on p. 613 in line 24 on the word 'moksa' and the footnote so numbered should be placed after footnote 1393
615	note 1397	last line but one—Read 'occur in नारदीय'
633	note 1448	line 4 Read 'तावतैव'.
648	n. 1473 l. 3	Read 'तर्पयेत्'
664	note 1500	Read 'गङ्गा पादोदकं'
667	line 36	After 'difficult to say.' add 'Recently the Bihar State Legislature passed 'The Bodh Gaya Temple Act' (Act XVII of 1949) for the better management of the Bodh Gaya Temple and the properties appertaining thereto. It is provided by this Act that the Government of Bihar Province shall constitute a committee for the management and control of the temple and its properties, consisting of a chairman and

Page	Line or Note	
		eight members, of whom four shall be Buddhists and four shall be Hindus including the Mahanth i. e. the presiding priest for the time being of the Saivite monastery of Bodh Gaya, that the District Magistrate of Gayā shall be the ex-officio chairman, but that, if the District Magistrate happens to be a non-Hindu, the Provincial Government may nominate a Hindu as chairman and that Hindus and Buddhists of every sect shall have access to the temple and temple land for the purpose of worship and *piṇḍa-dāna'*
670	l. 6	Read 'śrāddhas at Gayā'
673	note 1524 l. 4	Read 'तीर्थेचि.'
689	n. 1565 l. 2	Add: It may be noted that in the विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. chapters 201–202 it is stated that Gandharvas, sons of Śailūṣa, devastated the country on both banks of the Sindhu and Rāma sent his brother भरत to chastise them; 'जहि शैलूषतनयान् गन्धर्वान् पापनिश्चयान्' विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 202. 10"
691	n. 1568 l. 2	Read 'सुषुम्ना'
695	line 9	Add at end: 'Vide, for example, the statement that Puruṣottama is situated on Nīlaparvata (chap. 1), that a dialogue between Śabara (a *bhilla*) and Vidyāpati the brother of Indradyumna's purohita took place (chap. 7), that three *rathas* were manufactured for the three images (chap. 27) for being worshipped.'
696	n. 1577 l. 3	Read 'चक्रं दृष्ट्वा'
799	l. 13	Add after this line 'Millions of devotees visit Jagannātha every year and the endowments of the principal temple and the shrines and sacred places within its premises are worth millions of rupees. Great dissatisfaction is felt about the management of the funds and about the due performance of religious rites at Purī. The State of Orissa passed the Puri Shri Jagannath Temple Administration Act (No. XIV of 1952) providing for the consolidation of the rights and duties of the *Sevaks Pujaris* and such other persons as are connected with the *Seva, Puja* and management of the *devasthan*. But this Act does not, in the opinion of many devotees, go far enough. It only provides for some supervision.'

Page	Line or Note	
699	n. 1582	Add at the end 'The mantra occurs in the मैत्रायणी-संहिता II. 9. 10 and तै. आ. X. 45.1'.
709	l. 20	Read 'in Pañcavaṭi and on the left bank' &c.
721	l. 14	Add at end "Vide a paper on 'Identification of the idol of Viṭṭhala in the Viṭṭhala temple at Hampi' by Dr. C. Narayanrao in the Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference held at Mysore pp. 715–728 and a very informative and exhaustive thesis for Ph. D. Degree on 'the cult of Viṭhobā' by Rev. G. A. Deleury accepted by the Poona University in 1952."
732		Add under Āmardaka 'Vide E. I. vol. I pp. 354 ff. for Āmardakatīrtha in Rāṇod in Gwalior State.'
758		Under 'Irāvatī' add—'Vide Viṣṇudharmottara I. 149 (twenty-five verses) for a fine poetic description of this river and I. 162. 61–65 for the confluence of Irāvatī with Sindhu and of ten more confluences of several rivers of northern India.'
769		Column 2 under Koṇārka add "Vide Proceedings of the 8th Indian Historical Congress pp. 153 ff. for an article 'Sungod of Konārak—where is he', which criticizes the article in the Modern Review."
796		Add under Rohitaka—'In the Madanpur plate of S'rīcandra in E. I. vol. 28 at p. 53 the place of origin of the Chandra dynasty is said to be Rohitagiri (acc. to some Rohtasgaḍh in Bihar and Lalmai Hill, West of Comilla, acc. to others).'
806		Column one under Śoṇa add—'The Nirṇayasindhu p. 110 quotes a verse of Devala enumerating seven *nadas* : शोणसिन्धुहिरण्याख्याः कोकलोहितघर्घराः। शतद्रुश्च नदाः सप्त पावनाः परिकीर्तिताः॥ It is difficult to say what rivers are meant by हिरण्य and कोक. Lohita is Brahmaputra
832	line 5	Read 'अंशुरवश्च'
832	lines 8 and 10	Read मृत्यो and मृते
832	line 18	Read वयं
832	n. 693a l. 3	Read स्नानं

SECTION I

PĀTAKA, PRĀYAŚCITTA AND KARMAVIPĀKA

(Sins, expiations and the residual consequences of sins).

CHAPTER I

The Article on sin in Hasting's Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics (vol. 11) will clearly show how the idea of sin varies from religion to religion, from age to age and from country to country. We are concerned here with the growth and development of the doctrine of sin in India from Vedic times to the medieval digests and commentaries on Dharmaśāstra.

Sin (*pātaka*) is a word that belongs to the terminology of religion rather than to that of Ethics.[1] It is very difficult to define sin. In a general way it may be said that it is an act which is regarded as a wilful rebellion against or disobedience of some law supposed to be laid down by God or Revelation; it is opposition to the will of God manifested in an authoritative work or at least failure to abide by the regulations contained therein.

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1. In these days many people, both in the East and the West, question the very existence of sin. As Barbour puts it in his 'Sin and the new Psychology' (p. 19) "The feeling is gaining wide acceptance that there is no such thing as sin in the Christian sense. Evil may encompass a man's life and bring disaster to his personality, but it is not sin. It is psychic evil that can be explained by psychic causes and perhaps cured by psychological therapy. .... Many say 'nothing is right and nothing is wrong. Every thing is the result of complexes'. It has resulted in an easy tolerance of sin". Sir Oliver Lodge in his article on 'Christian Doctrine' in the Hibbert Journal for 1903-4 at p. 466 says 'The higher man of to-day is not worrying about his sins at all, still less about their punishments. His mission, if he is good for anything, is to be up and doing and in so far as he acts wrongly or unwisely he expects to suffer'. The followers of Cārvāka who was the prince of Atheists in ancient India used to say 'man should live among pleasures as long as life lasts; he should feed himself sumptuously (lit. should drink *ghee*) even by borrowing money from others There is no coming again into the world after the body is reduced to ashes by cremation'.

The Ṛgveda is full of fervent and heart-felt expressions of the sense of sin and betrays intense desire on the part of the sages of old to be free from it. The idea of sin in the Ṛgveda is bound up with the conception of *ṛta*. The conception of ṛta cannot be discussed here in detail. But a brief statement is absolutely necessary in order to be able to convey what the Vedic doctrine of sin was.[2]

Ṛta had a threefold aspect. It means 'the course of nature' or 'the regular and general order in the cosmos'; with reference to sacrifice it means 'the correct and ordered way of the cult of the Gods'; and thirdly, it also means the 'moral conduct of man'. A few passages to illustrate these three aspects of ṛta may be cited here. Ṛg. IV. 23. 8–10 are[3] three verses in which the word ṛta occurs no less than twelve times and which breathe the all–pervading influence of ṛta throughout the universe. 'Plentiful waters (or riches or gifts) belong to ṛta; the thought (or laudation) of ṛta destroys crooked acts (sins), the brilliant and rousing hymn of praise to ṛta pierces the benumbed ears of man. The props of ṛta are firm, its (physical) manifestations are many and lovely for the sake of the body (i. e. man). Through ṛta they (people) desire food. The cows (sun's rays) entered ṛta by ṛta. He who wins over ṛta acquires it. For the sake of ṛta (heaven) and earth are wide and deep; the two highest cows (i. e. Heaven and Earth) yield milk (desires or rewards) for the sake of ṛta.' Some other passages are: 'The Sindhus (rivers) follow the ṛta of Varuṇa' (ṛtam sindhavo Varuṇasya yanti, Ṛg. II. 28. 4); similarly Ṛg. I. 105. 12 (ṛtamarṣanti sindhavaḥ); The wheel of ṛta (i. e. the year) revolves round the

2. For the conception of ṛta and the idea of sin in the Ṛgveda the following works may be consulted: 'The religion of the Veda' by M. Bloomfield (pp. 12, 125 ff); 'Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads' by Prof. A. B. Keith (pp. 35, 83–85 &c.); 'The Vedic idea of sin' by Dr. Henry Lefever (1935). One regrets to observe that Bloomfield's work is marred here and there by a certain levity of thought and expression out of keeping with the seriousness of the subject.

3. ऋतस्य हि शुरुधः सन्ति पूर्वीर्ऋतस्य धीतिर्वृजिनानि हन्ति । ऋतस्य श्लोको बधिरा ततर्द कर्णा बुधानः शुचमान आयोः ॥ ऋतस्य दृळ्हा धरुणानि सन्ति पुरूणि चन्द्रा वपुषे वपूंषि । ऋतेन दीर्घमिषणन्त पृक्ष ऋतेन गाव ऋतमा विवेशुः ॥ ऋतं येमान ऋतमिद्वनोत्यृतस्य शुष्मस्तुरया उ गव्युः । ऋताय पृथ्वी बहुले गभीरे ऋताय धेनू परमे दुहाते ॥ ऋ. IV. 23. 8–10. These are rather obscure verses. The Nirukta X. 41 understands ṛta to mean 'water' and explains X. 23·8 as 'ऋतस्य प्रज्ञा वर्जनीयानि हन्ति ऋतस्य श्लोको बधिरस्यापि कर्णौ आतृणत्ति । बधिरः बद्धश्रोत्रः । कर्णौ बोधयन् दीप्यमानश्च आयोः अयनस्य मनुष्यस्य ज्योतिषो वा उदकस्य वा ।'

sky with twelve spokes (dvādaśāram .... varvarti cakram pari dyām-ṛtasya, Ṛg. I. 164. 11); 'the dawn, the daughter of heaven, correctly follows the path of ṛta ....' ('ṛtasya panthānam-anveti sādhu', Ṛg. I. 124. 3); the young woman (Uṣas) does not destroy (or come in the way of) the light of ṛta (Ṛg. I. 123. 9.); the sun is the bright and lovely face of ṛta (Ṛg. VI. 51. 1. 'ṛtasya śuci darśatam-anīkam); 'the path of ṛta became united with the rays' (Ṛg. I. 136. 2); 'when exhilarated by drinking this (Soma) Indra released for the sake of ṛta the concealed host of cows' (Ṛg. I. 121. 4, probably a reference to drought and subsequent rainfall).

Many of the principal gods of the Vedic pantheon are described as the guardians, promoters or charioteers of ṛta. Mitra and Varuṇa rule over all the world by ṛta (Ṛg V. 63.7, ṛtena viśvam bhuvanam vi rājathaḥ); Mitra and Varuṇa, the protectors of ṛta, occupy a chariot (Ṛg. V. 63.1); Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman are said to be charioteers of ṛta (yūyamṛtasya rathyaḥ, VII. 66.12); they and Aditi and Bhaga are protectors of ṛta (Ṛg. VI. 51.3). Agni is called 'the charioteer of ṛta' (rathī ṛtasya, Ṛg. III. 2.8), the protector of ṛta, in Ṛg. I. 1.8, III. 10.2, X. 8.5, X.118.7 and ṛtāvān (in Ṛg IV. 2.1). Soma is styled the protector of ṛta (in Ṛg. IX. 48.4, IX. 73.8) and is said to support ṛta (IX. 97.24 ṛtam bharat subhṛtam cārvinduḥ). In Ṛg. VII. 66.13 the Ādityas[4] are said to be *ṛtāvan* (acting according to the fixed order of nature), *ṛtajāta* (sprung from ṛta) and ṛtāvṛdh (augmenting or rejoicing in ṛta) and further they are said to be fierce haters of *anṛta* (what is opposed to ṛta).

Ṛta is distinguished from sacrifice (*yajña*). It is not any particular sacrificial rite itself nor the institution of sacrifice. It stands for the ordered course of sacrifice in general. In Ṛg. IV. 3.4. Agni is styled *ṛtacit* (conversant with or observing ṛta) and is invoked to know the ṛta (of the sacrifice); in several verses we meet with the words 'ṛtena ṛtam' (e. g. in Ṛg. IV. 3.9 ṛtena ṛtam niyatam-iḷa ā goḥ', V. 15.2 'ṛtena ṛtam dharuṇam dhārayanta yajñasya śāke, V. 68.4 ṛtam-ṛtena sapantā 'conforming to or joining *ṛta* with *ṛta*', where 'ṛtena' appears to mean the correct course of sacrificial rites and 'ṛtam' the settled order in the universe. Soma is said to be the thread of ṛta spread on the *daśāpavitra* (Ṛg. IX. 73.9 'ṛtasya tantur-vitataḥ pavitra ā). In

4. ऋतावाना ऋतजाता ऋतावृधो घोरासो अनृतद्विषः । तेषां वः सुम्ने सच्छर्दिष्टमे नरः स्याम ये च सूरयः ॥ ऋ. VII, 66.13

Ṛg. I. 84.4 it is said 'O Indra, drink this (soma) that is extracted ...the streams of the bright (soma) flow towards thee in the seat of ṛta' (i. e. in the soma sacrifice). Vide also Ṛg. IV. 1.13—(asmākam-atra pitaro manuṣyā abhi pra sedur-ṛtam-ā śuśāṇāḥ) 'in this world former men, our ancestors, approached ṛta etc.'; Ṛg. I. 71.3 (dadhannṛtam dhanayannasya dhītim-ādidaryo)' Ṛg. X 67.2 (ṛtaṁ śaṁsanta ṛju dīdhyānā...yajñasya dhāma prathamam mananta) 'the Aṅgirasas,, declaring the ṛta and reflecting straightforwardly first thought of the abode of Yajña'; Ṛg. X. 37.1 (maho devāya tad-ṛtam saparyata, 'offer this ṛta to the great God').

The conception of ṛta as a moral imperative occurs in several passages. Ṛg. I. 90.6 (madhu vātā ṛtāyate madhu kṣaranti sindhavaḥ) 'the winds carry sweets, the rivers do the same to him who keeps ṛta'; Ṛg. V. 12.2 'O Agni, that knowest ṛta, know ṛta alone (in me)......I shall not resort to magic either by force or by duplicity, I shall conform to ṛta of the reddish bull (i. e. of Agni)[5]; Ṛg. X. 87.11 'O Agni! may the evil spirit who injures ṛta by anṛta be thrice bound in thy fetters'. Yama in rejecting Yamī's advances says (Ṛg. X. 10.4) 'What indeed we never did before (shall we do it now?); shall we who have spoken ṛta (so far) now speak anṛta?' (ṛtā vadanto anṛtaṁ rapema).

In two or three instances ṛta appears to be almost personified and invoked as a divinity. 'O Agni! for us offer sacrifice to Mitra and Varuṇa, to the gods and to the great (bṛhat) ṛta' (Ṛg I. 75. 5). Similarly, in Ṛg. X. 66.4 the great (*mahat*) ṛta is mentioned alongside of Aditi, Heaven and Earth, Indra, Viṣṇu, the Maruts &c.

Ṛta and *satya* were distinguished in several passages of the Ṛgveda. For example, Ṛg. V. 51.2 speaks of the Viśve Devas as 'ṛtadhītayaḥ' (whose thoughts were fixed on ṛta) and 'satyadharmāṇaḥ' (whose characteristic is truth or whose dharmas are true). In Ṛg. IX. 113.4 ṛta and satya both occur and appear to mean almost the same thing. In Ṛg. X. 190.1 ṛta and satya are distinguished as having sprung from '*tapas*'. Ṛta involves a wider conception and satya had originally a restricted meaning (viz. truth or static order). The word anṛta, however, is the

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5. ऋतं चिकित्व ऋतमिच्चिकिद्ध्यृतस्य धारा अनु तृन्धि पूर्वीः । नाहं यातुं सहसा न द्वयेन ऋतं सपाम्यरुषस्य वृष्णः । ऋ. V. 12.2.

opposite of both ṛta and satya as may be seen from Ṛg. X. 10.4, Ṛg. VII. 49.3 (Varuṇa who marks the *satya* and *anṛta* of people), Ṛg. X. 124.5 (Varuṇa who separates anṛta by means of *ṛta*). Gradually, however, the word *ṛta* receded into the back-ground and *satya* took its place even in Vedic literature, though here and there (as in Tai. Up. II. 1 and I.9.1) both *ṛta* and *satya* are found in juxtaposition.

The sages of the Ṛgveda were acutely conscious of sin or guilt and pray to the gods, particularly to Varuṇa and the Ādityas, for forgiveness and for being freed from the consequences of sin. In this connection they employ numerous words such as *āgas*, *enas*, *agha*, *durita*, *duṣkṛta*, *drugdha*, *aṁhas*. A few examples of the employment of these words may be cited here. The most frequent words are *āgas* and *enas*, both of which appear to import sin in its deepest and most ethical sense. Ṛg. VII. 86 is a hymn to Varuṇa in which there are several verses that breathe a deep and heart-felt consciousness of guilt. The sage begins in verse 3 by saying that all wise men of whom he inquired told him the same thing viz. 'Varuṇa is angry with you'. Then the sage proceeds 'O Varuṇa! what is that great guilt (*āgas*) (of mine) whereby you desire to injure your worshipper and a friend? Declare that to me, then I shall quickly approach thee with an obeisance and be free from sin (*enas*). Cast away from us the transgressions (*drugdha*) of our father and those that we committed in our own person;...free Vasiṣṭha (from guilt) like a calf from the rope (that binds it)'. In Ṛg. VII. 89.5 (almost equal to Atharva-veda VI. 51.3) the sage says 'whatever transgressions (abhidroha) we who are mere men have practised as against the divine hosts and whatever *dharmas* laid down by you we may have confounded through our ignorance (or heedlessness) do not destroy us on account of that guilt (*enas*).' It will be noticed that in these verses the words *āgas*, *abhidroha* and *enas* are employed in the same verses and therefore practically mean the same thing. In Ṛg. II. 27.14 the sage prays 'O Aditi! O Mitra! O Varuṇa! take pity on us though we may have committed some sin against you'. In Ṛg. II. 28.5 Varuṇa is implored to loosen sin (*āgas*) from the devotee just like a girdle. Ṛg. VIII. 45.34 states: 'O Indra! do not kill us for one sin, for two sins or three sins or for many (āgas).' In Ṛg. II. 29.1 the Ādityas are implored[6] 'cast away from me sin (āgas) as a woman who gives birth to a child in secret'. For some other passages

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6. धृतव्रता आदित्या इषिरा आरे मत्कर्त रहसूरिवागः। ऋ. II. 29.1.

in which *āgas* or its opposite *anāgas* occurs, vide Ṛg. I. 162.22, I. 185. 8, II.29.5, IV. 12.4, IV. 54.3, VII. 51.1, VII. 57.4, V. 85.7, VII. 87.7, VII. 93.7, X. 36.12, X. 37.7 and 9. *Āgas* and *enas* are employed in the same verse, Ṛg. IV.12.4 'O Agni! Whatever sin (āgas) we may have committed through heedlessness make us free from it before Aditi and loosen from us our sins (*enas*) from all sides'.

Some more passages about *enas* are: Ṛg. VI. 51·7 'May we not have to enjoy (i. e. suffer for) the *enas* committed by another' and Ṛg. VI. 51·8 'Whatever sin be committed by me I shall remove it by obeisance'; Ṛg. VI. 74·3 'O Soma and Rudra! Loosen from us and cast away from us whatever sin attaches to our person'; Ṛg. VII. 20·1 'Indra is our saviour even from a great sin'; vide also Ṛg. I. 189. 1, II. 28. 7, VII. 52. 2. The word '*agha*', also seems to mean sin. 'Apa naḥ śośucad-agham' (may our sins perish) is the refrain of Ṛg. 1.97. 1–8. 'O gods! May your fetters and may sins (*aghāni*) be far away from us' (II. 29. 5, in which verse in the first half 'āgaḥ' occurs); X. 117. 6 (kevalāgho bhavati kevalādī) 'one who simply eats food alone (without offering to others) reaps only sin'.

Another word is *aṁhas*. The following passages may be cited. In Ṛg. II. 28. 6 Varuṇa is implored 'remove *aṁhas* (sin) as one removes the rope from the (neck) of the calf; one has not the power even to wink without you (your favour)' [7]. It should be noted that in the preceding verse (II. 28.5) already quoted the simile of the girdle is employed with regard to *āgas*. 'May Indra take us away from *aṁhas* as persons on both sides (of a river) call one who is going in a boat' (Ṛg. III. 32. 14.); 'No evil caused by the gods or by men reaches him from any side who worships Agni with fuel, oblation or sacrifice[8]' Ṛg. VIII. 19. 6; 'May Aditi, the mother of the affluent Mitra and Varuṇa, save us from all sin' (Ṛg. X. 36. 3).[9] Ṛg. X. 36. 2 also prays Heaven and Earth, the upholders of ṛta, to protect the sage from 'aṁhas'. Vide also Ṛg. X. 126. 2.

Another important word is *vṛjina* which is often placed in opposition to *sādhu* or *ṛju*. The Ādityas are said to 'see inside

7. दामेव वत्साद्वि मुमुग्ध्यंहो नहि त्वदारे निमिषश्चनेशे। ऋ. II. 28·6; compare II. 28·5 'वि मच्छ्रथाय रशनामिवाग ऋध्याम ते वरुण खामृतस्य।'.

8. न तमंहो देवकृतं कुतश्चन न मर्त्यकृतं नशत्। ऋ. VIII. 19·6

9. विश्वस्मान्नो अदितिः पात्वंहसो माता मित्रस्य वरुणस्य रेवतः। ऋ. X. 36·3.

(the hearts of men) sins as well as good (thoughts and actions)'[10] and it is added that everything though far-off is near to them who are kings. In Ṛg. II. 27. 2 the Ādityas are called 'avṛjināḥ' (free from *vṛjina*). The Sun is said to mark among men their right and sinful deeds (Ṛg. IV. 1. 17). The same words (ṛju marteṣu vṛjinā ca paśyan) occur in Ṛg. VI. 51. 2 and VII. 60.2 about the Sun.

The word '*anṛta*' is often used in the Ṛgveda. It has already been shown how Varuṇa is said to mark the *satya* and *anṛta* of men. In Ṛg. VII. 60. 5 it is said 'these gods, Mitra, Aryaman and Varuṇa mark (or know) many sins; they flourish in the abode of ṛta'. Ṛg. VII. 66. 13 calling Mitra, Varuṇa and Aryaman haters of anṛta has already been quoted (in n. 4).

The word '*durita*' is sometimes used in the sense of sin. In Ṛg. I. 23. 22 the waters are invoked as follows:[11] 'O waters! carry away from me whatever sin may exist in me, whatever transgressions I may have been guilty of as regards my sensual appetite or whatever falsehood I may have uttered'. Here all three words 'durita, droha and anṛta' are brought together and convey almost the same idea, viz. sin or guilt against the law of the Gods. In Ṛg. I. 185. 10 Heaven and Earth are called father and mother and are invoked to save the worshipper from *durita* (sin) which involves blame (pātām-avadyād-duritād). 'Avadya' means 'garhya' acc. to Pāṇ. III. 1. 101. Ṛg. VII. 82. 7 states 'Him neither *aṁhas* (sin) nor *durita* nor worry reaches from anywhere to whose sacrifice you go, O Mitra and Varuṇa!'. In Ṛg. X. 126. 1 'aṁhas' and 'durita' are brought together (na tam-aṁho na duritam devāso aṣṭa martyam). In Ṛg. VIII. 67. 21 the words aṁhati and rapas[12] seem to be employed in the sense of sin. 'Duṣkṛta' (evil deed) is used in the sense of sin in Ṛg. VIII. 47. 13 and in Ṛg. X. 164. 3 Agni is implored to keep far away from the worshipper all sins[13]. The word 'pāpa' generally[14]

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10. अन्तः पश्यन्ति वृजिनोत साधु सर्वं राजभ्यः परमा चिदन्ति । ऋ. II. 27·3 ; आ सूर्यो बृहतस्तिष्ठदज्राँ ऋजु मर्तेषु वृजिना च पश्यन् ॥ ऋ. IV. 1·17.

11. इदमापः प्रवहत यत्किं च दुरितं मयि । यद्वाहमभिदुद्रोह यद्वा शेप उतानृतम् ॥ ऋ. I. 23·22. शेप (or-फ) means मेढ्र.

12. वि षु द्वेषो व्यंहतिमादित्यासो वि संहितम् । विष्वग्वि वृहता रपः ॥ ऋ. VIII. 67·21; 'रपः रिप्रमिति पापनामनी भवतः' निरुक्त IV. 21.

13. यदाविर्यदपीच्यं देवासो अस्ति दुष्कृतम् । त्रिते तद्विश्वमाप्त्य आरे अस्मद्दधातन ...॥ ऋ. VIII. 47·13; अग्निर्विश्वान्यप दुष्कृतान्यजुष्टान्यारे अस्मद्दधातु ॥ ऋ. X. 164.3

14. पापमाहुर्यः स्वसारं निगच्छात् । ऋ. X. 10·12; पापासः सन्तो अनृता असत्या इदं पदमजनता गभीरम् ॥ ऋ. IV. 5·5.

occurs in the Ṛg. in the sense of 'sinner' (Ṛg. VIII. 61. 11, X. 10. 12, IV. 5. 5) or 'sinful' or 'evil' (Ṛg. X. 108. 6, X. 164.5, I. 129. 11). In Ṛg. VII. 32. 18, VII. 94. 3, VIII. 19. 26 'pāpatva' occurs and appears to mean 'sinfulness'. In the Brāhmaṇas 'pāpam' (neuter) occurs in the sense of 'sin' as in Śat. Br. XI. 2. 7. 19; vide also[15] Ait. Br. 33. 5. In the Upaniṣads 'pāpam' means 'sin' (e. g. in Tai. Up. II. 9, Chāndogya IV. 14. 3). Certain important modifications of the doctrine about sin and *Karma* were introduced in the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā, which will be discussed later on.

In spite of the voluminous references to the consciousness of guilt and sin in the Ṛgveda and to the transgression of divine laws briefly indicated above, European scholars were not wanting who boldly affirmed that the idea of sin was altogether unknown to the Ṛgvedic sages. Vide S. B. E. vol. I, p. XXII where Max-Müller replies 'the gradual growth of the concept of guilt is one of the most interesting lessons which certain passages of these ancient hymns can teach us.'

How sin arises in the individual mind has been a difficult problem at all times[16]. Men are conscious of the sins they commit, though they may have no definite conclusions or theories about the origin of sin. In the Ṛg. VII. 86. 6 a sage[17] pleads with Varuṇa that sin is not due to a man's own power, but it is rather due to fate, to *surā* (intoxicants), to anger, dice or heedlessness and even dream state leads one to commit what is not right. In the Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇopaniṣad (III. 9) it is stated: 'the Lord of all makes that man perform good works whom He desires to raise to higher worlds

15. स होवाचाजीगर्तः सौयवसिस्तद्वै मा तात तपति पापं कर्म मया कृतम्। ऐ. ब्रा. 33.5 (=VII.17.)

16. Christianity seems to have solved it by stating that the source of actual sin is the Devil (Matthew 13. 39) and by the legend of Adam's Fall (vide Romans 5. 12 'as by one man sin entered into the world and death by sin') it affirmed that there was a dose of original sin in all men. In modern times many people don't accept the idea of 'original sin'; for example, Sir Oliver Lodge says (in his article on 'Christian Doctrine') in Hibbert Journal for 1903–4 at p. 466 "As for 'original sin' or 'birth sin' or other notion of that kind ... that sits absolutely lightly on him (the man of to-day). As a matter of fact it is non-existent, and none but a monk could have invented it'.

17. न स्वो दक्षो वरुण ध्रुतिः सा सुरा मन्युर्विभीदको अचित्तिः। अस्ति ज्यायान्कनीयस उपारे स्वप्नश्चनेदनृतस्य प्रयोता॥ ऋ. VII. 86.6.

than these and He makes that man commit bad deeds whom He wishes to drag down'.[18] Here it appears to be suggested that some men are chosen by God for being saved and some are chosen for being damned. This sounds like the Calvinistic doctrine of pre-destination. In the Bhagavadgītā (III. 36) Arjuna questions Śrīkṛṣṇa as follows: 'impelled by whom does a man commit sin as if constrained thereto by force, even though he does not desire to do so'? The answer given is (III. 37) 'it is lust and anger springing from the element (*guṇa*) of *rajas* (passion) that are the enemies of man in this world. In another place the Bhagavadgītā (XVI. 21) says 'this[19] is the three-fold door or entrance to Hell that is ruinous to the self viz. lust, anger and greed; therefore a man must shun these three.' But it must be said that this does not go to the real root of the matter. The question is why should carnal lust, anger or greed themselves arise in the mind of man. The only answer that is indicated is in accordance with the tenets of the Sāṁkhya philosophy viz. that there are three guṇas, *sattva, rajas* and *tamas* which combine in various proportions in different men and that it is *rajo-guṇa* that is the cause of man's sinfulness. In the Śānti-parva, chap. 163, it is stated that there are thirteen very powerful enemies of men beginning with anger (*krodha*) and *kāma* (lust) and it is said that krodha springs from *lobha* (covetousness), which latter arises from ignorance (verses 7 and 11). But there is no satisfactory discussion of the origin of ignorance in that chapter. Gautama 19.2 observes[20] that 'man in this world is polluted by a vile action such as sacrificing for a man unworthy to offer a sacrifice, eating forbidden food, speaking what ought not to be spoken, *neglecting what is prescribed* and *practising what is forbidden*'. Yājñavalkya III. 219 prescribes: 'by

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18. एष ह्येव साधु कर्म कारयति तं यमेभ्यो लोकेभ्य उन्निनीषत एष उ एवासाधु कर्म कारयति तं यमधो निनीषते। कौषीतकिब्रा. उप. III. 9. This is the basis of Brahmasūtra II. 1.34 and II. 3.41.

19. त्रिविधं नरकस्येदं द्वारं नाशनमात्मनः। कामः क्रोधस्तथा लोभस्तस्मादेतत्त्रयं त्यजेत्॥ भगवद्गीता XVI. 21 = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 33.6.

20. विहितस्याननुष्ठानान्निन्दितस्य च सेवनात्। अनिग्रहाच्चेन्द्रियाणां नरः पतनमृच्छति॥ या. III. 219; अकुर्वन् विहितं कर्म प्रतिषिद्धानि चाचरन्॥ प्रायश्चित्तीयते ह्येवं नरो मिथ्या तु वर्तयन्॥ शान्तिपर्व 34.2. गौतम appears to mention the two causes of the rise of sin stated by Yāj. in the first half of III. 219 'अथ खल्वयं पुरुषो याप्येन कर्मणा लिप्यते यथैतदयाज्ययाजनमभक्ष्यभक्षणमवद्यवदनं शिष्टस्याक्रिया प्रतिषिद्धसेवनमिति। गौ. 19.2. शबर on जै. XII. 3.16 echoes the very words of गौ. viz. शिष्टस्याक्रिया प्रतिषिद्धसेवनमिति'.

omitting to do what is ordained, by resorting to what is condemned (prohibited) and by not controlling the senses, man incurs fall (i. e. sin)'. Manu XI. 44 and Śāntiparva 34.2 are similar verses. The Mitākṣarā explains that matters ordained are such as performing *Sandhyā* (morning and evening adorations) and Agnihotra and what are condemned are such actions as drinking liquor. Viśvarūpa explains that *patana* (fall or sinfulness) in Yāj. III. 219 is not used in the technical sense attached to that word by Gautama 21.4 viz. 'to be a *patita* means to be deprived of the right to follow the lawful occupations of twice-born men,' but it is used only in the sense that the man so acting (as mentioned in Yāj. III. 219) becomes liable to undergo prāyaścitta and that the words of Gautama (21.4) are restricted only to what are called mahāpātakas. The word *pātaka* is derived from the causal of the root '*pat*.' Vide Medhātithi on Manu XI.54 'pātakaśabdaḥ pātayatīti vyutpattyā sarva-vyatikrameṣu vartate' and Madanapārijāta p. 786. In ancient works the word *pataniya* (meaning the cause of *patana*) has been employed as in Āp. Dh. S. I. 7.21.7. The Pr. V. (p. 35) paraphrases patanīyāni by 'pātakāni' and derives it from the root 'pat' (*patatyanena iti patanīyam*) with the addition of the termination 'anīya' according to Pāṇ. III. 3.113. The word occurs also in Yāj. II. 210, III. 297, Śaṅkha quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 237 (in prose) and other smṛtis.

The enumeration of sinful acts and the classifications of sins into several degrees or grades has gone on from very ancient times. In the Ṛg. X. 5. 6 it is said[21] 'the wise made (lit. chiselled) seven limits; the man who goes against even one of them becomes sinful'. The Nirukta (VI. 27) explains that the seven sins indicated in this verse are 'theft, violating the bed (of the *guru*), murder of a brāhmana, murder of a bhrūṇa, drinking of liquor, continual performance of the same sinful act, telling a lie as to a sinful matter'. Ṛg. VII. 86. 6 quoted above (in n. 17) makes it clear that drinking *surā* and playing with dice were regarded as sinful. From the Tai. S. II. 5. 1. 2, V. 3. 12. 1–2, Śat. Br. XIII. 3. 1. 1. and other Brāhmaṇa texts it appears that the murder of a brāhmaṇa was generally regarded in early vedic times as the gravest of all sins, though in the Kāṭhaka saṁhitā (31. 7) it is stated that there is no sin as

21. सप्त मर्यादाः कवयस्ततक्षुस्तासामेकामिदभ्यंहुरो गात्। ऋ. X. 5.6; सप्त एव मर्यादाः कवयश्चक्रुः। तासामेकामपि अधिगच्छन्नंहस्वान् भवति। स्तेयं तल्पारोहणं ब्रह्महत्यां भ्रूणहत्यां सुरापानं दुष्कृतस्य कर्मणः पुनः पुनः सेवां पातके अनृतोद्यमिति। निरुक्त VI. 27.

heinous as killing a bhrūṇa which is even worse than brāhmaṇa murder)[22]. The Tai. Br. in detailing the story of Ekata, Dvita and Trita who was made a scapegoat for keeping off sins, enumerates the following sinners, viz. sūryābhyudita (one who sleeps on when the sun rises), sūryābhinimrukta (one who slept when the sun set), one who has black nails or teeth, *agradidhuṣu* (one who married a younger sister while the elder sister was yet unmarried), the elder brother remaining unmarried even though a younger brother has married, one who allows his sacred sacrificial fires to be extinguished, the killer of a brāhmaṇa.[23]. It may be noticed that most of these occur almost in the same order in Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 12. 22 where it is[24] said that though

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22. Bhrūṇahan is either a killer of a learned brāhmaṇa or the killer of a foetus when its sex is not known. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 148n and vol. III. p. 612n for quotations and explanations. It may be noted that the four main prohibitions contained in the Decalogue (Exodus, chap. 20. 13-16 and Deut. 5. 17-20) against killing human beings, theft, adultery and bearing false witness are to be found in all well-known religious or moral codes.

23. ते देवा आप्त्येष्वमृजत। आप्त्या अमृजत सूर्याभ्युदिते। सूर्याभ्युदितः सूर्याभिनिम्रुक्ते। सूर्याभिनिम्रुक्तः कुनखिनि। कुनखी श्यावदति। श्यावदन्नग्रादिधिषौ। अग्रादिधिषुः परिवित्ते। परिवित्तो वीरहणि। वीरहा ब्रह्महणि। तद् ब्रह्महणं नात्यच्यवत्। तै. ब्रा. III. 2. 8.11. In the corresponding story in the काठकसंहिता (31.7) we read श्यावदन्परिवित्ते परिवित्तः परिविविदाने परिविविदानोऽग्रेदिधिषौ अग्रेदिधिषुर्दिधिषूपतौ दिधिषूपतिर्वीरहणि...ब्रह्महणि ब्रह्महा भ्रूणहनि भ्रूणहनमेनो नात्येति।. The story of Trita is briefly referred to in the Atharvaveda (VI. 113). The germ of it is found in Ṛg. VIII. 47.13 quoted above in n. 13.

24. अभिनिम्रुक्ताभ्युदित—कुनखिश्यावदन्ताग्रेदिधिषू—दिधिषूपतिपर्याहितपरीष्ट—परिवित्त-परिविन्न-परिविविदानेषु चोत्तरोत्तरस्मिन्नशुचिकरानिर्वेशो गरीयान् गरीयान्। आप. II. 5. 12 22. It may be noted that both brothers (elder and younger) and sisters (elder and younger) were held guilty of sin in case of supercession in marriage. परिवित्त and परिविन्न often mean the same thing (viz. an elder brother before whom a younger brother marries or consecrates sacrificial fires). Vide Manu III. 171-172. Acc. to Manu III. 173 a didhiṣūpati is one who feels love for his brother's widow and has intercourse with her under the system of *niyoga*. परिविविदान is the same as परिवेत्ता. अग्रेदिधिषु or -षू is explained by Devala and by Aparārka p. 451, by Haradatta on Gaut. 15.15 and Mit. on Yāj. III. 26 as 'a younger sister who marries before her elder sister' and दिधिषु or दिधिषू is the elder sister who is thus superceded by a younger one. In Āp. the word पति is to be connected with both अग्रेदिधिषू and दिधिषू. The Amarakośa explains दिधिषू differently. शङ्खस्मृति (17. 43-44) makes even the father or other guardian for marriage getting a younger son or daughter married before an elder one and the priest officiating at such a marriage equally guilty. 'परिवित्तिः परिवेत्ता यया च परिविद्यते। सर्वे संवत्सरं कुर्युर्व्रतं याजकपञ्चमाः ॥'.

these actions are not to be styled *pataniyas* according to Āp. yet they cause impurity which being greater and greater in each succeeding one requires higher and higher penances. Āp. adds a few more sinners to those in the Tai. Br. viz. *didhiṣupati* (husband of an elder sister whose younger sister was married before her), *paryāhita* (an elder brother before whom a younger brother kindled fires), *parivividāna* (a younger brother who takes his share of the ancestral property before his elder brother), *parivinna* (an elder brother before whom a younger brother takes away his share of the ancestral property). The Chāndogya Upaniṣad[25] (V. 10. 9.) quotes a verse that declares that the five great sinners are the thief of gold, the drinker of *surā*, the violator of the *guru's* bed, the murderer of a brāhmaṇa, and one who associates with any of the preceding four. The Bṛ. Up. (IV. 3. 22) mentions as great sinners the thief and the murderer of a *bhrūṇa*.

Coming to the sūtras there is great divergence as to the classification of sins and the enumeration of sins in each class. The Āp. Dh. S. divides sins into two classes viz. *patanīya* (those that cause loss of caste), *aśucikara* (those that cause impurity, though no loss of caste is caused). Āp. Dh. S. (I. 7.21.7-11) states that *patanīya* sins are theft (of gold), crimes whereby one becomes an *abhiśasta*, complete loss (by neglect) of the Vedic learning that one secured by study, destruction of a foetus, incestuous connection with relations born of the same womb as one's father or mother and with the children of such persons, drinking of *surā*, intercourse with persons with whom intercourse is forbidden, intercourse with the female friend of one's female guru (mother &c.) or with the female friend of one's *guru* (father &c.) and with the wife of any stranger, constant commission of immoral acts (*adharma*) other than those already mentioned. Āp. Dh. S. I. 7.21.10 notes that, according to some, intercourse with a woman who is not the wife of a *guru* is not a patanīya sin. Among acts which render a man impure are (Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 12-18) the cohabitation of an Ārya woman with śūdras, eating the flesh of forbidden animals such as that of a dog or a human being or village cock or pig or other carnivorous animals, eating the excrement of human beings, partaking of food left by a śūdra, and cohabitation by Ārya men with apapātra

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25. तदेष श्लोकः। स्तेनो हिरण्यस्य सुरां पिबंश्च गुरोस्तल्पमावसन् ब्रह्महा चैते पतन्ति चत्वारः पञ्चमश्चाचरंस्तैः॥ इति। छां. उप. V. 10.9.

women.[26] According to some, those acts that are declared to be *aśucikara* are also *patanīyas*. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 7.21.19) states that acts other than those enumerated are also aśucikara. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 24.6–9) enumerates those who are *abhiśasta*, viz. one who slays a person belonging to the first two varṇas (viz. brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya) who had studied the Veda or who had been initiated for the performance of a soma sacrifice, one who kills a mere brāhmaṇa (though he may not have studied the Veda or be not initiated for a soma sacrifice), also one who destroys the embryo of a brāhmaṇa even though its sex be undistinguishable, or slays a woman who is an *ātreyī* (in her monthly course). The Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra divides[27] sinners into three classes, viz. those who are *enasvins*, those guilty of mahāpātakas and those guilty of upapātakas (I. 19–23). Among those who are styled *enasvinaḥ* are those mentioned in Āp. Dh. S. II. 5.12.22, with this difference that the 'brahmojjha', who is included among 'patanīyas' by Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 9 is put among 'enasvins' by Vasiṣṭha. In Vas. 20. 4–12 special prāyaścittas for each of these 'enasvinaḥ' (ordinary sinners) are prescribed. The Mahāpātakas (mortal sins) according to Vasiṣṭha are five, viz (violating) a *guru's* bed, drinking of spirituous liquor, murder of a bhrūṇa (a learned brāhmaṇa), stealing gold from a brāhmaṇa and associating with a *patita*. Those guilty of upapātakas (minor sins) are: He who forsakes sacred Vedic fires, he who offends a guru, an atheist, he who earns his livelihood from atheists, and he who sells the soma plant. The Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra[28] (II. 1) divides sins into *patanīya*, *upapātaka* and *aśucikara*. Among the first it cites making voyages by sea, stealing the property of a brāhmaṇa or misappropriating a deposit, giving false evidence

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26. For the meaning of *apapātra* vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 309n and 785n. For the meaning of *ātreyī*, vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 527 note 970.

27. सूर्याभ्युदितः सूर्याभिनिर्मुक्तः कुनखी श्यावदन्तः परिवित्तिः परिवेत्ताग्रेदिधिषूर्दिधिषूपतिर्वीरहा ब्रह्मोज्झ इत्येनस्विनः । पञ्च महापातकान्याचक्षते । गुरुतल्पं सुरापानं भ्रूणहत्या ब्राह्मणसुवर्णापहरणं पतितसंयोगश्च ब्राह्मेण वा यौनेन वा । ... योऽग्नीनपविध्येद्गुरुं च यः प्रतिबध्नुयान्नास्तिको नास्तिकवृत्तिः सोमं च विक्रीणीयादित्युपपातकानि । वसिष्ठ I. 19–23.

28. अथ पतनीयानि । समुद्रसंयानम् । ब्रह्मस्वन्यासापहरणम् । भूम्यनृतम् । सर्वपण्यैर्व्यवहरणम् । शूद्रसेवनम् । शूद्राभिजननम् । तदपत्यत्वं च । ... अथोपपातकानि । अगम्यागमनं गुर्वीसखीं गुरुसखीमपपात्रां पतितां गत्वा भेषजकरणं ग्रामयाजनं रङ्गोपजीवनं नाट्याचार्यता गोमहिषीरक्षणं यच्चान्यदप्येवं युक्तं कन्यादूषणमिति । ... अथाशुचिकराणि । द्यूतमभिचारोऽनाहिताग्नेरुञ्छवृत्तिता समावृत्तस्य भैक्षचर्या तस्य चैव गुरुकुले वास ऊर्ध्वं चतुर्भ्यो मासेभ्यस्तस्य चाध्यापनं नक्षत्रनिर्देशश्चेति । बौ. ध. सू. II. 1.50–56, 60–61, 63–64,

regarding land (dispute), trading with merchandise of all descriptions, serving śūdras, begetting a son on a female of the śūdra caste and begetting a child (either male or female) from her[29]. The upapātakas, acc. to Bāud. Dh. S. (II. 1. 60-61), are: intercourse with females who must not be approached, cohabitation with the female friend of a female *guru* or with the female friend of a male *guru* or with an apapātra woman or with a female outcast, following the profession of medicine, officiating as a priest for a village, living by dramatic performances, following the profession of a teacher of dancing or singing or acting, tending cows and buffaloes[30] and similar (low occupations) and fornication. Among aśucikara (causing impurity), Baud. Dh. S. mentions gambling, black magic, subsisting by gleaning corn fallen in the field by one who has not consecrated sacred fires, subsisting by begging on the part of one who has returned to his home after finishing Vedic study, staying for more than four months at his teacher's seminary on the part of him who has finished his studies, teaching one who has finished his studies, gaining livelihood by astrology. Gautama (21. 1-3) appears to include among patanīyas the usual five mortal sins and also some of those that are mentioned by Āp. Dh. S. (I. 7. 21. 9-11) and Vasiṣṭha I. 23 (such as *nāstika*) and adds a few more (such as not casting off persons guilty of patanīyas, forsaking blameless relatives and instigating others to commit acts causing loss[31] of caste.

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29. That this is the correct translation of Baud. and not the one in S. B. E. vol. XIV p. 218 'becoming thereby her son' is clear from Manu III. 16 'शौनकस्य सुतोत्पत्त्या तदपत्यतया भृगोः'. Saunaka condemned the begetting of a son from a śūdra female (and not the begetting of a daughter), while Bhṛgu condemned the begetting of a child (whether male or female did not matter).

30. It must be supposed that these lists relate to brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas alone. Trading with merchandise or tending cows could not have been regarded as patanīya for Vaiśyas since trade and tending cows have been always prescribed as their special avocations. Vide Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 10. 7, Gaut. X. 50, Manu X. 79, Yāj. I. 119. Following the profession of medicine or living by teaching dancing or by going on the stage made brāhmaṇas unfit to be invited at a śrāddha. Vide Gaut. 15. 15-16 for long lists of those brāhmaṇas who were not to be invited at Śrāddha dinners &c.

31. ब्रह्महसुरापगुरुतल्पगमातृपितृयोनिसम्बन्धागस्तेननास्तिकनिन्दितकर्माभ्यासि-पतितात्याग्यपतितत्यागिनः पतिताः । पातकसंयोजकाश्च । तैश्चाब्दं समाचरन् ।...कौटसाक्ष्यं राजगामि पैशुनं गुरोरनृताभिशंसनं महापातकसमानि । अपंक्त्यानां प्राग्दुर्बालाद् गोहन्तृब्रह्मघ्न-तन्मन्त्रकृदवकीर्णिपतितसावित्रीकेषूपपातकम् । गौतम 21.1-3, 10-11.

The above statement about the classification of sins and their inclusion among the several classes or grades of sins will show that among the early sūtra works there was no general agreement about the nature and number of mahāpātakas, upapātakas and other classes of sins, even though as early as the Chāndogya Upaniṣad the mortal sins had been declared to be five. It must be supposed that that Upaniṣad represented only one school of thought in the times of Āp., Baud. and Gaut., who did not entirely accept the tradition of that Upaniṣad, but followed other divergent ideas. It is impossible to suppose that the verse quoted in that Upaniṣad is later than the Dharmasūtras of Āp., Gaut., Baud., and Vas.

It appears that Kātyāyana[32] divided sinful acts into five classes viz. *mahāpāpa* (mortal sins), *atipāpa* (the highest sins than which there is nothing worse), *pātaka* (sins similar to mahāpātakas), *prāsaṅgika* (due to association or contact) and *upapātaka* (minor sins). The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa also says that those sins that are declared to be equal to mahāpātakas (by Manu and others) are called pātakas. Vṛddha-Hārīta also (IX. 215–216) speaks of five kinds viz. *mahāpāpa*, *pātaka*, *anupātaka*, *upapāpa* and *prakīrṇaka* (miscellaneous) and states (IX. 216–218) that those sins which are said to be like mahāpātaka are pātakas, that anupātakas are sins lesser than pātakas, that upapātakas are lesser than pātakas and *prakīrṇaka* sins are the least sinful of all. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (33.3–5) speaks of nine kinds of lapses viz. atipātaka, mahāpātaka, anupātaka, upapātaka, jātibhraṁśakara (effecting loss of caste), saṅkarīkaraṇa, (rendering one as degraded as a man of a mixed caste), apātrīkaraṇa (rendering the perpetrator unworthy of receiving a gift), malāvaha (causing defilement) and prakīrṇaka (miscellaneous). Atipātakas, acc. to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 34.1, are sexual intercourse with one's mother, daughter or daughter-in-law and the only expiation for them is entering fire. Manu omits the separate mention of atipātaka and anupātaka and includes most of them under those that he designates as equal to one of the four well-known mahāpātakas. Kātyāyana quoted in the Prāyaścittamuktāvali of Divākara (folio 3 a) adds sexual intercourse with one's sister as atipātaka to the three mentioned by Viṣṇu

32. कात्यायनेन तु महापातकसमानां विष्णुनानुपातकत्वेनोक्तानां पातकसंज्ञा दर्शिता। मिता. on या. III. 242.; महापातकतुल्यानि पापान्युक्तानि यानि तु। तानि पातकसंज्ञानि तदूनं स्यादुपपातकम्। भविष्यपुराण (ब्राह्मपर्व 190.9.)

Hārīta Dh. S. (it appears) quoted by the Mit. knew[33] of a variety of pātakas called anupātaka, but from the way in which the several pātakas are arranged it looks as if *atipātaka* in Hārīta was a lesser sin than mahāpātaka. Manu (in chap. XI) refers to all the kinds of pātakas found in the Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra except atipātakas. Usually five mahāpātakas have been enumerated from the days of the Chāndogya Up. (quoted on p. 12) viz. brāhmaṇa murder, drinking spirituous liquor, theft (generally understood as theft of brāhmaṇa's gold), sexual intercourse with the wife of a *guru* and association with the perpetrators of any of these four (for a year[34]). Vide Vas. I. 19–20, Manu XI. 55, 180, Yāj. III. 227, 261), Viṣṇudharmsūtra 35.1–5, Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 174. Manu mentions certain sins as equal to Mahāpātakas which are styled anupātakas by the Viṣṇudharmasūtra chap. 36. The most elaborate treatment of all kinds of sins in the smṛtis is found in Manu, Yāj and Viṣṇu. There is difference of opinion even among these three on certain points. For example, Manu[35] XI. 56 says that forgetting the Veda, reviling the Vedas, giving false evidence, slaying a friend, eating forbidden food and food that is unfit for eating or should not be eaten, are lapses similar to drinking *surā*; while Yāj. III. 228 states that three out of these (viz. reviling the Vedas, slaying a friend and forgetting the Veda studied by a person) along with the reviling of a *guru* by attributing false faults are similar to the murder of a brāhmaṇa. The result is that there is an option as to the expiation to be prescribed for these sins.

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33. यत्तु हारीतेनोक्तं—महापातकातिपातकानुपातकोपपातकानामेकतममेव संनिपाते चाऽघमर्षणमेव त्रिर्जपेत्—इति तन्निमित्तकर्तृविषयम् । मिता. on या. III. 301; in प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 69a) हारीत is quoted as follows: 'पञ्चविधमशुभं भवति मासाङ्क्योपपातकपातक-महापातकात्यन्तपातकानि' and it is remarked (folio 69 b) 'मासाङ्किकपदेन जातिभ्रंश-कराणि पारिशेष्याद् गृह्यन्ते.'

34. In the Mahābhāṣya Patañjali mentions at least three of these five: 'यो हि अजानन्वै ब्राह्मणं हन्यात्सुरां वा पिबेत्सोऽपि मन्ये पतितः स्यात्। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 2; ध्वंसते गुरुतल्पगः। महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 103; वृषलरूपोयम्। अद्ययं पलाण्डुना सुरां पिबेत्। महाभाष्य vol. II, p. 419 on वार्तिक 4 on पा. V. 3.66. In the Khoh copperplate of the Gupta year 214 (533–34 A. D.) it was stated that whoever interfered with the gift would incur the five mahāpātakas and the upapātakas (Gupta Inscriptions p 135).

35. ब्रह्मोज्झता वेदानिन्दा कौटसाक्ष्यं सुहृद्वधः। गर्हितानाद्ययोर्जग्धिः सुरापानसमानि षट् ॥ मनु XI. 56.; गुरूणामध्यधिक्षेपो वेदानिन्दा सुहृद्वधः। ब्रह्महत्यासमं ज्ञेयमधीतस्य च नाशनम् ॥ या. III 228. मेधातिथि explains: 'गर्हितं शास्त्रप्रतिषिद्धं लशुनादि। अनाद्यम-मनस्तुष्टिकरं न भोक्ष्य इति कल्प्य (सङ्कल्प्य?) यद्भुज्यते'।; compare गौतम 21.10 कौटसाक्ष्यं राजगामि पैशुनं गुरोरनृताभिशंसनमिति महापातकसमानि।

It would be desirable to give some details as regards each of the mahāpātakas and then to describe the other varieties of sins and then to set out the expiations prescribed for all of them. It should be noted that both the secular law of penalties and the ecclesiastical rules about expiations made a difference between a sinful act intentionally committed (*kāmataḥ*) and one committed through ignorance or heedlessness and between an act done only once (*sakṛt*) or done repeatedly (*asakṛt*)

Brahmahatyā. Hatyā or *vadha* (killing) is applied to an act which immediately or after some time results in causing loss of life directly without the intervention of any other cause.[36]. The Agnipurāṇa (173. 1), the Mit., the Prāyaścittaviveka (p. 47) and other works define what is meant by *vadha*. A man may be the cause of the death of a brāhmaṇa in five ways, viz. he may himself kill (i. e. he becomes the *kartā*), he may incite another to kill (*prayojaka*) by ordering that other to do so (as a king or noble by ordering his servant) or by imploring another to kill and giving advice about the killing, he may encourage another to kill by his own approval (anumantā), or by helping the killer when he wavers or by offering protection to the killer against others (anugrāhaka) and by becoming a *nimitta*.[37]

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 227 and 243 (quoting verses from Paiṭhīnasi) explains all these at length. For the definition of *anugrāhaka* it relies on a verse of Manu 'Where many persons are armed and have a common purpose in view, if even one of them kills a person, all of them are guilty of murder', which is very much like sec. 34 of the Indian Penal Code. This distinction into several degrees of killers is an ancient one and is based on Āp. Dh. S. II. 11. 29. 1-2 'He who[38] instigates, he who approves, and he who commits an act—these share its results in heaven and hell; but he amongst these who contributes most to

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36. हन्तिरयं प्राणवियोगकरणे व्यापारे रूढः। यद्व्यापारसमनन्तरं कालान्तरे वा कारणान्तरनिरपेक्षः प्राणवियोगो भवति स ब्राह्मणं हतवानिति ब्रह्महा। मिता. on या. III. 227; स्यात्प्राणवियोगफलो व्यापारो हननं स्मृतम्। अग्निपु. 173.1; quoted by प्राय०तत्त्व p. 519.

37. वधित्वं पञ्चविधं कर्ता प्रयोजकोऽनुमन्तानुग्राहको निमित्ती चेति। प्राय०वि. p. 47; अनुग्राहकश्च यः पलायमानमभिद्रुतमुपरुन्धन् परेभ्यश्च हन्तारं परिरक्षन् हन्तुर्हिंसामानमुपजनयन्नुपकरोति स उच्यते। अत एव मनुना ग्राहकस्य हिंसाफलसम्बन्धो दर्शितः। बहूनामेककार्याणां सर्वेषां शस्त्रधारिणाम्। यद्येको घातयेत्तत्र सर्वे ते घातकाः स्मृताः॥ इति। मिता. on या. III. 227. The verse बहूनामेक० occurs in अग्निपु. 173.3.

38. प्रयोजयिता मन्ता कर्तेति स्वर्गनरकफलेषु कर्मसु भागिनः। यो भूय आरभते तस्मिन् फलविशेषः॥ आप. ध. सू. II. 11.29. 1-2.

the accomplishment of the act obtains a greater share of the results'. A *nimittin*[39] is defined by Mit. as one that angers another (who is a brāhmaṇa) by rebuking or beating or depriving him of wealth and the like and in whose presence and on account of whom the brāhmaṇa that is angered kills himself. The Mit. quotes a verse of Viṣṇu and also another verse (without name) on this point. If a person kills a brāhmaṇa boy whose *upanayana* had not been performed he was yet regarded as guilty of brāhmaṇa murder.[40] The Sāmavidhāna Br. I. 7. 5, Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 24. 6-9), Vas. 20. 34, Manu XI. 87, Yāj. III. 251 held that killing even a kṣatriya or vaiśya who had studied the Veda or had been initiated for a *soma* sacrifice rendered the killer guilty of *brahmahatyā*, as also the killing of the foetus (of brāhmaṇa parents) whose sex was unknown and of a woman who was an ātreyī.[41] Killing a brāhmaṇa woman other than an ātreyī or other than the wife of a sacrificer engaged in a *soma* sacrifice was only an upapātaka, as Manu (XI. 66) and Yāj. (III. 236) lay down. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 264 says that no prāyaścitta can expiate the sin of killing a woman intentionally. In the case of the three varṇas other than that of brāhmaṇa some smṛtis like that of Cyavana[42] laid down other mahāpātakas in addition to the five, viz. punishing one who should not be punished and fleeing from the battle-field are additional *mahāpātakas* for kṣatriyas, employing false balances and weights for vaiśyas, the selling of flesh, injuring a brāhmaṇa, sexual intercourse with a brāhmaṇa woman, the drinking of the

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39. तथा योऽपि भर्त्सनताडनधनापहारादिना परान्कोपयति सोऽपि मरणहेतुभूतमन्युत्पादनद्वारेण हिंसाहेतुर्भवत्येव। अत एव विष्णुनोक्तम्। आक्रुष्टस्ताडितो वापि धनैर्वा विप्रयोजितः। यमुद्दिश्य त्यजेत् प्राणांस्तमाहुर्ब्रह्मघातकम्॥ तथा। ज्ञातिमित्रकलत्रार्थं सुहृत्क्षेत्रार्थमेव च। यमुद्दिश्य त्यजेत्प्राणांस्तमाहुर्ब्रह्मघातकम्॥ इति।. The प्राय. वि. p. 57 ascribes the first verse to षट्त्रिंशन्मत and the 2nd to बृहस्पति and cites two more verses of similar import from Bṛhaspati. The स्मृतिच. (प्राय.) p. 862 ascribes both verses to विष्णु and quotes similar verses from सुमन्तु. The verse आक्रुष्ट° is almost the same as अग्निपु. 173.4.

40. अत्र ब्राह्मणवधे संस्कृतत्वाविशेषणस्य केनाप्यप्रयुक्तत्वात् सर्वैर्मुनिभिर्ब्राह्मणपदस्यैव प्रयोगात्तस्य च जातिवचनत्वात् अनुपनीतब्राह्मणवधेऽपि महापातकम्। प्राय. वि. p. 86.

41. पूर्वयोर्वर्णयोर्वेदाध्यायं हत्वा सवनगतं वाभिशस्तः। ब्राह्मणमात्रं च। गर्भं च तदविज्ञातम्। आत्रेयीं च स्त्रियम्। आप. ध. सू. I. 9.24 6-9; राजन्यवैश्यौ सवनगतौ हत्वा ब्राह्मणवधकल्पेन कृच्छ्रानुद्धीयत्संवत्सरम्। सामविधानब्रा. I. 7.5.

42. क्षत्रियादीनामपरमपि महापातकमाह च्यवनः। ब्रह्महत्या सुरापानं गुरुतल्पं ब्राह्मणसुवर्णहरणं द्विजानां महापातकानि। अदण्ड्यदण्डनं युधि पलायनं क्षत्रियस्य। मानकूटतुलाकूटं वैश्यस्य। मांसविक्रयं ब्रह्महत्या ब्राह्मणीगमनं कपिलाक्षीरपानं शूद्रस्य। दीपकलिका on या. III. 227.

milk of a kapilā (dark-brown) cow in the case of śūdras. If a brāhmaṇa or any other human being or a cow died while a competent doctor was administering treatment to them by means of drugs, oils or food, or cauterization by cutting or by opening a vein the medical man incurred no sin.[43] But if a quack pretending to know medicine administered such treatment and death followed, Yāj. II. 242 prescribed various punishments. If a brāhmaṇa administers moderate corporal punishment to his son, pupil or wife for some fault and the son or pupil or wife suddenly dies he incurs no sin, according to the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa and the Agnipurāṇa.[44] Gautama (II. 48–50), Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 8. 29–30, Manu VIII. 299–300 (= Matsyapurāṇa 227. 152–154), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 81–82, Nārada (abhyupetyāśuśrūṣā 13–14) lay down that the punishment should be administered with a rope or bamboo slip on the back (but never on the head or chest) and Manu (VIII. 300) provides that if these restrictions were violated the punisher would incur the same guilt or punishment as a thief. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 362–363 for this topic.

One important question that very much exercised the minds of ancient and medieval Dharmaśāstra writers is whether a man can kill a brāhmaṇa ātatāyin in self-defence without incurring any sin or punishment by the king. There is great divergence of views on this point, which has been dealt with at some length in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 148–151 and vol. III pp. 517–518. The conclusion of the Mitākṣarā appears to voice the views of most writers that, if a brāhmaṇa comes as an ātatāyin (as an incendiary, as a poisoner, as a kidnapper of women or with the intention of killing or wresting a field), then in self-defence one may oppose him without incurring any sin, but that if the brāhmaṇa offender meets death though the defender did not desire to kill him (but only to stop him by causing injury short of death), the

43. क्रियमाणोपकारे तु मृते विप्रे न पातकम् । या. III. 284; औषधं स्नेहमाहारं ददद् गोब्राह्मणादिषु । दीयमाने विपत्तिः स्यान्न स पापेन लिप्यते ॥ संवर्त 138 (The Ānan. ed. reads last pāda as पुण्यमेव न पातकम्) q. by विश्वरूप on या. III. 262, by the मिता. on या. III. 227 (with two more verses), by प्राय. वि. p 56 (reads second half as प्राणिनां प्राणवृत्त्यर्थं प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते). The same verse occurs in यम 50, लघुशङ्ख 61, लघुहारीत 28. The मिता. and प्राय. वि. quote another verse as संवर्त's which is 'दाहच्छेद-शिराभेदप्रयत्नैरुपकुर्वताम् । प्राणसंत्राणसिद्ध्यर्थं प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते ॥'. The अग्निपुराण 173 5 has 'औषधाद्युपकारे तु न पापं स्यात् कृते मृते । पुत्रं शिष्यं तथा भार्यां शासतो न मृते ह्यघम् ॥.'

44. पुत्रः शिष्यस्तथा भार्या शासितश्चेद्विनश्यति । न शास्ता तत्र दोषेण लिप्यते देवसत्तम ॥ भविष्यपु. q. by प्राय. वि. p. 58; अग्निपु. 173.5 is similar.

defender is not liable to be punished by the king and he has to undergo a light expiation (i. e. he is not guilty of brāhmaṇa's murder).[45]

Surāpāna (drinking of *surā*) has been held to be a mahāpātaka. The word surā occurs several times in the Ṛgveda (*e. g.* Ṛg. I. 116.7, I. 191.10, VII. 86.6, VIII. 2.12, X. 107.9). Ṛg. VII. 86.6 quoted above (in note 17) clearly indicates that *surā* was looked upon by the Ṛgvedic singers as a cause of sin just as much as gambling. Ṛg. I. 116.7 (śatam kumbhān asiñcatam surāyāḥ) read with Ṛg. I. 117.6 (śatam...madhūnām) implies that madhu (honey or some sweet substance) might have been used in preparing *surā*. Soma was a beverage to be offered to the gods and to be drunk by the brāhmaṇa priests and was sharply distinguished from surā (e. g. in Tai. S. II.5. 1.1, Vāj. S. 19.7, Śat. Br. V. 1. 5.28). The last furnishes the striking antithesis '*soma* is truth, prosperity, light; and *surā* is untruth, misery, darkness'. It appears that long before the Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā brāhmaṇas had come to regard the drinking of surā as very sinful [XII. 12 'therefore the brāhmaṇa does not drink *surā* (with the idea) that (by drinking it) he may become affected by sin'].[46] The Chāndogya Up. (V. 10.9) speaks of the drinker of *surā* as a *patita*, while in V. 11.5 king[47] Aśvapati Kaikeya makes the boast before the five learned brāhmaṇas that had come to him for the knowledge of *Ātman Vaiśvānara* that in his kingdom there was no thief and no drinker of *madya*. Though Manu XI. 54 enumerates the drinking of *surā* among the five mahāpātakas, Yāj. III. 227 speaks of the *madyapa* (drinker of *madya*) as one of the five great sinners. Therefore we must explain what is meant by surā and when surāpāna becomes a mahāpātaka. By Manu XI. 93 surā is said to be the refuse of food and Manu XI. 94 states that *surā* is of three kinds, viz. that prepared from molasses, that from flour and that from madhūka flowers (or from honey). There is a great deal of discussion about *surā* in many of the digests and the propositions

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45. अतश्च ब्राह्मणस्य आततायिनश्च आत्मादित्राणार्थं हिंसानभिसन्धिना निवार्यमाणाः प्रमादाद्यदि विपद्येरंस्तत्र लघुप्रायश्चित्तं राजदण्डाभावश्चेति निश्चयः। मिता. on II. 21.

46. तस्माद् ब्राह्मणः सुरां न पिबति पाप्मना नेत्संसृज्या इति। काठक XII. 12 q. by the तन्त्रवार्तिक on जै. I. 3.7 p. 210 and by शङ्कराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 4.31.

47. स ह प्रातः संजिहान उवाच न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कदर्यो न मद्यपो नानाहिताग्निर्नाविद्वान्न स्वैरी स्वैरिणी कुतः ...। छा. उ. V. 11.5.

established by most of them are[48]: (1) that all the three higher varṇas are forbidden to drink the surā prepared from flour and drinking it is a grave sin (mahāpātaka) in the case of anyone belonging to the three first varṇas; (2) All intoxicants (*madya*) are forbidden to brāhmaṇas at all stages of life (Gaut. II. 25 'madyam nityam brāhmaṇaḥ' and Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 17-21); but a brāhmaṇa drinking surā of the gauḍī or mādhvī kind would not be guilty of mahāpātaka but of anupātaka (acc. to Viṣṇu); (3) that intoxicants other than surā prepared from flour are not condemned for kṣatriyas and vaiśyas; (4) the śūdra was not forbidden to drink any kind of intoxicant (including surā made from flour); (5) brahmacārins of all varṇas studying the Veda had to abstain from intoxicants of all kinds. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (22. 83-84) specifies ten kinds of madya (intoxicants) prepared from dates, jack fruit, cocoanuts, sugarcane &c. and Pulastya quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 253, by the Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa of Bhavadeva (p. 40), the Prāyaścittaviveka of Śūlapāṇi (p. 90), Pr. Prakāśa (folio 69 b) refers to eleven kinds of *madyas* apart from *surā* (dvādaśaṁ to surāmadyaṁ sarveṣāṁ adhamam smṛtam). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 964-966 for further discussion on intoxicating drinks.

The Mit. points out (on Yāj. III. 253) that the prohibition against drinking surā applies to boys who have not yet been invested with the sacred thread and also to unmarried girls, since Manu XI. 93 makes no distinction of sex but only forbids to the three first castes the drinking of surā and since the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa[49] expressly forbids to a brāhmaṇa female the drinking of *surā*. The Kalpataru appears to have held otherwise. But a woman and a minor had to undergo lesser prāyaścitta as will be shown below. Vas. 21. 11 and Yāj. III.256 state that the wife of a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya or vaiśya who drinks surā (made from flour) would not reach the worlds of her husband and she

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48. अयमत्राशयः । त्रैवर्णिकानामुत्पत्तिप्रभृति पैष्टीप्रतिषेधः । ब्राह्मणस्य तु मद्यमात्रनिषेधोऽप्युत्पत्तिप्रभृत्येव । राजन्यवैश्ययोस्तु न कदाचिदपि गौड्यादिमद्यप्रतिषेधः । शूद्रस्य न सुराप्रतिषेधो नापि मद्यप्रतिषेधः ॥ मिता. on या. III. 253 ; पैष्टीशब्दाभिधेयव्रीह्यादिविकारो मुख्यसुराशब्दार्थः । तत्पानमेव त्रैवर्णिकस्य महापातकम् । गौडीमाध्वीसुरापाने तु ब्राह्मणस्य पैष्टीपानवदेव प्रायश्चित्तम् । क्षत्रियवैश्ययोस्तु तत्पाने न दोष इति । प्राय. प्रक. p. 42

49. तथा भविष्ये । तस्मान्न पेयं विप्रेण सुरामद्यं कथंचन । एतेनानुपेतविप्रस्य कुमारिकायाश्च दोषाभावो द्विजग्रहणादिति वदन् कल्पतरुः परास्तः । प्रा. प्रकाश folio 70 b. The word द्विज occurs in मनु XI.90. ब्राह्मण्यापि न पेया वै सुरा पापभयावहा ॥ प्राय. वि. p. 92.

would become in this world a bitch or a sow[50]. The Mit. remarks[51] on this verse that though a śūdra is not forbidden to drink surā, even the śūdra wife of a brāhmaṇa should not drink surā.

Drinking *surā* means taking it down the throat. Therefore if a man's lips only touch surā or if surā enters his mouth but he spits it out, then there is no *drinking* of surā (i. e. no mahāpātaka) and he would have had to undergo in such a case a light expiation for the touch of surā[52].

Steya (theft). In order to constitute theft as a grave sin according to the commentaries the theft must be of a brāhmaṇa's gold of a certain quantity. *Steya* is defined by Āp. Dh. S. I. 10. 28. 1 as[53] 'a man becomes a thief by coveting another's property (and taking it) in whatever situation he may be (without the owner's consent)'. Kātyāyana (810) defines[54] it as 'depriving a man of his property, whether clandestinely or openly and, whether by night or by day, is known to be theft'. Vyāsa defines it similarly. Vācaspati in his bhāṣya on Yogasūtra II. 30 defines steya as taking property from another in a manner that is not allowed by the śāstras (steyam-aśāstra-pūrvakam dravyāṇām parataḥ svīkaraṇam). Though Manu (XI. 54) and Yāj. (III. 227) simply employ the word 'steya' (theft) or 'stena' (thief) yet in speaking of the prāyaścitta

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50. या ब्राह्मणी च सुरापी न तां देवाः पतिलोकं नयन्तीहैव सा चरति क्षीणपुण्याप्सु लुग्भवति शुक्तिका वा। वसिष्ठ 21.11. This is cited as श्रुति in प्राय. वि. p. 92 and these very words occur in the महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 1-2 on पाणिनि III. 2.8 'या ब्राह्मणी सुरापी भवति नैनां देवाः पतिलोकं नयन्ति' vol. II p. 99 (the वार्तिकs are सुरासीध्वोः पिबतेः। बहुलं तणि।)

51. ब्राह्मणीग्रहणं चात्र 'तिस्रो वर्णानुपूर्व्येण' इति न्यायेन यस्य द्विजातेर्यावत्यो भार्यास्तासामुपलक्षणम्। अत एव मनुः। पतत्यर्धं शरीरस्य यस्य भार्या सुरां पिबेत्। पतितार्धशरीरस्य निष्कृतिर्न विधीयते॥ इति।... द्विजातिभार्यायाः शूद्राया अपि सुरापानप्रतिषेधप्रदर्शनार्थम्। मिता. on या. III. 256. The verse पतत्यर्धं is not found in मनु, but is वसिष्ठ 21.15 and पराशर X.27.

52. पानं च द्रवीभूतस्याभ्यवहारः स च कण्ठदेशादधोनयनं न तु वक्त्रमात्रप्रवेशः। निष्ठीवनार्थं कवलधारणे पानशब्दाप्रयोगात्।...अत एवोष्ठमात्रे लेपे न पाननिष्पत्तिः॥ अतस्तत्रोष्ठमात्रस्पर्शप्रायश्चित्तम्॥ प्राय. वि. p. 93.

53. यथा कथा च परपरिग्रहमभिमन्यते स्तेनो ह भवतीति कौत्सहारीतौ तथा काण्वपुष्करसादी॥ ...सर्वत्रानुमतिपूर्वमिति हारीतः॥ आप. ध. सू. I. 10.28.1 and 5.

54. प्रच्छन्नं वा प्रकाशं वा निशायामथवा दिवा। यत्परद्रव्यहरणं स्तेयं तत्परिकीर्तितम्॥ कात्या० 810, q. by दायभाग p. 224 and प्राय. वि. p. 112; समक्षं वा परोक्षं वा बलाच्चौर्येण वा पुनः॥ परस्वानामुपादानं स्तेयमित्युच्यते बुधैः॥ व्यास q. by स्मृतिच० (व्य.) p. 883; स्तेनो विप्रस्वामिकषोडशमाषपरिमितस्य हेम्नश्छलबलचौर्यान्यतरेणापहर्ता॥ प्रा. प्रकाश folio 70 b.

for steya Manu (XI. 99 'suvarṇasteyakṛt') and Yāj. III. 257 (brāhmaṇasvarṇahāri) add the qualification that he should be a thief guilty of stealing gold (from a brāhmaṇa, acc. to Yāj.). Vas. 20. 41 and Cyavana (q. by Pr. V. p. 117) mention 'brāhmaṇa-suvarṇa-haraṇa' as a mahāpātaka and the Sāmavidhāna Br. (I. 6. 1) also employs the words 'brāhmaṇasvaṁ hṛtvā'. Vide Saṁvarta 122 and Viśvāmitra (q. by Pr. V. p. 108). A further qualification was added by Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 252 'anākhyāya &c.), the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 257), the Madanapārijāta (pp. 827-28), Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa (p. 72), the Prāyaścittaviveka (p. 111) and other commentators that the gold stolen must be at least sixteen *māṣas* in weight, otherwise there is no mahāpātaka[55]. So, if a man steals gold belonging to a brāhmaṇa which is less than 16 māṣas or steals gold of any weight (even more than 16 māṣas) from a non-brāhmaṇa (i. e. from a kṣatriya or the like) he would be guilty only of a minor sin (*upapātaka*). The Mit. relies on the verses of Yāj. I. 362-363 for the technical meaning of suvarṇa (as 16 māṣas). There was no guilt of theft acc. to Vārṣyāyaṇi if (Āp. Dh. S. I. 10. 28.2) a person took only a small quantity of cereals ripening in pods (such as *mudga*, *māṣa* and gram) or took grass for his oxen while he was going (in a cart.[56]) According to Gautama 12.25 a man may take (without permission and without incurring the guilt of theft) for the sake of cows and for the sake of *śrauta* or *smārta* fires grass, fuel and flowers of trees and plants as if they were his own property and the fruits (of trees and plants) that are not fenced around. Manu VIII. 339 (=Matsya 227. 112-113) is almost like Gaut. 12.25 and Manu VIII. 341 adds that a traveller of the three higher castes may, if his provisions have run short, take (without fear of punishment) from another's field two sugarcane stalks and two mūlakas (esculent roots).

Gurvaṅganāgamaḥ (sexual intercourse with the wife of the *guru*). Manu (XI.54) employs this word, while Yāj. III. 227 and Vas. 20.13 speak of the offender as *gurutalpaga* (who violates the bed of the guru) and Vas. I. 20 mentions the sin as '*gurutalpam*'

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55. अत्र च सुवर्णशब्दः परिमाणविशिष्टहेमद्रव्यवचनो न जातिमात्रवचनः। जालसूर्य... कथिता पञ्च ते माषास्ते सुवर्णस्तु षोडश॥ (या. 1. 362-363) इति षोडशमाषपरिमिते हेम्नि सुवर्णशब्दस्य परिभाषितत्वात्। ...अतः षोडशमाषात्मकसुवर्णपरिमितहेमहरणं एव महापातकित्वनिमित्तं न्यूनाधिकत्वे प्रायश्चित्तविशेषार्थं च॥ [illegible] तु क्षत्रियादिहेमहरणमुपपातकमेवेति युक्तम्॥ मिता. on III. 257.

56. [illegible] परपरिग्रहेष्वपि [illegible]। [illegible] न स्वामिनः प्रतिषेधयन्ति। अतिव्यवहारो व्यृद्धो भवति। आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 28 2-4

(the bed i. e. wife of the *guru*). Guru primarily means acc. to Manu II.142 and Yāj. I 34 (= Śaṅkha III.2) the father. Acc. to Gautama II.56 'the teacher (of the Veda) is the foremost amongst *gurus* while some say that the mother is so'. Saṁvarta [57] 160 and Parāśara X. 13 (employing the words 'pitṛdārān samāruhya') convey that the primary meaning of *guru* here is 'father' as stated by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 259. Acc. to many digests such as the Mit. and the Madanapārijāta p. 835 *gurvaṅganā* means one's own mother. Bhavadeva in his Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 80) takes *gurvaṅganā*[58] as a *karmadhāraya* compound, following what is called the *niṣādasthapati-nyāya* (Jai. VI. 1. 51). After quoting Devala's dictum [59] that there are eleven persons among males who are to be looked upon as *gurus*, and adverting to the way in which the word 'gurvaṅganā' is explained by the Pr. Prakaraṇa, the Prāyaścitta-viveka expresses its dissent from the views of the Pr. Prakaraṇa and holds that 'gurvaṅganā' or 'gurupatnī' means not only one's mother but also one's step-mother of the same varṇa as the father. The Madanapārijāta (p. 835) holds the same view as the Pr. V. The Pr. M. p. 73 finds fault with Bhavadeva (author of Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa) and also with the Pr. V. that held the view that sexual intercourse with one's Vedic teacher's wife was also a

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57. पितृभार्यां समारुह्य मातृवर्ज्यं नराधमः। भगिनीं मातुराप्तां च स्वसारं चान्यमातृजाम्॥ एतास्तिस्रः स्त्रियो गत्वा तप्तकृच्छ्रं समाचरेत्। संवर्त 159-160; 'गुरुशब्दश्चात्र मुख्यया वृत्त्या पितरि वर्तते।...अतः पितृपत्नीगमनमेव महापातकम्। गमनं च चरमधातुविसर्गपर्यन्तं कथ्यते। अतस्ततोऽर्वाक् निवृत्तौ न महापातकित्वम्। मिता. on या. III. 259.

58. तेन गुर्वी (गुरुः?) चासौ अङ्गना चेति कर्मधारयसमासात् स्वमातृवचन एवायं गुर्वङ्गनाशब्दः। न तु गुरोरङ्गना गुर्वङ्गना इति षष्ठीसमासात् सपत्नीमातृवचनोऽपि।...तेन निषादस्थपतिं याजयेत्-इतिवत् कर्मधारयसमासे स्वमातृवचन एवायं गुर्वङ्गनाशब्दः। प्राय. प्रकरण p.80; शबर on जै. VI. 1.51 says 'समानाधिकरणसमासस्तु बलीयान्।...तस्मात् निषाद एव स्थपतिः स्यात्। (and not निषादानां स्थपतिः). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 46 for निषादस्थपतिन्याय.

59. तथा देवलः। आचार्यश्च पिता ज्येष्ठो भ्राता चैव महीपतिः। मातुलः श्वशुरस्त्राता मातामहपितामहौ॥ वर्णज्येष्ठः पितृव्यश्च पुंस्येते गुरवो मताः। त्राता प्राणरक्षकः। वर्णज्येष्ठः क्षत्रियादीनां ब्राह्मणः। प्राय. वि. p 129; यद्यपि देवलवचनेनैव एकादश गुरवो दर्शितास्तथाप्यत्र पितैव गुरुर्ग्राह्यो नाचार्यादिः।... मातृगमनस्यातिपातकत्वात् सपत्नीमातृगमनस्य गुर्वङ्गनागमनत्वेन महापातकत्वात् अर्थादुपपातके लघुनि हीनवर्णायाः पितृपत्न्या ग्रहणम्। प्राय. वि. pp 134-135. ... तस्मात् मातृव्यतिरिक्तैकादशगुर्वङ्गनागमनमेव महापातकमिति युज्यते देवलवचनादिति। अत्र भवदेवेनोक्तं नात्र गुरोरङ्गना गुर्वङ्गनेति षष्ठीसमासः तत्पुरुषसमासाश्रयणे निषादस्थपतिन्यायविरोधप्रसक्तेः। अतो गुरुश्चासावङ्गना चेति कर्मधारयः। गुरुत्वं च मातुरेव न मातुः सपत्न्याः।... तदसंगतं मातृगमनं गुरुतल्पगमनं स्नुषागमनमित्यतिपातकानीति विष्णुहारीताभ्यां मातृगमनस्यातिपातकत्वाभिधानात्। यद्यपि देवलवचनेनैव एकादशगुरवो दर्शितास्तथाप्यत्र पितैव गुरुर्ग्राह्यो नाचार्यादिस्तत्पत्नीगमनस्य गुरुतल्पगमनत्वानुपपत्तेरुपपातकत्ववचनाच्च। प्राय. वि. pp 129-134.

mahāpātaka. The Pr. M. relies on Yāj. (III. 233) where there is an express extension of the sin of *gurutalpagamana* to intercourse with one's teacher's wife, or one's daughter and other nearly related women. This would have been unnecessary if *gurutalpa* was primarily meant to include the teacher's wife; while the Pr. V. relies upon Gaut. II. 56 ('the ācārya is the most eminent among gurus, some say that the mother is so'), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 31. 1–2 'three persons are *atigurus* (exceed even guru in their greatness) viz. the mother, the father and the ācārya and Devala who mentions eleven persons as gurus. The Pr. M. does not seem to be quite correct since the Pr. V. ultimately (pp. 134–135) states its final view that guru here means only the father and not the ācārya and others and that Viṣṇu Dh. S. 36. 4–8 holds that sexual intercourse with the wife of the teacher and several other women relatives is an anupātaka.

Mahāpātakisaṁsarga—Association with those who are guilty of the four mahāpātakas has already been described in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 614, 944. Gaut. 21.3, Vas. I. 21–22, Manu XI. 180 (=Śāntiparva 165. 37), Yāj. III. 261, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 35.3, Agnipurāṇa 170. 1–2 prescribe briefly that one who closely associates or dwells with any one of the four grave sinners for one year himself incurs mahāpātaka [60] and they add that this applies when a man occupies the same conveyance or same seat (as the sinner) or dines in the same row (with the sinner), but that if a person enters into spiritual relationship (such as that of teaching the Veda to the sinner or learning it from him or of officiating as a priest for him or allowing him to officiate as a priest for himself) or into a sexual or matrimonial alliance with him (i. e. a man who cohabits with a woman that is a grave sinner or if a woman cohabits with a male that is a great sinner or if a man marries the daughter of a *patita* or if a woman marries a bridegroom that is *patita*) that person becomes guilty of mahāpātaka at once. Bṛhaspati speaks [61]

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60. तैश्चाहं समाचरन्॥ गौ. 21.3 ; संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहाचरन्। याजनाध्यापनाद्यौनात्‌ तु यानासनाशनात्॥ मनु XI. 180, वसिष्ठ I. 22, बौ. ध. सू. II. 1.88, विष्णु 35.3 (only the first half of Manu), अग्निपु. 170. 1–2.

61. एकशय्यासनं पङ्क्तिर्भाण्डपक्वान्नमिश्रणम्॥ याजनाध्यापने योनिस्तथा च सहभोजनम्॥ नवधा सङ्करः प्रोक्तो न कर्तव्योऽधमैः सह॥ बृहस्पति q. by अपरार्क p. 1086, गृह. र. 587, प्राय. प्रकरण p 101, प्राय. वि. p 143 ; the मिता॰ on III 261 ascribes it to वृद्धबृहस्पति. The प्राय. म. p. 91 explains the divergence of views as to योनिः, 'योनिः पातकिने कन्यादानं तत्कन्यापरिणयनं वेति विज्ञानेश्वरकल्पतरुकारादयः। पातकिनीगमनमित्यपरार्कशूलपाणी। योगापरित्यागात्त्विवमेव युक्तम्।.' The प्रा. प्रकाश folio 74a also says the same.

of nine kinds of *saṁsarga* (contact or association) out of which the first five were treated as light sins, but the other four were serious viz. occupying the same bed or seat, taking food in the same row with the sinner, cooking food in the sinner's cooking pots or partaking of food prepared by him, being his sacrificial priest or employing him as one's sacrificial priest, being the sinner's teacher of the Veda or employing him as one's teacher of the Veda, sexual intercourse, taking food with him in the same pot. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 74a) holds that *saṁsarga* is of three kinds, the highest, middling and lowest. The first includes four viz. yonisambandha (marriage), *srauva* (i. e. that due to sacrificing for a sinner or making him a priest), *maukha* (about learning or teaching Veda) and eating of food from the same vessel (ekāmatrabhojana); the middling is of five kinds viz. using the same vehicle, seat, bed or coverlet; eating in the same row and learning the Veda together (*sahādhyayana*). The lowest is of various other kinds such as intimate talks, touching, cooking food in the same vessel, eating food at his house, receiving a gift from him &c. Adhyāpana in order to be a great sin must relate to the Veda, and so also yājana must relate to such Vedic sacrifices as Darśapūrṇamāsa, Cāturmāsya, Agniṣṭoma. Helping a mahāpātakin to perform the five daily yajñas or teaching him the *aṅgas* (metrics, grammar etc.) and the śāstras is only a minor sin. Parāśara[62] (XII. 79) states that sins are transferred (or spread) from man to man like a drop of oil on water by sitting or sleeping together or by using the same conveyance or by speaking with or dining in the same row. Devala and Chāgaleya q. by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 261, the Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 101), the Pr. V. (p. 145), the Par. M. (II. part 1. p. 28) and others contain similar verses. Acc. to Pr. Prakāśa (folio 75a), in order to become *patita* one must simultaneously practise these four together; if practised separately, there is no *pātitya* but only *doṣa*. Parāśara (I. 25–26) states that in the Kṛta age a man became *patita* by speaking with a *patita*, in Tretā by touching him, in Dvāpara by partaking of food prepared in his house and in Kali by actually committing a sinful act and that in the Kṛta age a district was abandoned (if any one therein became *patita*), in Tretā the village, in Dvāpara the family (of the *patita* was abandoned) and in Kali only the actual perpetrator himself (is

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62. आसनाच्छयनाद्यानात्सम्भाषात् सहभोजनात्। संक्रामन्ति हि पापानि तैलबिन्दुरिवाम्भसि॥ पराशर XII. 79, which is the same as a verse of कण्व q. by परा. मा. II. 1. p. 28.

abandoned as *patita*). It is clear from this that such contacts with a patita as speaking with him,[63] touching him or eating food (in the house of a *patita*) were not regarded as involving a man in the same sin as that of the actual perpetrator. Speaking, touching and eating are also actions (*karman*) and Parāśara did not include them in the word 'karmaṇā' which refers only to the actual perpetration of a murder, surāpāna etc. Therefore when some writers include such contacts as eating or touching under 'karmaṇā' they put two meanings on the word *karman* in Parāśara viz. perpetration of a murder or the like and also doing some of the acts (touching, eating) which are forbidden to be done in reference to a perpetrator by some smṛtis. This is a procedure which is against the maxim of the Mīmāṁsā that the same word conveys only[64] one sense in the same context. The reasonable inference from the words of Parāśara is that merely touching a *mahāpātakin* or eating food in his house did not involve the toucher and eater in *pātitya*. In spite of this medieval writers gradually extended the scope of saṁsarga in a spirit of exclusiveness and of over-emphasis on ideas of ceremonial purity. For example, the Smṛtyarthasāra[65] (p. 112) remarks that he who associates with the person that associates with a *mahāpātakin* has to undergo half the expiation that the first associator has to undergo. But that work does not go beyond this. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 261) appears to hold that the associator even though he does not become patita is liable to undergo expiation and that even the 4th and 5th associators in a series are liable to undergo expiation

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63. संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहाचरन्। एकयानभोजनासनशयनैः॥ यौनस्रौवमौख-सम्बन्धात् सद्य एव॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 35. 3–5. यौन (derived from योनि) refers to marital connection, स्रौव (derived from स्रुव a sacrificial ladle) means 'employing as a sacrificial priest or becoming such a priest for another), मौख (from मुख) means 'teaching the Veda or learning it by word of mouth). So Viṣṇu prescribes that *pātitya* results at once from the first kind of saṁsarga referred to above. तत्र पञ्चमहायज्ञादिविषयं याजनं लघु। अङ्गशाखाध्ययनं लघु। दुहितृभगिन्यतिरिक्तो परिणयो लघुः॥ पतितेन सहैकपात्रे अन्नव्यतिरिक्तसक्त्वादिभक्षणं लघु॥ प्रा. प्रकाश folio 75a.

64. सकृदुच्चरितः शब्दः सकृदेवार्थं गमयति।, which maxim is relied upon in 6 Cal. 119, 126, (FB), that is quoted with approval in L R. 41 I A 290, pp 303–4, 54 All 698, 722 (FB). अन्याय्यश्चानेकार्थत्वम्॥ शबर on जै. VI. 1.22, मद. पा. p. 369.

65. महापातकिसंसर्गिसंसर्गे तु तत्संसर्गिव्रतस्यार्धं कुर्यात्॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 112.

though it is lesser and lesser[66]. The Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 109), Pr. V. (pp. 169–170) and the Pr. T. (p. 547) quote certain verses of Āpastamba and Vyāsa which very much widen the circle of *saṁsarga*. Āpastamba-smṛti[67] (III. 1–3) states: 'if a cāṇḍāla stays in the house of any one of the four castes without being known, the latter on coming to know of the fact should undergo expiation, which is Cāndrāyaṇa or Parāka for a member of the first three varṇas and Prājāpatya for a śūdra. Those who partook of cooked food in that man's house should undergo Kṛcchra; one should prescribe one half of Kṛcchra for those who took cooked food in the house of the 2nd associator and for those who partook of cooked food in the house of these last one-fourth of Kṛcchra is prescribed'. So besides the original associator three more in succession were held to be liable for prāyaścitta. Mercifully they stopped at the 4th from the original associator. A few writers took a more reasonable view. The Par. M. (II. part 2, p. 90) remarks[68] that Parāśara did not prescribe any expiation for *saṁsarga* (with those guilty of grave sins) with the idea that in the Kali age

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66. अतः संसर्गिसंसर्गिणां द्विजातिकर्मभ्यो हानिर्न भवति प्रायश्चित्तं तु भवत्येव ॥...तत्र पादहीनम् ॥...एवं चतुर्थपञ्चमयोरपि कामतः संसर्गिणोरर्धहीनं त्रिपादोनं च द्रष्टव्यम् ॥ मिता. on या. III. 261. प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 110a.) finds fault with this and holds on the strength of a verse of Vyāsa 'यो येन संसृज्यते स तदीयमेव प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यात् तेन द्वितीयसंसर्गी नयाङ्गानि कुर्यात् तृतीयस्तु पादोनं सप्ताङ्गानि कुर्यात् । एवं चतुर्थपञ्चमादयः पूर्वपादोनं व्यासवाक्याविशेषात् ।'.

67. अन्त्यजातिरविज्ञातो निवसेद्यस्य वेश्मनि ॥ स वै ज्ञात्वा तु कालेन कुर्यात्तत्र विशोधनम् ॥ चान्द्रायणं पराको वा द्विजातीनां विशोधनम् ॥ प्राजापत्यं तु शूद्राणां तथा संसर्गदूषणे ॥ यैस्तत्र भुक्तं पक्वान्नं कृच्छ्रं तेषां विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ तेषामपि च यैर्भुक्तं कृच्छ्रपादो विधीयते ॥ आपस्तम्ब quoted by प्राय. वि. pp. 170 and 492, प्राय. तत्त्व p. 547. The verses occur with slight variations in the versified आपस्तम्बस्मृति (Ānan. edition) III. 1–3. The प्राय. वि. p. 169 remarks 'व्यासादिवचने तृतीयसंसर्गिपर्यन्तं प्रायश्चित्तदर्शनात् । तथा चाण्डालादिसङ्करे व्यासः ॥ ये तदन्नाशिनो विप्राः कृच्छ्रं तेषां विधीयते ॥ तद्भोजिनोऽर्धकृच्छ्रेण तदन्नादाश्च पादतः ॥'.

68. आचार्यस्तु कलियुगे संसर्गदोषाभावमभिप्रेत्य संसर्गप्रायश्चित्तं नाभ्यधात् । अत एव स्मृत्यन्तरे कलौ वर्ज्यानामनुक्रमणे–संसर्गदोषः पापेषु–इत्युक्तम् । परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 90. For a severe onslaught against Mādhava, vide धर्मद्वैतनिर्णय (p. 132). The प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 77a) explains away Mādhava's emphatic remarks as follows: 'कृते सम्भाषणमात्रात्पतति...कलौ तु कृत्स्नेन निषिद्धकर्मणा याजनादिभिरित्यर्थः । अन्यथा पूर्ववाक्ये कर्तारं तु कलौ त्यजेदित्यनेन साक्षात् कर्त्रादेः संसर्गो निषिद्धः । द्वितीयवाक्ये तु कलौ पतति कर्मणेत्यनेन साक्षात्कर्तुरेव दोषोऽन संसर्गकर्तुरिति परस्परविरोधः स्यात् । एवं च माधवस्य कलौ संसर्गदोषाभावोक्तेरत्रैव तात्पर्यम् । तथा च कलिनिषिद्धेषु संसर्गदोष इत्युक्तिः पातकिना सह पूर्वोक्तयाजनाद्यनेकविधसंसर्गाभावेऽपि यो देशादिमात्रसंसर्गः कृतयुगादौ दोषजनकत्वेनोक्तः पाराशरपूर्वश्लोके पश्चोत्तरश्लोके कृतयुगादौ सम्भाषणमात्राद्दोष उक्तस्तद्विषया ।'.

there is no blemish of saṁsarga and that it is on account of this that in the enumeration of things to be avoided or not allowed in the Kali age (*Kali-varjya*) another smṛti includes 'pollution through contact with a sinner' (as a Kalivarjya). The Smṛtimuktāphala (Prāyaścitta pp. 897–98) echoes the very words of Mādhava and quotes further authorities on the point[69]. The Nirṇayasindhu[70] holds that though there is blame in association with a *patita* the associator does not himself become *patita*. As Yāj III. 261 employs the word 'vatsaram' and as the accusative of time is, acc. to Pāṇini, to be used only when there is '*atyantasaṁyoga*' of time and space (distance) it follows that the associator who is to undergo penance for contact must have been day and night in contact for a year. Devala employs the word 'sārvakālikam' in this connection.

Though many crimes do not in so many words come within the words of the definitions of the mahāpātakas the smṛtis extend by analogy the same condemnation as the mahāpātakas in three ways. For example, Yāj. III. 251 expressly states that one who kills a kṣatriya or vaiśya engaged in (soma) sacrifice or a foetus or an ātreyī woman has to undergo the same expiation as for brāhmaṇa murder (therefore this is *vācanikātideśa*). Yāj. III. 232–233 extends the sin of *gurutalpa-gamana* to intercourse with several near female relatives (such as mother's or father's sister). This is extension by *tādrūpya*. The smṛtis declare many actions as equal to (*sama*) *mahāpātakas* in general or as equal to one of the mahāpātakas. This is *atideśa* by *sāmya*. A few words must be said on this topic. The general rule is that the expiation for those lapses that are declared to be equal to a mahāpātaka is less than (i. e. half of) what would be prescribed

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69. अत एव कलियुगधर्माभिधाने प्रवृत्तः पराशरः ब्रह्महत्यादिमहापातकचतुष्टयस्य प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तवान् कलियुगे संसर्गदोषाभावमभिप्रेत्य संसर्गप्रायश्चित्तं नाभ्यधात्। कर्मण एव पातित्यहेतुत्वम्। तथा कर्मणा पातित्यं कण्ठरवेणाह पराशरः (1.25) 'कृते संभाषणादेव ... कलौ पतति कर्मणा॥...इति। ... स्मृतिकामधेनौ। संसर्गदोषो नैव स्यान्महापातकिभिः कलौ। संसर्गदोषः स्तेनाद्यैर्महापापानिष्कृतिः। तथा स्मृत्यन्तरे। संसर्गदोषः...पापेष्विति पठितम्॥ कलौ संसर्गस्य पापमात्रहेतुत्वम्। संसर्गदोषस्य पातित्यापादकत्वाभावेपि पापमात्रापादकत्वमस्तीत्याह पराशरः। स्मृतिमु. (प्रा.) pp 897–898.

70. कलौ कर्तैव लिप्यते इति व्यासोक्तेः पतितसंसर्गे दोषसत्त्वेपि पातित्यं नेत्यर्थः। निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 368; तत्रापि (याज्ञवल्कीये) वत्सरमिति द्वितीया श्रूयते सा च कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोग इत्यत्यन्तसंयोगे स्मृता। अत्यन्तसंयोगश्च यावदहोरात्रसम्बन्धः।...संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहाचरन्। भोजनासनशय्यादि कुर्वाणः सार्वकालिकमिति देवलवाक्ये सार्वकालिकशब्देन द्वितीयार्थ एवोक्तः। प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 76 b).

for the mahāpātaka itself[71]. And the penance for those that come under *atideśa* of the vācanika or tādrūpya kind is three fourths of that for the mahāpātaka itself. But it has to be noted that there is divergence of views about these in the sūtras and the smṛtis. Acc. to Gaut. 21. 10 giving[72] false evidence, backbiting about another's guilt that will reach the king, falsely accusing one's *guru* with a grave sin or crime are equal to mahāpātaka. In Manu XI. 55 (= Agnipurāṇa 168. 25) the last two of these three and false statement about one's caste or learning or family (i. e. saying that one is a brāhmaṇa when one is not) for securing prosperity or eminence are stated to be equal to brāhmaṇa's murder. Acc to Yāj. III. 228 falsely charging one's *guru* is equal to *brahmahatyā* and false statement about one's caste or learning is equal to drinking surā (Yāj. III. 229), while acc. to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37. 1-3 the three sins mentioned in Manu XI. 55 are to be included among minor sins (*upapātakas*), while giving false evidence is declared by Viṣṇu to be equal to drinking surā (36. 2). No useful purpose would be served by dilating at great length on the divergences of smṛtis on what lapses are equal to one of the Mahāpātakas. The digests explain that where the same lapse is described as equal to surāpāna by one smṛti and as equal to brāhmaṇa-murder by another the idea is that there is an option as to the penance prescribed for that lapse. Therefore only the remarks of Manu and Yāj. will be set out here. Manu XI. 56 (= Agnipurāṇa 168. 26) prescribes that forgetting the Veda (already studied), reviling the Vedas, giving false evidence, killing a friend, eating forbidden food or food that should not be eaten, these six are equal to surāpāna. Vide Yāj. III. 228 already referred to above. Manu XI. 57 holds that stealing a deposit or a man or horse or silver or land or diamonds and other gems is equal to the theft of brāhmaṇa's gold. Yāj. III. 230, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 5. 383, Agnipurāṇa 168. 27 are to the same effect. Acc. to Manu XI. 58 (= Agnipurāṇa 168. 28) carnal intercourse with a sister by the same mother, with maidens, with females of the lowest castes (like Cāṇḍālas), with the wife of a friend or son is declared to

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71. अत्र साम्यातिदेशेऽर्धं तादृूप्यवाचनिकयोस्तु पादोनम् ॥ प्राय. म p. 8; vide प्राय. प्रकरण pp. 85-87; एतेनातिदेशे पूर्णप्रायश्चित्तं वदन्तौ शूलपाणिभवदेवावपास्तौ । प्राय. म. p. 9; अत्र समत्वाभिधानात् शिष्टाचारबलेन पादोनं कल्प्यम् ॥ ऋषिसमो ब्राह्मणो राजसमो मन्त्रीत्यादिषु समशब्दस्य किंचिन्न्यूने प्रयोगदर्शनात् ॥ मद. पा. p, 808; vide मिता. on या. III, 231 for similar words.

72. कौटसाक्ष्यं राजगामि पैशुनं गुरोरनृताभिशंसनं महापातकसमानि ॥ गौ. 21.10.

be equal to the violation of a guru's bed. Yāj. III. 231 is practically the same (but he adds intercourse with a *sagotra* woman to the list). Gaut. 23. 12 and Manu XI. 170 are very similar. Yāj. III. 232–233 declare that a man who has sexual intercourse with a sister of his father or mother, with his maternal uncle's wife, with his daughter-in-law, with a co-wife of his mother, with his sister, with the daughter or wife of his Vedic teacher or his own daughter, is guilty of being a violator of the guru's bed and should have his penis cut off and be killed (by the king) and the woman concerned, if she was a willing party, should also be killed. Nārada (strīpuṁsayoga, verses 73–75)[73] states: "If a man has sexual intercourse with any of these women viz. mother, mother's sister, mother-in-law, maternal uncle's wife, father's sister, a wife of the paternal uncle or of a friend or of a pupil, a sister, sister's friend, daughter-in-law, daughter, the wife of one's Vedic teacher, a woman of the same gotra, one who has come for protection, a queen, an ascetic woman, one's wet-nurse, a woman performing a *vrata* and a brāhmaṇa woman, he becomes guilty of the sin of the violator of the guru's bed (i. e. incest). For that crime no other punishment is laid down except that of the cutting of the penis." These two, Yāj. and Nārada, show that excision of the organ and death are both the expiation and the punishment for this crime. The Mit. (on Yāj III. 233) adds that this punishment applies only to the offenders other than a brāhmaṇa, since Manu (VIII. 380) prescribes that a brāhmaṇa offender should not be punished with death whatever sin or crime he may have committed and that he is to be banished from the country unhurt and is to retain all his wealth. The Viṣṇudharma-sūtra (36.4–7) adds a few more women to the list of Yāj. and Nārada (such as a woman in her monthly illness, the wife of a learned brāhmaṇa or of one's sacrificial priest or of one's *Upādhyāya*).

These lapses described above from false accusation against the *guru*[74] (Yāj. III. 228 or Manu XI. 55 to Yāj. III. 233 or Manu

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73. सखीसयोनिसगोत्राशिष्यभार्यासु स्नुषायां गवि च गुरुतल्पसमः॥ गौ 23.12; माता मातृष्वसा श्वश्रूर्मातुलानी पितृष्वसा। पितृव्यसखिशिष्यस्त्री भगिनी तत्सखी स्नुषा॥ दुहिताचार्यभार्या च सगोत्रा शरणागता॥ राज्ञी प्रव्रजिता धात्री साध्वी वर्णोत्तमा च या॥ आसामन्यतमां गत्वा गुरुतल्पग उच्यते॥ शिश्नस्योत्कर्तनं तस्य नान्यो दण्डो विधीयते॥ नारद (स्त्रीपुंसयोग 73–75); compare आप. ध. सू. I. 9.25 (गुरुतल्पगामी सवृषणं शिश्नं परिवास्याञ्जलावाधाय दक्षिणां दिशमनावृत्तिं व्रजेत्) and गौ. 23.10.

74. एतानि गुर्वधिक्षेपादितमयागमनपर्यन्तानि महापातकातिदेशविषयाणि सद्यःपतनहेतुत्वात्पातकान्युच्यन्ते॥ मिता. on या. III. 233.

XI. 58) and said to be equal to some mahāpātaka or other are designated as pātakas by Vṛddha-Hārīta (IX. 216–17) and by the Mit. (on Yāj. III 233) and as *anupātakas* by the Viṣṇudharmasūtra (36.8). Gautama[75] (21.1–2) adds a few more to the list of pātakas or *patitas* viz. he who has connection with the female relatives of his mother or father or with sisters and their offspring, a thief of gold, an atheist, one who constantly repeats censured acts, one who does not cast away a *patita* or who abandons blameless relatives or those who instigate others to commit pātakas. These pātakas are less than mahāpātakas in their culpability and greater than upapātakas.

Upapātakas (minor sins). The number of these has greatly varied from time to time and from smṛti to smṛti. Vas. I. 23 speaks[76] of only five upapātakas viz. forsaking the sacred fires (after beginning Agnihotra), offending the guru, being an atheist, taking one's livelihood from an atheist, selling the soma plant. Śātātapa as quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 229–236 mentions only eight. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 1.60–61) mentions a small number as upapātakas. Gaut. 21.11 states[77] that the guilt of upapātaka attaches to those who have been declared to defile the company at a Śrāddha dinner and have been named above before the bald man (in Gaut. XV. 18), killers of kine, those who forget the Veda, those who pronounce Vedic texts for these last, Vedic students who break the vow of chastity and those who allow the time for upanayana to pass without performing it. Śaṅkha quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 229–236 mentions only 18 upapātakas and styles them *upapatanīyas*. The longest lists are contained in Manu XI. 59-66, Yāj. III. 234-242, Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 208-210, Viṣṇudharmasūtra 37 and Agnipurāṇa (168. 29–37). According to the Pr. V. (p. 195)[78] the upapātakas mentioned by Manu

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75. ब्रह्महसुरापगुरुतल्पगमातृपितृयोनिसम्बन्धागस्तेननास्तिकनिन्दितकर्माभ्यासिपतिता-त्यागयपतितत्यागिनः पतिताः॥ पातकसंयोजकाश्च॥ गौतम 21.1–2. गौतम 20.1 mentions the persons whom one should abandon 'त्यजेत्पितरं राजघातकं शूद्रयाजकं शूद्रार्थयाजकं वेदविप्लावकं भ्रूणहनं यश्चान्त्यावसायिभिः सह संवसेदन्त्यावसायिन्यां वा ।'.

76. योऽग्नीनपविध्येद् गुरुं च यः प्रतिजनुयान्नास्तिको नास्तिकवृत्तिः सोमं च विक्रीणीयादित्युपपातकानि॥ वसिष्ठ I. 23.

77. अपंक्त्यानां प्राग्दुर्बालाद्गोहन्तृब्रह्मघ्नतन्मन्त्रकृदवकीर्णिपतितसावित्रीकेषूपपातकम् । गौ. 21.11. The word दुर्बाल occurs in गौ. 15.18.

78. एवं च गोवधादिनास्तिक्यान्तानि ऊनपञ्चाशदुपपातकानि । प्राय. वि. p. 195.

come to 49. Those enumerated by Yāj. are set out below[79] (they are 51 according to Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 229–236, who omits one verse commented on by the Mit. viz 'śūdrapreṣyam' &c. which contains five): slaying kine, being a *vrātya* (i. e. one whose *upanayana* was not performed at the prescribed age), theft (other than that of brāhmaṇa's gold or other than what is described as equal to theft of the mahāpātaka type), non-payment of debts borrowed (and not satisfying the three debts due to gods, sages and *pitṛs*), not establishing the *śrauta* fires (even though one has the capacity to do so); selling what ought not to be sold (such as salt); parivedana (a younger brother's marrying before an elder brother or establishing sacred fires before him); learning (the Veda) from a paid teacher; teaching the Veda for payment; adultery (with women other than those referred to in *gurutalpagamana* or those lapses equal to it); an elder brother's remaining unmarried when a younger brother has married; usury (i. e. taking more interest than is allowed by the smṛtis); manufacture of salt; killing a woman (of any caste, except an ātreyī); killing a śūdra; killing a kṣatriya or vaiśya (who is not initiated for a *śrauta* sacrifice); maintaining oneself on wealth which is condemned; atheism (denial of the soul and a world after death); giving up the observances peculiar to one's status (e. g. a vedic student having sexual intercourse or one guilty of brāhmaṇa murder or the like giving up the performance of the expiation already begun); sale of one's children; theft [80] of corn, inferior metals (like lead and copper) or cattle; officiating as a priest at a sacrifice for those who are not entitled to sacrifice (such as śūdras or *vrātyas* &c); driving out of the house one's father, mother or son (without a proper cause such as that

79. गोवधो व्रात्यता स्तेयमृणानां चानपाक्रिया। अनाहिताग्निता पण्यविक्रयः परिवेदनम्। भृतादध्ययनादानं भृतकाध्यापनं तथा॥ पारदार्यं पारिवित्त्यं वार्धुष्यं लवणक्रिया॥ स्त्रीशूद्रविट्क्षत्रवधो निन्दितार्थोपजीवनम्॥ नास्तिक्यं व्रतलोपश्च सुतानां चैव विक्रयः॥ धान्यकुप्यपशुस्तेयमयाज्यानां च याजनम्॥ पितृमातृसुतत्यागस्तडागारामविक्रयः॥ कन्यासन्दूषणं चैव परिविन्दकयाजनम्॥ कन्याप्रदानं तस्यैव कौटिल्यं व्रतलोपनम्॥ आत्मनोऽर्थे क्रियारम्भो मद्यपस्त्रीनिषेवणम्॥ स्वाध्यायाग्निसुतत्यागो बान्धवत्याग एव च॥ इन्धनार्थं द्रुमच्छेदः स्त्रीहिंसौषधिजीवनम्। हिंस्रयन्त्रविधानं च व्यसनान्यात्मविक्रयः॥ शूद्रप्रेष्यं हीनसख्यं हीनयोनिनिषेवणम्। तथैवानाश्रमे वासः परान्नपरिपुष्टता॥ असच्छास्त्राधिगमनमाकरेष्वधिकारिता॥ भार्याया विक्रयश्चैषामेकैकमुपपातकम्॥ या. III. 234–242.

80. 'Steya' has already been mentioned as the third upapātaka. The mention of the theft of corn &c. here either serves the purpose of showing that the theft of corn &c will always be expiated as an upapātaka while other kinds of thefts may be dealt with more leniently. The same remark applies to पितृमातृसुतत्याग and बान्धवत्याग separately mentioned below.

mentioned by Gautama 20.1); the sale of a tank or of a park intended for a charitable object (though not actually dedicated to the public); ascribing demerits to an unmarried girl (or interfering with her private parts by means of a finger or the like); officiating as a priest (at the marriage) of one who though a younger brother marries before an elder brother; giving one's daughter in marriage to one who marries before his elder brother; cheating or following crooked ways (except against one's guru, which is equal to surāpāna); giving up an observance voluntarily undertaken[81]; cooking for the sake of oneself only (and not for deities, guests &c., which attitude is condemned by Ṛg. X. 117. 6 and Manu III. 118); sexual intercourse with a woman (even one's own wife) who is given to drinking wine; giving up the Veda already learnt so as to forget it by the study of other subjects); not tending one's *śrauta* or *smārta* fire; abandoning one's son[82]; not maintaining one's relatives (such as the maternal or paternal uncle, when one has the means); cutting down a big tree for fuel (to be used only in cooking one's food[83]); maintaining one's self on one's wife (i. e. on her immoral earnings or by means of her strīdhana) or by killing animals or by herbs (used as charms); setting up of machines that cause death or injury to beings (such as for pressing oil from sesame or for crushing sugarcane stalks); addiction to the vices (declared to be eighteen by Manu VII. 45-48); selling one's self (as a slave for money); being the servant of a śūdra; friendship with low persons; intercourse with a woman of a lower caste (either as a wife or as a concubine); living outside of the four āśramas[84]; fattening oneself on food charitably supplied by others; studying the works of false śāstras (such as those of atheists like Cārvāka); holding the office of the superintendent of mines (of gold and the like); sale of one's wife.

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81. *Vratalopa* has already been mentioned above in verse 236 as an upapātaka. Therefore the repetition of 'vratalopana' (in verse 238) must be differently explained as done by the मिताक्षरा.

82. In या. III. 237 we have पितृमातृसुतत्यागः and then in 239 again स्वाध्यायाग्निसुतत्यागः. Therefore अपरार्क p. 1051 explains: 'सुतस्यारक्षणमत्र त्यागः स्वाध्यायाग्नित्यागसाहचर्यात्। पितृमातृसुतत्याग इत्यत्र तु जातकर्मादिसंस्काराकरणं सुतस्य त्यागः।'.

83. पक्वादिप्रयोजनाग्निसमिन्धनार्थमशुष्कवृक्षभञ्जनं द्रुमच्छेदः। अपरार्क p. 1051.

84. अनाश्रमी न तिष्ठेत्तु क्षणमेकमपि द्विजः। आश्रमेण विना तिष्ठन् प्रायश्चित्तीयते हि सः॥ दक्ष I. 10; one must belong to one of the four आश्रमs, ब्रह्मचर्य, गार्हस्थ्य, वानप्रस्थ and संन्यास and act as would befit that āśrama.

The above list, though long, is not thoroughly exhaustive Vas. I. 18 quoted above mentions several persons as *enasvinah* (who acc. to Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 229–236 are *upapātakinah*), some of whom (such as one who is asleep when the sun rises or sets) are not included by Yāj. in his list of upapātakas. Though almost all of the upapātakas listed by Yāj. occur in Manu (XI. 59–66), yet some of them such as 'abhicāra' (performing a sacrifice like Śyenayāga for the destruction of an enemy), 'mūlakarma' (employment of herbs for bringing under one's control a person) are not noted by Yāj. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 242 observes that some upapātakas if repeatedly indulged in make a man *patita* (as provided by Gaut. 21. 1). Viśvarūpa, therefore, derives upapātaka as one 'that may become a pātaka by constant addition (*upacaya*) or by constant practice' (*upetya*[85]).

Manu XI. 67 (=Agnipurāṇa 168[86]. 37–38) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 38. 1–6 mention certain lapses as 'jātibhraṁśakara' (that cause the loss of caste) viz. giving pain to a brāhmaṇa (by means of a stick or by the hand), smelling things which ought not to be smelt at (such as garlic, ordure &c.) and smelling spirituous liquor, cheating (saying one thing and doing another), an unnatural offence with a man (or beast also, acc. to Viṣṇu). According to Manu XI. 68 (=Agnipurāṇa 168. 38–39), killing a donkey, a horse, a camel, a deer, an elephant, a goat, sheep, fish, a snake or a buffalo must be known to be *saṅkarīkaraṇa* (reducing one to a mixed caste). Viṣṇu 29. 1 says that saṅkarīkaraṇa is the killing of village or forest animals. Manu XI 69 holds that accepting presents from condemned men (such as those mentioned in Manu IV. 84), trading, serving śūdras and speaking a falsehood make a man unworthy to receive gifts *(apātrīkaraṇa)*. The Viṣṇu. Dh. S. 40. 1. adds 'maintaining one's self by usury' to these. Manu XI. 70 prescribes that killing insects, small or large, or birds, eating any thing kept close to spirituous liquors, stealing fruits, fuel and flowers and unsteadiness of mind are *malāvaha* (which make a man impure). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 41. 1–4 are similar. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 42. 1 says all other lapses not specifically mentioned in

85. उपपातकसंज्ञाप्येवमर्थैव । उपचयेन उपेत्य वा सेव्यमानं पातकमेव स्यादिति । अत एव गौतमेन पातकमध्ये निन्दितकर्माभ्यासो दर्शितः । विश्वरूप on या. III. 229–236. The reference is to गौतम 21.1, quoted above in note 75.

86. The printed अग्निपुराण reads भैक्ष्ये for जैह्म्ये in मनु X1.67 and अग्नि॰ 168.39 reads नकुल for माहिष.

the several kinds are styled miscellaneous (prakīrṇaka). Vṛddha-Hārīta (IX. 210-215) specifies several lapses as prakīrṇaka viz. cutting big trees for fuel (used for cooking one's food); killing insects, big and small; eating of food that has become uneatable owing to *bhāva* [87] (i. e. its resemblance in colour or flavour to some forbidden food or because it is offered with disrespect) or *kāla* (food on ekādaśī or in an eclipse, or in a mourner's house &c. or that is stale) or *kriyā* (action, such as food served with the bare hand or seen by a *patita*, *cāṇḍāla* or a dog &c.); theft of clay, skin, grass, wood; over-eating; falsehood; restlessness about pleasures; sleep by day; spreading false rumours; making others hear false rumours; eating at another's house; sexual intercourse by day; seeing women in their monthly illness or just after delivery; looking at others' wives; sexual intercourse on a fast, on a śrāddha day, on a *parvan* day; service of a śūdra; friendship with the low; touching the leavings of food; broad laughs with women; talking at random (or love prattle); looking at women that have untied their hair. It will be noticed that some of these like the cutting of big trees for fuel, service of a śūdra, friendship with low persons have been already included by Yāj. under upapātakas.

Having dealt at length with several classes or grades of sins, we have now to address ourselves to the question of the consequences of sins and the means recommended or adopted for removing sin and its consequences.

It has already been shown above how the sages of the Ṛgveda prayed to the gods, particularly to Aditi, Mitra, Varuṇa, the Ādityas and Agni to free them from *āgas* or *enas* etc. They often say that they violated the *dharmas* or the *vratas* (ordinances) of the gods and implore forgiveness. They were afraid of the consequences of their guilt, viz. the god's anger. They thought that when God was angered by their transgressions he smote them with adversity, destruction, disease and death. For example, they prey: 'whatever ordinance (*vrata*) of yours we may violate every day like subjects (in the case of a king's ordinances) do not subject us to your death-dealing blow' (Ṛg. I. 25.2); 'O Varuṇa! whatever transgression we men have committed towards the divine host and whatever rules of yours we may have confounded through heedlessness, do not, on

87. For भावदुष्ट, कालदुष्ट and क्रियादुष्ट food mentioned in वृद्धहारीत IX. 211 vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 771-772.

account of that sin (*enas*), strike us down' (Ṛg. VII. 89.5)[88]. In Ṛg. X. 89.8–9 it is said that Indra hurls his sharp and deadly weapon at those who break the settled order (dharman) of Mitra, Varuṇa and Aryaman. The gods are implored to save the worshipper from the deadly attacks of the wolf and from sinking into a pit (in adversity) in Ṛg. II. 29.6. In Ṛg. IX. 73.8 it is said that the wise God has his eye on all worlds and he pierces in pits those who do not observe his ordinances and who are therefore not liked by him[89]. On the other hand, when God is pleased with the worshipper, he is implored to lead the latter by the path of virtue (Ṛg. I. 189.1), to confer happiness on the worshipper's offspring (Ṛg. I. 189.2, IV. 12.5) and to bestow wealth on him (Ṛg. VIII. 45.40).

In the Ṛgveda the first means of removing the consequences of sin appear to be prayers for mercy and for the remission of sin as in Ṛg. VII. 86. 4–5, VII. 88. 6–7, VII. 89. 1–4 (where 'mṛlā sukṣatra mṛḷaya' is the refrain of all four verses). Even in the Ṛgveda water was supposed to remove sin, e. g. I. 23. 22 says 'O water! carry away whatever sin (*durita*) may exist in me'. This shows that sin was supposed to have physical effects like a disease, which were removed by water. Sacrifices were offered to the gods in order to win their favour and in order that the sacrificer may be freed[90] from the consequences of even grave sins. The Tai. S. V. 3. 12 1-2 and the Śat. Br. XIII. 3. 1. 1 (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 328) state that the gods redeemed themselves from all sin by means of this (Aśvamedha sacrifice), they even redeemed themselves from the sin of brāhmaṇa murder. That a confession of sin was deemed to remove sin is illustrated in a striking way by what happened in the Varuṇapraghāsa (one of the *cāturmāsya* sacrifices). In that[91] sacrifice the wife of the sacrificer had to confess whether she had any lovers and if she felt ashamed to

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88. यत्किंचेदं दैव्ये जनेऽभिद्रोहं मनुष्याश्चरामसि॥ अचित्ती यत्तव धर्मा युयोपिम मा नस्तस्मादेनसो देव रीरिषः॥ ऋ. VII. 89.5

89. विद्वान्त्स विश्वा भुवनाभिपश्यत्यवाजुष्टान् विध्यति कर्ते अव्रतान्। ऋ. IX. 73.8.

90. सर्वं वा एतेन पाप्मानमतरन्नपि वा एतेन ब्रह्महत्यामतरन्त्सर्वं पाप्मानं तरति तरति ब्रह्महत्यां योऽश्वमेधेन यजते। तै. सं. V. 3.12.1–2.

91. यज्जारं सन्तं न प्रब्रूयात्प्रियं ज्ञातिं रुन्ध्यात्। असौ मे जार इति निर्दिशेत्। निर्दिश्यैवैनं वरुणपाशेन ग्राहयति। तै. ब्रा. I.6.5. Vide Kātyāyana śr. V.5. 6–10 'संमार्जनाय प्रेषितेऽसंसृष्टे प्रतिप्रस्थाता पत्नीमानेष्यन्नाह केन चरसीति। संस्तुतानाचष्टे। तृणानि वोद्गृह्णाति यथासंस्तुतम्। अनाख्यातमहितं ज्ञातिभ्य इति श्रुतेः। आख्याते प्रघासिन इत्येनां वाचयति प्रयन्।'. 'प्रघासिनो हवामहे' is वाज. सं III. 44.

reply in so many words she had only to raise up in her hand small pieces of grass blades to indicate the number of lovers, if any. If she confessed she had to recite the verse, Vāj. S. III. 44 and was allowed to take further part in the sacrifice. If she concealed the truth, it was stated in the Tai. Br. that evil would befall her near and dear relatives (her son or husband). It is said by many European scholars who have written on the religion of the Veda that sacrifice became a sort of magic rite to wrest from gods or independently of them what the worshipper desired (e. g. see Keith's Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads pp. 260–268).[92] But this is an over-statement. When initiated for a sacrifice the sacrificer and his wife had to observe a fast or live on a low diet, both were called upon to observe many strict rules such as telling the truth, they had to make large preparations and spend wealth on the materials and the fees to the priests. These things were deemed to cleanse the mind and soul of the taint of sin. There is no reason to suppose that it was only the ritual that was thought to bring about the desired result (and not all the other matters referred to above).

We shall now discuss the prescriptions of the sūtras and smṛtis about the consequences of sins.

In this connection the doctrines of *Karma* and *Punarjanma* must be well remembered. The details of the origin and development of those doctrines will be discussed in a later section. Here it is enough to state the few main propositions of the doctrine of Karma. The fundamental proposition is that cause and effect are as inseparably linked in the moral sphere as assumed in the physical sphere by science. A good action has its reward and a bad act leads to retribution. If the bad actions do not yield their consequences at once or in this life, the soul begins another existence and in the new environment undergoes suffering for its past bad deeds. The theory of karma and

92. Christ gave a model prayer to his disciples in Luke 11. 2–4 and Matthew 6. 9–13, where after invoking the heavenly Father the first thing asked for is the daily bread, then the forgiveness of sin and deliverance from evil. Pious Christians have an easy and complacent self-assurance of getting the things prayed for, since Christ himself has said that they have only to ask and it shall be given to them (Luke 11.9). This also is a sort of magic but it is simple as compared with elaborate Indian sacrifices. It seems rather perverse for a Christian who believes in Luke 11.9 to say that if an Indian believes that a sacrifice will yield some reward it is all magic and nothing more.

the theory of transmigration of souls (of pre-existence and post-existence) are inextricably mixed up in Indian thought from at least the ancient times of the Upanisads. The general rule is that *Karma*, whether good or evil, cannot be got rid of, except by enjoying or undergoing its consequences. This is said by Gaut. 19. 5, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa and many other works. 'Because the deed does not perish' Gaut.[93]; 'whatever human action it may be, whether good or evil, it cannot be got rid of except by enjoying its consequences; know from me that a man gets rid of good and evil deeds by enjoying (their consequences)'. This doctrine is based on the Śat. Br. V. 2.2.27, Bṛ. Up. IV. 4 and VI. 2, Chān. Up. III. 14, and V. 3–10, Kaṭha 5. 6–7 and other Upaniṣad texts.

Therefore they say, 'a man is born again in that world for which he has worked.' 'According as a man acts and according as he believes so will he be; a man of meritorious acts will be meritorious, a man of evil deeds sinful. He becomes pure by pure deeds and evil by evil deeds. And here they say that a person consists of desires. And as is his desire, so is his will; and as is his will, so is his deed; and whatever deeds he does that he will reap' (Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 5); 'a man is made up of will; whatever he wills in this world the same he becomes after departing from this world' (Chān. Up. III. 14. 1); 'some human beings enter the womb in order to have an embodied existence; others go into inorganic matter (the stump of a tree and the like) according to their deeds and according to their knowledge' (Kaṭha Up. 5. 7).[94]

'Actions done by a man do not perish unless they (i. e. their consequences) are enjoyed even after crores of years; (the fruits of) actions whether good or evil must of necessity be enjoyed[95].'

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93. न हि कर्म क्षीयते । गौ. ध. सू. 19.5 q. by शङ्कराचार्य in his भाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र IV. 1 13 ; न तु भोगादृते पुण्यं पापं वा कर्म मानवम् । परित्यजति भोगाच्च पुण्यापुण्ये निबोध मे ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 14.17 ; तस्मात्कृतस्य पापस्य प्रायश्चित्तं समाचरेत् ॥ नाभुक्तस्यान्यथा नाशः कल्पकोटिशतैरपि ॥ भविष्यपुराण I. 19.27.

94. यथाकारी यथाचारी तथा भवति साधुकारी साधुर्भवति पापकारी पापो भवति पुण्यः पुण्येन कर्मणा भवति पापः पापेन । अथो खल्वाहुः काममय एवायं पुरुष इति स यथाकामो भवति तत्क्रतुर्भवति यत्क्रतुर्भवति तत्कर्म कुरुते यत्कर्म तदभिसंपद्यते ॥ बृह. उ. IV, 4.5 ; अथ खलु क्रतुमयः पुरुषो यथाक्रतुरस्मिँल्लोके पुरुषो भवति तथेतः प्रेत्य भवति ॥ छा. III. 14.1 ; योनिमन्ये प्रपद्यन्ते शरीरत्वाय देहिनः । स्थाणुमन्येऽनुसंयन्ति यथाकर्म यथाश्रुतम् ॥ क. उप. 5.7.

95. नाभुक्तं क्षीयते कर्म कल्पकोटिशतैरपि ॥ अवश्यमेव भोक्तव्यं कृतं कर्म शुभाशुभम् ॥ स्मृति quoted by गोविन्दानन्द on प्राय. वि. p. 17 and by सायण in his भाष्य on तै. आ. 8.2. In परा. मा. II part 1 p. 11 the verse is read as अवश्यमनुभोक्तव्यम्.

Vide also Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 2. 2-7 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. XX. 47 'just as a calf finds out its own mother from among thousands of cows, so actions done in a former life unerringly reach the perpetrator thereof.'

But this general principle was modified in various ways by the smṛtis and later writings. Gautama 19.11[96] (= Vasiṣṭha 22.8) states: 'Reciting the Veda inaudibly (japa), austerities, a sacrifice, fasting and giving gifts are the means of expiating that (i. e. a blamable act).' Vas. 20. 47 and 25. 3 lay down 'A sinner is freed from sin by tormenting his body, by austerities, by reciting the Veda and also by making gifts' and 'those who are constantly engaged in *prāṇāyāmas* (suppression and regulation of breath), reciting purificatory texts, giving gifts, offering sacrifices, muttering sacred texts will undoubtedly be freed from sins'. Manu III. 227 observes: 'by confession, by repentance, by austerity, by reciting Vedic texts (sacred Gāyatrī or other texts), a sinner is freed from guilt and in case of difficulty (i. e. if he is unable to perform austerities or to recite Vedic texts) by liberality'. Similar provisions occur in Parāśara X. 40, Śātātapa I. 4, Saṁvarta 203, Hārīta (q. in Pr. T. p. 467), Yama, (q. in Pr. V. pp. 30, 31), Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (q. by Pr. V. p. 31.)

Before proceeding with the subject of prāyaścittas we shall speak briefly about the other means of reducing the consequences of sin. And first comes confession. With reference to the confession of paramours by the wife in the Varuṇapraghāsa, the Tai. Br. (I. 6. 5. 2)[97] says 'He makes the wife confess, thereby he renders her pure and then he leads her to penance'. The Śat. Br. (II. 5. 2. 20) puts it in this form 'for when confessed the sin becomes less, since it becomes truth'. This was a confession before God (Fire) and men (the priests) to restore one to divine forgiveness and favour. As regards several lapses, confession was part of the procedure prescribed for atoning for the sin.

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96. तस्य निष्क्रयणानि जपस्तपो होम उपवासो दानम्। गौ. 19.11 = वासिष्ठ 22.8 = बौ. ध. सू. III. 10.9. The word निष्क्रय occurs in Jai. VI. 4.33 (niṣkrayavādācca) which refers to a vedic passage about विश्वजित् 'सर्वाभ्य एष देवताभ्य आत्मानं निष्क्रीणीते' quoted by Śabara on जै. VI. 4.32.

97. पत्नीं वाचयति मेध्यामेवैनां करोति। अथो तप एवैनामुपनयति। यज्जारं...ग्राहयति। प्रघास्यान् हवामहे इति पत्नीमुदानयति। तै. ब्रा. I. 6.5; vide note 91 above for the passage यज्जारं...ग्राहयति.

CHAPTER II

MEANS OF REDUCING CONSEQUENCES OF SINS

Confession—In Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 15, I. 10. 28. 19, I. 10. 29. 1 it is prescribed that the person undergoing a penance for being an *abhiśasta* or for unjustly forsaking his wife or for the murder of a learned brāhmaṇa has to declare his misdeed while begging for alms to support himself. The Vedic student who was guilty of sexual intercourse had also to proclaim his lapse while begging at seven houses (Gaut. 23.18, Manu XI. 122).[98]

Repentance (*anutāpa*)—Manu[99] XI. 229–230 (= Viṣṇudharmottara II. 73.231–32) provide: "The more a man's mind loathes his own evil deed the more does his body become freed from the unrighteousness (committed by him). If after committing a sin a man feels repentance for having done it he becomes free from that sin. He becomes purified only by the resolution of ceasing to sin and thinking 'I shall not do so again".[100] The Viṣṇupurāṇa II. 6.40 lays emphasis on repentance and humble devotion to Kṛṣṇa. Pr. V. (p. 30) quotes a verse of Aṅgiras 'A man after committing sins, if he is consumed by repentance and is sorry day and night (for his misdeed), is purified by prāṇāyāma'. The view of digests like the Pr. Prakāśa is that

98. Confession of sins has played a prominent part in early and medieval Christianity. For example, (First epistle of) John I. 9 says 'If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness'.

99. Manu XI. 229 also occurs in ब्रह्मपुराण 218. 5.

100. Compare Christ's call to repentance in Matthew 4. 17 and Mark I. 15 and his last words (in Luke 24. 47) that 'repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations'. शोचेत मनसा नित्यं दुष्कृतान्यनुचिन्तयन्। तपस्वी चाप्रमत्तश्च पापेभ्यः स प्रमुच्यते॥ इति कल्पतरूदाहृतवाक्येन तपस्विपदोपादानात्।...पुनराङ्गिराः। विकर्मणा तप्यमानः पापाद्विपरिमुच्यते। इति। अत्रानुतापमात्रस्य पापनाशकत्वानुपपत्तेः पापनाशकप्रायश्चित्ते अधिकारिविशेषणत्वेन पापनाशप्रयोजकत्वमुक्तम्। विष्णुरपि। मनःसंतापनं तीव्रं बुद्धेरुत्क्रोशनं ततः।...अत्र सर्वत्रानुतापस्य विहितत्वेन पापानि निकृन्तति इत्यादिवद् दीक्षितत्ववैराग्यवद्वाधिकारिविशेषणत्वमेव। प्रा. प्रकाश folio 11; यमः। पश्चात्तापो निवृत्तिश्च स्नानं चाङ्गतयोदितम्। नैमित्तिकानां स्यात्कार्ये तद्विधिः स्यादनर्थकः॥ महाक्लेशसाध्यं हि प्रायश्चित्तम्। अल्पक्लेशा हि पश्चात्तापादयः। तैः प्रायश्चित्तफले कृते प्रायश्चित्तविधिरफल इति स्पष्टम्। अपरार्क p. 1231.

repentance by itself is not enough to destroy sins, but that repentance renders the sinners fit to receive penance, just as paring the nails and the like make the person intending to perform a Vedic sacrifice fit to be a *dīkṣita*. Yama quoted by Aparārka (p. 1231) states that repentance and stopping from repeating the sin are merely the *aṅgas* (subsidiary elements) of prāyaścittas and cannot independently take the place of penances.

Prāṇāyāma (restraint of the breath). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 317 for a description of this. Manu XI. 248 (which is the same as Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1.31, Vas. 26.4, Atri II. 5, Śaṅkhasmṛti XII.18–19) lays down: 'sixteen prāṇāyāmas attended by the Vyāhṛtis and the Praṇava (oṁkāra), if performed every day, would purify after a month even the murderer of a bhrūṇa (a learned brāhmaṇa)'. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55.2 (in prose) is to the same effect. Vas. 26.1–3 provide that on the proper performance of three prāṇāyāmas all the sins committed by day or in the night are at once destroyed. Yāj. III. 305 states that for the removal of all sins, of upapātakas and of sins for which no special expiation is provided by the texts one hundred prāṇāyāmas should be performed. This refers to sins not known to others for which expiation is to be performed secretly. Baud. Dh. S. (IV.1.5–11) provides for varying numbers (3, 7, 12) of prāṇāyāmas to be spread over one day to a year for different kinds of sins ranging from the eating of the food of a śūdra to brāhmaṇa murder. This whole passage is quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. III.305 which points out the kinds of sins it deals with. The Agnipurāṇa 173.21 has the same half verse as Yāj. III.305 (first half).

Tapas (austerity). Even Ṛg. X. 154. 2 speaks of *tapas* as leading to heaven and as unassailable. The Chān. Up. V. 10. 1–2, Muṇḍaka Up. I. 2. 10–11 place *tapas* over *yajña*. Gaut. 19.15 says that celibacy,[101] truthfulness, bathing thrice daily (in the morning, at noon and in the evening), wearing wet clothes (till they are dried on the body), sleeping on the ground (on a raised part or altar) and fasting constitute austerities. Baud. Dh. S. III. 10. 13 adds to these '*ahiṁsā*' (non-injury to any being), *astainya* (not depriving any one of his property) and *guru-śuśrūṣā* (attendance upon a teacher). Gaut. 19. 17 states that

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101. ब्रह्मचर्यं सत्यवचनं सवनेषूदकोपस्पर्शनमार्द्रवस्त्रताधःशायिताऽनाशक इति तपांसि । गौ. 19.15.

the periods for which *tapas* is to be observed are a year, six months, four months, three months, two months, one (month), 24 days, 12 days, 6 days, 3 days, a day and a night (according to the nature of the sin). Manu XI. 239–241 declare that those guilty of mahāpātakas and others guilty of evil deeds are freed from sins by well-practised *tapas* and that whatever sins are committed by people in thought, word and bodily actions are all quickly burnt by *tapas*. This doctrine is shared by the Jainas as stated in the Uttarādhyayana XXIX. 27 'by austerities he cuts off karman' (S B. E. vol. 45 p. 166).

Homa (sacrifice into fire). The Tai. Ā. (II. 7–8) describes[102] the kūṣmāṇḍa homa and dīkṣā and II. 8 prescribes that the man who regards himself as impure should offer a sacrifice with the kūṣmāṇḍa *mantras* (mentioned in Tai. Ā. II. 3–6, viz 'yaddevā deva-heḍanaṁ' (Vāj. S. 20.14–16 = Tai. Ā. II. 3.1). The Mahārṇava-karmavipāka (folio 8 a) prescribes the procedure of Kūṣmāṇḍa homa taken from Jamadagni which is brief. It is as follows:— After shaving the hair on the head and the moustache and taking a bath in holy water one should offer the ājyabhāgas and then offer oblations of clarified butter with the three *Anuvākas* beginning with 'yad devā devaheḍanaṁ,' and then he worships fire with the verses beginning with 'Vaiśvānarāya pratipādayāmi.' He then offers *samidh* with the mantra 'yadadīvayaṁ' and then he repeats the Jayā mantras. He has to observe the rules for a dīkṣita viz. not eating flesh, avoiding sexual intercourse, not telling a falsehood and not sleeping on a cot. He has to subsist on milk (if he is a brāhmaṇa), on barley gruel if a kṣatriya and on āmikṣā if he is a vaiśya. The Kūṣmāṇḍa-homa as prescribed by Baudhāyana is a longer one. The Baud. Dh. S. III. 7.1 prescribes that he who considers himself impure should offer burnt oblations reciting the kūṣmāṇḍa mantras, that he who has had forbidden intercourse becomes even like a thief or even like a slayer of a learned brāhmaṇa

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102. अथ कूष्माण्डैर्जुहुयाद्योऽपूत इव मन्येत यथा स्तेनो यथा भ्रूणहैवमेष भवति योऽयोनौ रेतः सिञ्चति । यदर्वाचीनमेनो भ्रूणहत्यायास्तस्मान्मुच्यत इति । तै. आ. II.8, which is repeated in बौ. ध. सू. III. 7.1, that is q. by the मिता. on या. III. 303. 'यत्र कर्मणि यद्देवा देवहेडनमित्यादयो मन्त्रास्तैत्तिरीयारण्यके समाम्नाताः स कूष्माण्डहोमः, यस्मिंश्च अग्ने नय सुपथेति च तथा अग्ने मन्वे प्रथमस्य प्रचेतस इत्याद्या ऋचस्तैत्तिरीयशाखायां समाम्नाताः स नयहोमः । महार्णवकर्मविपाक folio 7 b. For अग्ने नय vide Ṛg. I. 189.1, Tai. S. I. 1. 14.3, Tai. Ā. I. 8.8.

and that (by performing homa with kūṣmāṇḍas) he becomes free from any sin that is less than the murder of a learned brāhmaṇa. Yāj. III. 309 provides that whenever a twice-born man feels himself mixed up in heavy sins he should perform a *homa* with sesame with the sacred Gāyatrī *mantra*. The Mit. following a verse of Yama says that one lakh of offerings of sesame must be made. Both Manu XI. 34 and Vas. 26. 16 say that a brāhmaṇa becomes free from all distresses by Vedic recitations (japa) and sacrifices (homa). When the wife confessed to the existence of a paramour, the Śat. Br. II. 5. 2. 20 states that she made an offering into the *Dakṣiṇāgni* with the mantra (Vaj. S. III. 45) 'whatever[103] sin we have committed, whether in the village, in the forest, in society or by the organs of sense, we cast that away by this sacrifice, svāhā.' Both Manu (VIII. 105) and Yāj. (II, 83) prescribe that when a witness tells a falsehood in order to prevent an accused person from being sentenced to death, he should offer for expiating his perjury an oblation of boiled rice to Sarasvatī. There are other homas also prescribed such as the Gaṇahoma, in which such verses as 'agne naya supathā' from the Taittirīya śākhā are recited (Mahārṇava).

The old idea of sacrifice seems to have been that it was propitiatory in character. Sacrifice was not demanded or required by God. Sacrifice was probably regarded as a gift which pleased God, induced Him to forgive a man for his transgressions and enabled erring man to regain God's favour which had been lost by some shortcoming or some sinful act. Sacrifices therefore had an expiatory or cleansing function or character. Sacrifices may be performd by offerings either an animal (meant as substitute for the sinner himself who had forfeited his life for his sins and transgressions) or a burnt offering or any other thing offered to God and then distributed to others.

Japa (muttering of Vedic passages as prayers). *Japa* is of three kinds, *vācika* (audibly uttered), *upāṃśu* (inaudibly uttered) and *mānasa* (mentally revolved), each succeeding one being ten times superior, acc. to Laghu Hārīta IV. p. 186,

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103. यद् ग्रामे यदरण्ये यत्सभायां यदिन्द्रिये । यदेनश्चकृमा वयमिदं तदवयजामहे स्वाहा ॥ वाज. सं III. 45 ; vide also तै. सं. I. 8.3 for a similar passage.

(Jivananda I).[104] Śabara (on Jai. XII. 4. 1) distinguishes *japa* from *stuti*, the former being simply an utterance or recitation of a *mantra* or mantras[105]. Inaudible *japa* is praised[106] in Śāṅkhāyana Br. 14. 1. The Āśv. Śr I. 1. 20 provides that *japa*, anumantraṇa, āpyāyana and upasthāna are uttered *upāṁśu*. The Āp. Śr. (24. 1, 8–10) provides that mantras from the Ṛgveda and the Sāmaveda are uttered in sacrifices loudly and that passages of the Yajurveda are muttered upāṁśu and the Tai. Prātiśākhya 23. 6 states that upāṁśu recitation is made by means of the effort of speech organs but without sound (i. e. in a very low voice) and without the mind being directed (to utterance with udātta and other accents) i. e. 'Karaṇavad-aśabdam-amanaḥ-prayogam-upāṁśu'. Gaut. 19. 12 (= Baud. Dh. S. III. 10. 10 = Vas. 22.9) prescribes the following Vedic texts as purifiers: Upaniṣads, Vedānta texts, the Saṁhitā texts of all the Vedas (and not the *padapāṭha* or *kramapāṭha*), the *Yajus* texts in which the word 'madhu' occurs, the Aghamarṣaṇa hymn (Ṛg. X. 190. 1–3), the Atharvaśiras, (the anuvākas called) Rudras, the Puruṣa hymn (Ṛg. X. 90), the two *sāmans* called Rājata and Rauhiṇeya, the Bṛhat-sāma and the Rathantara, the Puruṣagati sāman, the Mahānāmnī verses, the Mahāvairāja (*sāman*), the Mahādivākīrtya (*sāman*), any of the Jyeṣṭha sāmans, the Bahiṣpavamāna (sāman), the Kūṣmāṇḍas, the Pāvamānīs (Ṛg. IX) and the Sāvitrī (Ṛg. III. 62.10).[107] The

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104. अत्र जपयज्ञं प्रकृत्य नरसिंहपुराणम्। त्रिविधो जपयज्ञः स्यात्तस्य भेदं निबोधत। वाचिकश्च उपांशुश्च मानसश्च त्रिविधः स्मृतः। त्रयाणां जपयज्ञानां श्रेयान् स्यादुत्तरोत्तरम्। इति। अत्र हारीतः। उच्चस्त्वेकगुणः प्रोक्तो स्यान्नाद्दशगुणः स्मृतः। उपांशुः स्याच्छतगुणः सहस्रो मानसः स्मृतः। स्मृतिच. I. p. 149. The verses त्रिविधो...उत्तरोत्तरम् occur in नृसिंहपुराण 58. 78-79 and also in लघुहारीत IV. p. 186 (Jiv. I). Both these also define वाचिक and उपांशुजप as follows: 'मन्त्रमुच्चारयन् वाचा जपयज्ञस्तु वाचिकः। शनैरुच्चारयन्मन्त्रं किंचिदोष्ठौ प्रचालयेत्। किंचिच्छ्रवणयोग्यः स्यात्स उपांशुजपः स्मृतः॥'

105. वचनं जपनमिति समानार्थः, यस्मात् जप व्यक्तायां वाचीति स्मर्यते। तेन यत्र वचनमात्रं मन्त्रस्य क्रियते न स्तूयते नाशास्यते स जपः। शबर on जै. XII. 4.1.

106. अथातं आजपमाज्येन वै देवाः सर्वान्कामानाजयन्त सर्वममृतत्वं...तद्वा इदं बहुविधमाज्यं तूष्णीं जपस्तूष्णीं शंसः पुरोरुक्सूक्तमुक्थवीर्यं याज्येति। ... अथ यत्पुरस्तात् तूष्णीं जपं जपति स्वर्गो वै लोको यज्ञस्तद्यत्पुरस्तात्तूष्णीं जपं जपति स्वस्त्ययनमेव तत्कुरुते स्वर्गस्य लोकस्य समष्ट्यै। शांखायनब्रा. 14.1.

107. 'Madhūni' are explained by Haradatta as 'मधुशब्दयुक्तानि यजूंषि ब्राह्मणेषु मधूनीत्याहुरिति'. These occur in तै. आ X. 38. It is better to hold as done by the मद. पा. p. 761, by Maskarin in his bhāṣya on Gaut. and by Pr. Prakāśa (folio 86a) that the word मधूनि refers to the three verses beginning with the words 'Madhu vātā' that are Ṛg. I. 90. 6–8 and occur in Tai. S. IV. 2.9 and

(*Continued on the next page*)

original idea of japa was highly spiritual. Deep knowledge of the Upaniṣads and other texts would have made the soul pure and enabled it to realise the supreme reality and induced in the mind love of all human beings as sparks of the one Divine Essence. Japa at the highest level was contemplation of God and endeavour to attain unity with God. The habit of repeating the sacred texts should lead to maintaining the soul in the presence and thought of God. Japa demands three things, purity of heart, detachment and placing oneself in the hands of God.

Manu XI. 46 provides that a sin unintentionally committed is expiated by the recitation of Vedic texts as prayers, but that which men in their folly commit intentionally is expiated by prāyaścitta.

(*Continued from the last page*)

Vāj. s. XIII. 27-29 also, since they are styled मधुमती by आश्व. गृ., पार. गृ. I. 3, मानवगृ. I. 9.14. Atharvaśiras is an उपनिषद् which begins with देवा ह वै स्वर्गं लोकमायंस्ते रुद्रमपृच्छन् को भवानिति. Vide the Nir. edition of 108 Upaniṣads (printed in 1925) for the अथर्वशिरस्. The अघमर्षण is highly eulogized as a destroyer of sins like Aśvamedha in Manu XI. 259–60, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55.7, Vas. 26.8, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 2.20. Rudras are the eleven *anuvākas* of Tai. S. IV. 5. 1–11 beginning with नमस्ते रुद्र मन्यवे. Acc. to Haradatta the two *Sāmans* Rājata and Rauhiṇa are sung on the Ṛk verse 'Indram naro nemadhitā havante' (Ṛg. VII. 27.1, Sāmaveda, Pūrvārcika 318). The बृहत्साम is sung on the verse त्वामिद्धि हवामहे (ऋ. VI. 46.1, Sāmaveda Pūrvārcika No. 234), the Rathantara on the verse अभि त्वा शूर (ऋ. VII. 32.22, Sāmaveda Pūrvārcika 233). In the भगवद्गीता X. 35 SrīKṛṣṇa puts the Bṛhatsāma as the foremost among Sāmans (बृहत्साम तथा साम्नां). Puruṣagati Sāman is sung on the verse 'Aham-asmi prathamajā ṛtasya,' (Sāmaveda, Araṇyakāṇḍa VI. 1 594). महानाम्नी verses are those beginning with विदा मघवन् विदा which occur in the ऐ. आ. IV, in the जैमिनीयसंहिता of the सामवेद (ed. by Dr. Raghuvira) and in other संहिताs. The महावैराज (सामन्) is sung on the verse पिबा सोममिन्द्र मन्दतु त्वा (ऋ. VII. 22.1, सामवेद पूर्वार्चिक 398, उत्तरार्चिक 927); the महादिवाकीर्त्य is sung on विभ्राड् बृहत्पिबतु सोम्यं (ऋ. X. 170.1, सामवेद अरण्यकाण्ड 628, उत्तरार्चिक 1453); about the ज्येष्ठसामानि हरदत्त mentions two interpretations (of the आपस्तम्ब सूत्र and छन्दोगs), one holding that they are sung on उदु त्य (Ṛg. I. 50.1, सामवेद पूर्वार्चिक 31) and चित्रं देवानां (Ṛg. I. 115.1), the other that they are three Sāmans sung on मूर्धानं दिवो (Ṛg VI. 7.1, सामवेद पूर्वार्चिक 67, उत्तरार्चिक 1140). Maskarin holds that ज्येष्ठसामानि are those sung on the verses शं नो देवी-(Ṛg. X. 9.4) and चित्रं देवानां (Ṛg I. 115.1). The बहिष्पवमान is sung on उपास्मै गायता नरः (Ṛg. IX. 11 1, सामवेद उत्तरार्चिक 651, 763). Vide H. of Dh. vol II pp. 1169–1170 *for further details of the* बहिष्पवमान. For the कूष्माण्डमन्त्र, vide तै. आ. II. 3–5. पावमान्यः are the verses about *soma* in the 9th Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda. Sāvitrī is the famous Gāyatrī mantra (Ṛg. III. 62.10.)

Manu II. 85–87 (which are the same as Vas. 26. 9–11 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55. 10–21) lay[108] down: 'the performance of *japa* is ten times more efficacious than the sacrifices (like Darśapūrṇamāsa) prescribed by the rules (of the Veda), *japa* when carried on inaudibly is a hundred times superior (to sacrifices) and mental revolution of mantras is a thousand times superior. The four pākayajñas [109] (Vaiśvadeva, *bali*, daily *śrāddha*, and honouring guests) together with the Vedic sacrifices do not come up to even the 16th part of *japa*. A brāhmaṇa attains perfection (the highest goal) by *japa*; he may or may not engage in other duties (such as Vedic sacrifices); a brāhmaṇa befriends all creatures'. Great eulogy is bestowed on the inaudible *japa* of the Gāyatrī *mantra* (Ṛg. III. 62.10) for which pp. 303–305 of H. of Dh. vol. II may be consulted. Where no particular number is specially mentioned the recitation of a mantra is to be performed a hundred times.[110]

Manu[110a] XI. 261–262, Vas. 27. 1–3, Aṅgiras 101 and other works go so far as to assert that the fire of Veda study consumes guilt caused by evil deeds just as a fire burning strongly consumes even green trees or that a brāhmaṇa who remembers Ṛgveda (studied by him) is not tainted by any guilt, though he may have destroyed the three worlds and have eaten the food of any person whatever. But these are simply laudatory (*arthavādas*) and are not to be taken literally, as Vas. 27. 4 [111] (= Aṅgiras 102) gives the warning 'one should not become addicted to (or take pleasure in committing) evil deeds relying on the power of the Veda (stated in some smṛti passages). (The effects of) actions done through ignorance and negligence are alone consumed (by Veda study) and not those of other actions (intentionally done).'

Many smṛtis such as Manu XI. 249–257 (which are almost the same as Viṣṇudharmottara II. 74. 4–13), Vas. 26. 5–7 and 28. 10–15 (the former of which are the same as Manu XI. 249–251), Viṣṇu

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108. Manu II. 87 occurs in Śaṅkhasmṛti also (XII. 28).

109. The five pākayajñas are enumerated in Manu III 70 and the four meant are all of them except brahmayajña (teaching and studying Veda).

110. 'जपस्तु शतसंख्याकः, अनादेशे शतमिति वचनादिति शूलपाणिः । प्रा. प्रकाश. folio 143a.

110a. Manu XI. 262 and Vas. 27. 3 are identical.

111. न वेदबलमाश्रित्य पापकर्मरतिर्भवेत् । अज्ञानाच्च प्रमादाच्च दह्यते कर्म नेतरत् ॥ वसिष्ठ 27.4, अङ्गिरस् 102.

Dh. S. 56. 3–27, Atri VI. 1–5 (which are almost the same as Vas.[112] 28. 10–15), Śaṅkha, chap. 11 (= Vas. 28. 10–15), Saṁvarta 227–228, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 2. 4–5, IV. 3. 8, IV. 4. 2–5, Yāj. III. 302–305, prescribe several Vedic hymns or single Vedic verses or prose passages as specially efficacious for removing all sins. It is not possible nor necessary to set down all of them, but by way of sample the verses of Manu (XI. 249–257) are translated here. 'Even a drinker of *surā* becomes pure if he mutters the hymn (seen) by Kutsa[113], the three verses beginning with '*prati*' (Ṛg. VII. 80. 1–3) seen by Vasiṣṭha, the Māhitra hymn (Ṛg. X. 185), the verses called Śuddhavatīs (Ṛg. VIII. 95. 7–9 where the word 'śuddha' occurs 13 times in different connections). Even he who has stolen gold (of a brāhmaṇa) instantly becomes free from guilt if he once mutters (the hymn) beginning with 'asya vāmasya' i. e. Ṛg. I. 164. 1–52), and the Śivasaṅkalpa (Vāj. S. XXXIV. 1–6). The violater of a guru's bed is freed from sin if he repeatedly recites the hymn beginning with 'haviṣpāntam' (Ṛg. X. 88. 1–19) and the hymn beginning with 'na tam-aṁho' (i. e. Ṛg. X. 126. 1–8), the hymn beginning with 'iti' (i. e. Ṛg. X. 119) and the hymn addressed to *Puruṣa* (Ṛg. X. 90). He who desires to do away with sins, great and small, should mutter during a year the verse beginning with 'ava' (i. e. 'ava te heḷo varuṇa namobhiḥ' Ṛg. I. 24. 14, Tai. S. I. 5. 11. 3), or the verse 'yat kim ca' (Ṛg. VII. 89. 5) or the verse 'iti vā' (Ṛg. X 119. 1). That man who, having accepted a gift that ought not to be accepted, or having eaten forbidden food, mutters the hymn beginning with 'tarat sa mandī' (Ṛg. IX. 58. 1–4)[114] becomes pure after three days. He who has committed many sins becomes pure if he recites for a month the hymn beginning with 'Somā rudrā' (Ṛg. VI. 74. 1–4) and the three verses beginning with 'Aryamaṇam' (Ṛg. IV. 2. 4–6) while he bathes in a river (and not in a pond or other reservoir of water). One guilty of a grievous offence should mutter the seven verses beginning with 'Indram' (Ṛg. I. 106. 1–7). A twice-born man removes even very great guilt by offering clarified butter for a year (in fire) with the mantras for the Śākalahomas (Vāj. S. VIII. 13) or by muttering the

112. Vas. 28.10–15 are quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 187. Atri VI. 1–5 are quoted as Atri's in Gr. R. p. 245.

113. The Kautsa hymn is Ṛg. I. 97. 1–8, all of which have as their refrain अप नः शोशुचदघम्, 'may he burn away our sin.'

114. तरत्स मन्दी धावति is the refrain of all four verses of Ṛg IX. 58. It means 'He who presses (soma) gets over (all sins), he runs (to higher worlds).' Vide Nir. XIII. 6,

mantra 'nama id-ugram' (Ṛg. VI 51. 8). One who is stained by mortal sin becomes pure if with a concentrated mind he attends cows for a year, reciting the Pāvamānī hymns (the whole of Ṛg. IX) and subsisting on alms.[114a]

So much importance and such occult powers came to be attached to the words of the Ṛgveda that the Ṛgvidhāna of Śaunaka (which is later than Manu) concerns itself with prescribing numerous hymns of the Ṛgveda for the removal of various diseases, of sins, for the conquest of enemies.

The Sāma. Br. I. 5. 2 says [115] generally that when no particular hymns are prescribed for the removal of sins Vedic mantras are powerful and become purifiers if accompanied by *tapas* and the Sāmans may be repeated for the same purpose from ten times as the minimum to 100 times as prāyaścitta. Gautama 19. 13 prescribes the kind of food on which one should subsist when one is engaged in *japa* viz. one was to live on milk alone, to eat vegetables only, to eat fruits only, to live on barley gruel prepared from a handful of grain, to eat gold[116], to eat clarified butter, and to drink *soma* and so forth. Gautama 19. 14 further lays down that all mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of sages (ṛṣis), cowpens and temples of the gods are places (which help to destroy sin).

As the Veda could be studied in and after the sūtra period only by the male members of the first three classes, the *japa* of Vedic texts for the removal of sins was not possible for śūdras; therefore, the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 262) says that although the śūdra (and women and those born of pratiloma marriages also) has no *adhikāra* (power or capacity or authority) for the recitation of Gāyatrī and other Vedic mantras, still the śūdra and women after revolving in the mind the name of the deity put in the dative case can engage in *japa* with the word *namah* (i. e. he can only utter the words 'namo namaḥ' and not *om* &c)

114a. In Ṛg. I. 106. 1-7 the first six verses have the refrain विश्वस्मान्नो अंहसो निष्पिपर्तन ('May you take us beyond all sin').

115. अनादेशे मन्त्रा बलवन्तस्तपोन्विताः पावना भवन्ति। आपन्नः प्रायश्चित्तं चरेत्। अभ्यासः साम्नां शतं दशावरम्। सामविधानब्रा. I. 5. 2-4.

116. 'To eat gold' is explained by हरदत्त as 'सर्पिरादौ हिरण्यं निघृष्य प्राशनं हिरण्यप्राशनम्'.

as stated by Gaut. Dh. S. X. 66-67 and Yāj. I. 121[117]. When Manu IV. 80 says 'let him not explain to a śūdra the sacred law (*dharma*) nor impose upon him a *vrata*' all that is meant is, according to the Mit. on Yāj. III. 262, that it applies only to a śūdra who does not wait upon or serve higher varṇas. Similarly, when Gaut. IV. 20 says that those born in the inverse order are outside the pale of the sacred law, the meaning is that *saṁskāras* like upanayana are not to be performed on them. The mystic syllable 'om' is said by Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 13. 6) to be the door to heaven and was to be employed before the recitation of any Vedic passage. The Yogasūtra (I. 27) avers that *om* (called praṇava) is expressive of the idea of God and that the repetition of om and revolving the meaning of it in the mind lead to concentration.[118]

Not only were certain Vedic hymns and passages recommended for recitation with the object of removing sins some works, particularly the Purāṇas, proposed an easy way for all viz. that the remembrance of God Nārāyaṇa (or Hari or Kṛṣṇa) removed all sins. The Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 176) contains a stotra (hymn of praise) of Viṣṇu, which when recited is said to free a man from all sins (mental, vocal or bodily). The Pr. V. p. 31 quotes a verse from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa[118a] and three verses from the Viṣṇupurāṇa as follows:—'even a great sin is removed by (the resolve of) not doing it again, by gifts, by confessing it to others, and by meditation (on Viṣṇu) and not only by prāyaścittas' (Bhaviṣya); 'of all the expiations (for sins declared by the sages) such as *tapas* (Cāndrāyaṇa and others) and other actions (japa, homa, gifts) the meditation on

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117. अनुज्ञातोऽस्य नमस्कारो मन्त्रः। पाकयज्ञैः स्वयं यजेतेत्येके। गौ. X. 66-67, on which हरदत्त comments 'अस्य शूद्रस्य वैश्वदेवादिषु तत्तद् देवतापदं चतुर्थ्यन्तं मनसा ध्यात्वा नमो नम इत्येवंरूपो मन्त्रोऽनुज्ञातो धर्मज्ञैः'; नमस्कारेण मन्त्रेण पञ्चयज्ञान्न हापयेत्॥ या. I. 121. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 158 note 371 for further details. मनु. X. 41 says that all pratilomas are like śūdras.

118. ओङ्कारः स्वर्गद्वारं तस्माद् ब्रह्माध्येष्यमाण एतदादि प्रतिपद्येत। आप. ध. सू. I. 4.13.6; 'तस्य वाचकः प्रणवः। तज्जपस्तदर्थभावनम्। योगसूत्र I. 27-28; वाचस्पति comments: प्रणवस्य जपः प्रणवाभिधेयस्य चेश्वरस्य भावनम्। तदस्य योगिनः प्रणवं जपतः प्रणवार्थं च भावयतश्चित्तमेकाग्रं सम्पद्यते।

118a. भविष्यपुराणम्। अपुनःकरणात्त्यागात्ख्यापनादनुचिन्तनात्। व्यपैति महदप्येनः प्रायश्चित्तैर्न केवलम्॥ विष्णुपुराणम्। प्रायश्चित्तान्यशेषाणि तपःकर्मात्मकानि वै। यानि तेषामशेषाणां कृष्णानुस्मरणं परम्॥ प्रातर्निशि तथा सन्ध्यामध्याह्नादिषु संस्मरन्। नारायणमवाप्नोति सद्यः पापक्षयं नरः॥ प्राय. वि. p 31. The verse प्रायश्चि...परम्. is विष्णुपुराण II. 6.39. The verse प्रातर्निशि is q. by अपरार्क p. 1232 and by प्राय. तत्त्व also (p. 524) The two verses are also respectively ब्रह्मपुराण 22.37 and 39.

Kṛṣṇa is the highest. If a man remembers Nārāyaṇa in the morning, at night, at twilight, at midday and the like, he at once secures the removal of sin' (Viṣṇupurāṇa). The Brahmapurāṇa[119] (216. 87–88) gives expression to a popular belief as follows:—"Men, even after committing sins many times through folly, do not go to Hell if they prostrate themselves before Hari who destroys all sins. Those men also who always remember Janārdana even by roguery go to the world of Viṣṇu after death." The Viṣṇupurāṇa affirms that those who contemplate upon the mantra of twelve letters (viz. '*om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya*') do not return to the cycle of births and deaths. The great power of mantras is mentioned in the Ādiparva (161. 14) by Kuntī. The Nṛsimha-purāṇa in chap. 18 eulogises the mantra of eight letters (om namo Nārāyaṇāya) and chap. 63.6, states "what is the use of many mantras and the performance of many *vratas*, when the mantra 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya' is capable of securing all desired objects". The mantra of five letters 'namaḥ Śivāya' is dealt with in Liṅgapurāṇa (pūrvārdha, chap. 85) and Saurapurāṇa 65. Brahma-purāṇa speaks of *vaidika* mantras and *āgamokta* mantras (41. 63). The Nityācāra-paddhati (p. 67) says that it is necessary to understand the meaning of vedic mantras in śrauta rites but in smārta rites it is not so.

Dāna (gifts). Gaut. XIX. 16 provides[120] that gold, a cow, a dress, a horse, land, sesamum, clarified butter and food are the gifts (that destroy sin) and may be optionally undergone as penance if no express mention is made thereof. Vas. quotes several verses on gifts one of which (29. 16) states: "whatever sin a man distressed for livelihood commits he is purified from that by giving land even if it be as small in extent as 'gocarma' "[121]. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 92.4 is to the same effect. Saṁvarta[122] (204) prescribes that the gifts of gold, cow and land

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119. कृत्वापि बहुशः पापं नरा मोहसमन्विताः। न यान्ति नरकं नत्वा सर्वपापहरं हरिम्॥ शाठ्येनापि नरा नित्यं ये स्मरन्ति जनार्दनम्। तेऽपि यान्ति तनुं त्यक्त्वा विष्णुलोकमनामयम्॥ ब्रह्मपु. 216.87-88: अद्यापि न निवर्तन्ते द्वादशाक्षरचिन्तकाः। विष्णुपुराण I. 6.39.

120. हिरण्यं गौर्वासोऽश्वो भूमिस्तिला घृतमन्नमिति देयानि। एतान्येवानादेशे विकल्पेन क्रियेरन्। गौ. 19.16 and 18.

121. अथाप्युदाहरन्ति। यत्किंचित्कुरुते पापं पुरुषो वृत्तिकर्शितः। अपि गोचर्ममात्रेण भूमिदानेन शुध्यति॥ वसिष्ठ 29.16. For the meaning of गोचर्म, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 432, n. 718.

122. सुवर्णदानं गोदानं भूमिदानं तथैव च। नाशयन्त्याशु पापानि अन्यजन्मकृतान्यपि॥ संवर्त 204 q. by प्राय. तत्त्व p. 483 (which reads 'महापातकजान्यपि at the end). हिंसायां दानमेव मुख्यमित्युक्तं भविष्ये। हिंसात्मकानां सर्वेषां कीर्तितानां मनीषिभिः। प्रायश्चित्तकदम्बानां दानं प्रथममुच्यते॥ प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 86a).

quickly destroy sins even if committed in former lives. Medhātithi (on Manu XI. 139) remarks that the verse implies that as to sins arising from injury to living beings gifts are the principal expiations. The subject of *dāna* has been dealt with at length in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 837–888. A few further remarks may be made here. In many inscriptions and copperplate grants of lands or villages the donor usually states that the grant is made for the increase of the merit of himself and of his parents (e. g. E. I. vol. XI. p. 219 at p. 221). Bṛhaspati[123] as quoted in the Madanaratna (vyavahāra p. 66) expressly provides that in land-grants the king should state that he made the gift for securing merit to his parents and to himself[124]. The Rājataraṅginī (I. 143)[125] refers to the founding of *vihāras* (monasteries).

Upavāsa (fasting). Fasting strictly means total abstinence from food and drink, but generally it means light diet restricted in quantity and also as regards the nature of the articles taken. Even the Tai. S. (I. 6. 7. 3–4) refers[126] to three ways of observing *vrata* on the days of the *Darśapūrṇamāsa-iṣṭi* either by subsisting only on food available in the village or on forest food or partaking of no food at all. Gaut. 19.11 includes upavāsa among the several means of removing sins. Tapas is also one of such means acc. to him. But in Gaut. 19.15 as stated above, Gaut. includes fasting (*anāśaka*) among 'tapāṁsi'.

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123. दत्त्वा भूम्यादिकं राजा ताम्रपट्टे पटेऽथवा। शासनं कारयेद्धर्म्यं स्थानवंश्यादिसंयुतम्। मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यायामुकसूनवे। दत्तं मयामुकायाद्य दानं सब्रह्मचारिणे॥ बृह. in मदनरत्न p. 66 on व्यवहार.

124. In Europe the same practice prevailed in the middle ages. 'The founder (of monasteries) constantly tells us that this sacrifice is made for the atonement of his own sins and those of his progenitors and kinsfolk'' G. G. Coulton in 'Five centuries of Religion' (1936) vol. III. p. 27. Redemption of sin by monetary payments or by leaving property to the churches and monasteries was a very firm belief in the Middle Ages in Christian countries, so much so that men who had earned properties made large gifts to the church when the prospect of death was near and vast estates accumulated in the hands of churchmen, which led to the passing of the Statute of Mortmain in England.

125. तस्मिन् कुले न जायेत विहारच्छेदकोऽसमम्। तस्य तत्प्रेरकाणां च प्रायश्चित्तं कृतं भवेत्॥ राजतरङ्गिणी I. 143.

126. यद्ग्राम्यस्योपवसति तेन ग्राम्यान्पशूनवरुन्धे यदारण्यस्याश्नाति तेनारण्यान् यदनाश्वानुपवसेत् पितृदेवत्यः स्यात्। तै. सं. I. 6. 7. 3.

Haradatta explains *upavāsa*[127] as giving up the eating of boiled rice (bhaktatyāga) and adds that upavāsa is again included under *tapāṁsi* to show the great importance attached to it. Haradatta notes that a predecessor of his relying on a Purāṇa passage explained *upavāsa* in Gaut. 19.11 as 'restraint of senses'. In many of the Gṛhya sūtras upavāsa means only eating light food prepared from corn usable in sacrifices (such as rice) once in the day excluding vegetables, māṣa (pulse), salt and flesh (compare Gobhila gr. I. 5.26, Khādira gr. II. 1.4 and 6, Kauśika-sūtra I. 31–32, Kāṭhakagṛhya 46.2[128]). The Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 22 closely associates 'anāśaka' (fasting) with *tapas* as a means to the mystic realisation of the Supreme Soul[129]. Jaimini (III. 8. 9–11) appears to regard fasting as *tapas*[130]. Manu XI. 203 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54.29) provides that fasting (for a day) is the penance for omitting the rites ordained by the Veda (such as the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice and the performance of *sandhyā* adoration) and for neglecting the special duties of a *snātaka* (laid down in Manu IV. 34 ff). When a person was observing a fast he had to avoid doing certain other actions. Acc. to Devala a fast becomes bereft of its good results by drinking water often, by chewing *tāmbūla*, by sleep in the day-time and by sexual intercourse[131]; but the Garuḍapurāṇa I. 128. 6 and Bhaviṣya-purāṇa (I. 184.27) allow even when one is fasting the use of flowers, ornaments, rich clothes, garlands, unguents, applying collyrium to the eye and the cleansing of teeth. Dakṣa quoted by the Par. M. states that if a man observes a fast for the day and night on the day on which the sun first turns towards the

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127. उपवासो भक्तत्यागः । स एव तपःस्वपि पुनः पठ्यते आदरख्यापनार्थम् । अपर आह । निष्क्रयणेषु पठित उपवास इन्द्रियनिग्रहः । उपावृत्तस्यैव दोषेभ्यो यस्तु वासो गुणैः सह । उपवासं तमाहुस्तु न शरीरस्य शोषणात् ॥ इति पुराणे दर्शनादिति । हरदत्त on गौ. 19. 11. The स्मृतिच॰ II. p. 355 attributes the verse to व्यास and it and अपरार्क p. 199 read it as उपावृत्तस्य पापेभ्यो...सर्वभोगविवर्जितः. मा. प्रकाश. (folio 44a) reads as अपरार्क does and says it is taken from अग्निपुराण.

128. काठकगृह्य 46.2 is औपवस्तं भुक्त्वा and the com. of देवपाल says: उपवस्तु-र्भक्षणमौपवस्तं तत्पुनर्यज्ञार्हं हविष्यान्नं शाकमाषलवणमांसवर्जम् । व्रीहियवपयोघृतप्रभृतिभिर्भुक्त्वा ।

129. स वा एष महानज आत्मा...तमेतं वेदानुवचनेन ब्राह्मणा विविदिषन्ति यज्ञेन दानेन तपसाऽनाशकेन । बृह. उ. IV. 4. 22. Vide शाङ्करभाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 4.26 and 33 for the explanation of this Up. passage.

130. तपश्च फलसिद्धित्वाल्लोकवत् । जै. III. 8. 9; शबर 'तपः श्रूयते अयहं नाश्नाति त्र्यहं नाश्नाति इति । तत्र सन्देहः किमार्त्विज्यं तपः याजमानमिति । याजमानं तप इति ।'

131. असकृज्जलपानाच्च ताम्बूलस्य च भक्षणात् । उपवासः प्रदुष्येत दिवा स्वापाच्च मैथुनात् ॥ देवल q. by अपरार्क p. 199, स्मृतिच॰ II. p. 355. The गरुडपुराण (I. 128, 7–8) has almost the same verse.

north or south, or on the Viṣuva day (day of equinox), and on an eclipse of the sun or the moon and bathes he is freed from all sins[132]. Manu XI 166 (= Agnipurāṇa 169.31) prescribes a fast for three days as a penance for theft of grass, firewood, tree, dry food (i. e. grains of rice), jaggery, clothes, hide and flesh. The Anuśāsanaparva (106.1) remarks[133] that men of all varṇas and even Mlecchas thought highly of fasts and that chapter contains an exaggerated eulogy of fasting. Almost all religions (except Zoroastrianism) such as the Hebrew, Christian (in Lent) and Moslem (in Ramjan) emphasize the necessity of fasting as a discipline or as a preparation for penitence. The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa (I, chap. 16. 12–14) states that those who have not kindled sacred fires can please the gods by *vratas*, restraints, gifts and particularly by *upavāsas* and points out (verses 18–22) what substances (eatables) should be given up from the first to the 15th *tithi* in each fortnight. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the śrauta and gṛhya sūtras the word upavasatha is used in the sense of 'upavāsa' and is derived from 'vas' (to dwell) with 'upa'. Vide. H. of Dh. vol. II p. 1010 and n. 2276 for the Śat. Br. The Khādira gṛ II. 1.4, Gobhila. gṛ. I 6.2, Kauśika-sūtra I 31 employ the word upavasatha. Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 1.4–5. prescribe an upavāsa for husband and wife on *parvan* days and if they cannot totally abstain from food they should eat only once by day food proper for upavāsa. Aparārka p. 199, Smṛ. C. (śrāddha p. 355) and Kṛtya-ratnākara quote a verse from Vyāsa deriving the word upavāsa[133a]. The Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 9–13, Baud. Dh. II. 7.32, Vas. 6.21 and Śāṅ. gṛ. II. 16.5 have the same verse viz. 'an āhitāgni, a draught ox and brahmacārin, these three fulfill (their work) by eating; they cannot fulfill their duties by non-eating'. This is explained as not applying to prāyaścittas (Baud. Dh. S II. 7.34) and to fasts on Ekādaśī. The Śāntiparva 323.17 states 'Just as a dirty garment is afterwards cleansed by water, so to those who are heated in (the fire of) fasting inexhaustible happiness for a long time comes.' Śānti 79.18, however, says 'merely emaciating the body by fasting is not *tapas*, but ahiṁsā, truthfulness, freedom from cruelty, restraint and compassion are *tapas*'.

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132. अयने विषुवे चैव चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे तथा। अहोरात्रोषितः स्नात्वा सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते॥ वस q. by परा. मा. I. 1 p. 438.

133. सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां म्लेच्छानां च पितामह। उपवासे मतिरियं कारणं च न विद्महे॥ अनुशासन 166.1.

133a. 'उपावृत्तस्य पापेभ्यो यस्तु वासो गुणैः सह। उपवासः स विज्ञेयः सर्वभोगविवर्जितः' अपरार्क p. 199. गुणैः means 'शमादिभिः' and वासः means 'नियमेनावस्थानम्.'

Tīrthayātrā :—Pilgrimage will be dealt with exhaustively in a later section. It was believed that going on a pilgrimage and bathing in such holy rivers as the Ganges freed a man from sins. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (35.6) lays down that those guilty of *mahāpātakas* may become pure by Aśvamedha sacrifice or by visiting all the sacred places on the earth. Devala says that a man removes the consequences of such grave sins as the murder of a brāhmaṇa that he may have committed unintentionally by the performance of great sacrifices or by going on a pilgrimage. Parāśara (XII. 58 ff) prescribes[134] pilgrimage to see Rāma's bridge to Laṅkā for a murderer of a brāhmaṇa who has studied the four Vedas. Devala states: 'a man becomes freed from sin by approaching holy places and shrines, brāhmaṇas that practise austerities, that all rivers that fall into the ocean, all great mountains, all shrines and all forests are holy.' The Matsyapurāṇa (184.18) says that a heap of sins as big as the mountain Meru or Mandara becomes destroyed when man reaches Avimukta (Benares). The Kūrmapurāṇa[135] (pūrvārdha 29.3) says: 'I do not see any other expiation for destroying all sins in the Kaliyuga for all beings except Benares'. Even in the times of the Peshwas of Poona pilgrimage was prescribed for brāhmaṇa murder (vide 'Selections from Peshwa Records,' vol. 43 p. 107) and the brāhmaṇas were ordered that after the sinner performed the penance they were to dine with him and recognize that he had been purified. In an order dated śake 1659 (1737 AD) the Peshwa Bajirao the first informs the Deshmukhas, Deshpandes and Mukadams that four brothers named Zende approached him with the story that their father was born when their paternal grandmother lived with one Pilaji Zende after she became a widow and that she intended to remarry that man but that had to be postponed owing to famine, that the caste meeting were prepared to take them into the

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134. चातुर्विद्योपपन्ने तु विधने ब्रह्मघातके। समुद्रसेतुगमनं प्रायश्चित्तं विनिर्दिशेत्॥ पराशर XII. 58 q. by अपरार्क p. 1061, प्राय. वि. p. 45. The प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 66 a and b) remarks: 'ब्रह्महत्याप्रसङ्गोपक्रमस्य भविष्यपुराणे। विन्ध्यादुत्तरतो यस्य निवासः परिकीर्तितः। पराशरमतं तस्य सेतुबन्धस्य दर्शनम्॥ इति।...अत्र च विन्ध्योत्तरवर्तिनः षडधिकशतत्रययोजनगमनेन तावत्संख्याकप्राजापत्यापनोद्यब्रह्महत्यापनोदो केरतीर्थानुकूले-ऐकयोजनगमनस्यैकैकप्राजापत्यतुल्यत्वमर्थादुक्तं भवति।'.

135. नान्यत्पश्यामि जन्तूनां मुक्त्वा वाराणसीं पुरीम्। सर्वपापप्रशमनं प्रायश्चित्तं कलौ युगे॥ कूर्मपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 29.3) q. by परा. मा. II. 2 p. 162; अभिसंगम्य तीर्थानि पुण्यान्यायतनानि च। नरः पापात्प्रमुच्येत ब्राह्मणांश्च तपस्विनः॥ सर्वाः समुद्रगाः पुण्याः सर्वे पुण्या नगोत्तमाः। सर्वमायतनं पुण्यं सर्वे पुण्या वनाश्रयाः॥ देवल q. by परा. मा. II. 2.p. 201, प्रा. प्रकाश folio 66 b.

caste and hold them pure if a Government order was issued. Then the Peshwa issued an order that they should go to Tulapur on the banks of the Bhīmā river and that they and their male progeny together with their wives should be restored back to the caste and complete association with them as to taking food and marriage be carried on with them from generation to generation.[136] The Pr. Prakāśa quotes a verse from the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa about the penance for brāhmaṇa murder to the effect that for him who dwells to the north of the Vindhya mountain Parāśara prescribes the sight of Setubandha as a penance and then remarks that a man from the north of Vindhya has to travel 360 yojanas to reach Setubandha and that since 360 Prājāpatya penances are declared to be enough to remove the sin of brahmahatyā, it impliedly follows that each yojana towards a tīrtha is equal to one Prājāpatya. The Smṛtyarthasāra (pp. 149-150) quotes several verses from the Purāṇas stating that gods like Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, great sages like Bhṛgu, Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, great kings like Hariścandra, Nala, Sagara obtained greatness by means of tīrthas and that Pāṇḍavas, Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Nārada, Vyāsa and other sages engaged in pilgrimages for securing kingdoms and for removal of evil fortune. This subject of *tīrthas* will be dealt with at length in a separate section.

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136. Vide राजवाडे खण्ड 6 letter 113 p. 225.

CHAPTER III

PRĀYAŚCITTA; ITS ORIGIN, DERIVATION AND MEANING

It is now necessary to turn to prāyaścittas as removers of sin. A number of subjects will fall to be treated here.

First, an attempt must be made to understand the etymology and meaning of the word 'prāyaścitta' in ancient times. There are two forms of the word, prāyaścitti and prāyaścitta, which occur in Vedic works without distinction of meaning and both forms are fairly old, though *prāyaścitti* appears to be the older of the two. The form prāyaścitti frequently occurs in the Tai. S. (as in II. 1.2,4, II. 1 4.1, III. 1.3.2–3, V. 1.9.3, V. 3.12.1)[136a]. In some of these passages no question of sin arises. The word means 'doing some thing which would get rid of some accidental happening or mishap such as the breaking of an *ukhā* (a pot or saucepan for boiling or cooking) or the sun's losing its brilliance.' In Tai. S. V. 3.12.1 the word is used in the sense of an expiation for a sin. So even in very old books the word had two shades of meaning. The Kauṣītaki[137] Br. (vi. 12) states: "they say 'whatever mistake or excess occurs in the sacrifice that affects the priest *brahmā*, that he treats with the threefold learning (i. e. the three Vedas)". The word also occurs in the Atharvaveda XIV. 1.30, Vāj. S. 39.12 (in close proximity to niṣkṛti), in the Ait. Br. V. 27, in the Śat. Br. IV. 5. 7.1, VII. 1.4.9, XI. 5.3.8, XII. 4.1.6 and in other works also. The form prāyaścitta occurs in Kauṣītaki Br. V. 9, VI. 12 and elsewhere. The Āśv. Śr. III. 10.38 and Śāṅkhāyana Śr. III. 19.1 respectively employ the words prāyaścitti and prāyaścitta[138]. In Pār. gṛ. I.

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136 a. असावादित्यो न व्यरोचत तस्मै देवाः प्रायश्चित्तिमैच्छन् । तै. सं. II. 1.2.4, II. 1.4.1; यदि भिद्येत तैरेव कपालैः संसृजेत्सैव ततः प्रायश्चित्तिः । तै. सं V. 1.9.3; एष वै प्रजापतिं सर्वं करोति योऽश्वमेधेन यजते सर्व एव भवति सर्वस्य वा एषा प्रायश्चित्तिः सर्वस्य भेषजम् । तै. सं. V. 3.12.1.

137. यद्वै यज्ञस्य स्खलितं वोल्बणं वा भवति ब्रह्मण एव तत्प्राहुस्तस्य त्रय्या विद्यया भिषज्यति । कौषीतकि ब्रा. VI. 12.

138. विध्यपराधे प्रायश्चित्तिः । आश्व. श्रौ. III. 10; विध्यपराधे प्रायश्चित्तम् । अर्थलोपे प्रतिनिधिः । शां. श्रौ. III. 19.1; विध्यपराधे प्रायश्चित्तं दोषनिर्घातार्थं विधीयतेऽनाज्ञाते विशेषे ध्यानं नारायणस्य तज्जपेज्याहोमाश्च हननार्थेति । वैखानसश्रौतसूत्र 20. 1 (ed. by

(Continued on the next page)

Sāmavidhāna Br. I. 5.1 another derivation is suggested viz. that 'prāyaḥ' is composed of two parts 'pra' and 'ayaḥ' and means 'happening or finding' (of the non-performance of what is ordained) and 'citta' means 'knowledge'; and so religious observances after knowing a certain happening are called prāyaścittas. The Pr. Vi. p. 3 and Pr. Tattva p. 467 quote Hārīta and give[147] yet another derivation (from 'prayata' pure and 'cita' collected), in accordance with which 'prāyaścitta' means such actions as *tapas*, gifts and sacrifices whereby a man becomes purified (*prayata*) and destroys his accumulated sins ('cita' being equal to 'upacita'), just as clothes are made clean by the employment of salts, moist heat, putting in boiling water on a fire, and washing in water. Hence, as the Mit. says, the word prāyaścitta conventionally[148] denotes a certain act or rite of the *naimittika* type (since it takes place only when an occasion arises) intended for the destruction of sin (and therefore being desired for removal of sin it may also be called *kāmya*). The Par. M. quotes verses from Bṛhaspati's[149] work of which the section on prāyaścitta holds at the beginning and at the conclusion thereof that prāyaścitta is *naimittika*[150] (to be performed when a cause

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147. तत्र हारीतः। प्रयतत्वाद्वोपचितमशुभं कर्म नाशयतीति प्रायश्चित्तमिति। तपः-प्रभृतिकं कर्म उपचितं सञ्चितमशुभं पापं नाशयतीति। कृततत्कर्मभिः कर्तुः प्रयतत्वाद्वा। शुद्धत्वादेव तत्प्रायश्चित्तम्। तथा च पुनर्हारीतः। यथा क्षारोपस्वेदचण्डनिर्णोदनप्रक्षालनादिभिर्वासांसि शुध्यन्ति एवं तपोदानयज्ञैः पापकृतः शुद्धिमुपयान्ति। प्राय. तत्त्व p. 467; vide also प्राय. वि. p. 3 for the first sūtra and p. 17 for the rest of the passage of हारीत. The मद. पा. p. 703 quotes the passage from यथा क्षारोप. मद. पा. p. 704 explains चण्डनिर्णोदन as 'शुद्ध्यर्थमधिश्रयणादिना तत्क्वथनम्' and प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 9a) 'चण्डः अग्निः निर्णोदनं तस्मिन्नधिश्रयणं क्वथनमिति'.

148. प्रायश्चित्तशब्दश्चायं पापक्षयार्थे नैमित्तिके कर्मविशेषे रूढः। मिता. on या. III. 220, which is q by स्मृतिमु. (प्राय) p. 859, परा. मा. II, part 1 p. 3.

149. तथा च बृहस्पतिः प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणस्योपक्रमोपसंहारयोः नैमित्तिकत्वं दर्शयति। नैमित्तिकं धर्मजातं वदतो मे निबोधत। विहितस्याननुष्ठानात् प्रतिषिद्धनिषेवणात्। प्रायश्चित्तं यत्क्रियते तन्नैमित्तिकमुच्यते। इत्युपक्रमः। नैमित्तिकं समाख्यातं प्रायश्चित्तं समासतः। इत्युपसंहारश्च। परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 7; also in कालभट्टी on या. III. 206 and प्राय. प्रकाश folio 7 b. तथा च जाबालः। अतः काम्यं नैमित्तिकं च प्रायश्चित्तमिति स्थितिः प्रा. प्रकाश folio 8a.

150. Actions are divided into three kinds, *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya*. Nitya acts are those like sandhyā-vandana (which are obligatory and performed daily as a duty and which if not performed lead to sinfulness); naimittika are those acts which have to be done only on some occasion (as a bath on an eclipse) and kāmya rites are those which are performed out of a desire to secure some object (as the sacrifice called putreṣṭi for a son). Manu in XI. 53 says: 'therefore (because of the remnants of the guilt of

(*Continued on the next page*)

or occasion arises). Jābāla q. in the Pr. Prakāśa holds that prāyaścitta partakes of the nature of both naimittika and kāmya actions. The Pr. Prakāśa finds fault with the definitions of prāyaścitta proposed by the Kalpataru, Śūlapāṇi and others and ultimately arrives at the conclusion that those alone are prāyaścittas which are so spoken of by the learned, just as on Jaimini II. 1.32 (tac-codakeṣu mantrākhyā) Bhaṭṭācārya explains that mantras are those which the respectable *yājñikas* and those who studied the Vedas so designate[150a]

Sins as stated by Bṛhaspati[151] and others are of two kinds, viz. intentionally committed and unintentionally committed.

Great divergence of views has prevailed from very ancient times as to whether prāyaścittas can destroy sins intentionally committed. Manu XI. 45 and Yāj. III. 226 are positive that sins committed unintentionally are destroyed by prāyaścittas or by the study of the Veda. The difficulty arises about sins committed intentionally or with full knowledge. Gaut. (19. 3-6 = Vas. 22. 2-5) states two views,[151a] one holding that prāyaścitta should not be performed since deeds (here sinful deeds) are not destroyed (except by experiencing the consequences thereof), the other view holding that prāyaścitta should be per-

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(*Continued from the last page*)

crimes in former lives men are born blind or idiots &c.) penances must always be performed for the sake of purification, because those whose sins have not been expiated are born with disgraceful marks.' Though Manu employs the word 'nityam' here, what is meant is that when a sin is committed, a prāyaścitta must necessarily be performed and it is not left to the volition of the sinner whether to perform it or not. Vide Mit. on Yāj. III. 220. But it does not follow from this that if prāyaścitta for removing a sin is not performed, another sin is thereby committed, for in that case there would be *anavasthā* (regressus ad infinitum).

150 a. 'यथा भट्टाचार्यैस्तच्चोदकेषु मन्त्राख्येति...यत्र वैदिकयाज्ञिकानामभियुक्तानां मन्त्र इति प्रसिद्धिः स मन्त्र इति सूत्रतात्पर्यं वर्णितमेवमिहापि यत्राभियुक्तानां प्रायश्चित्तमिति प्रसिद्धिस्तत्प्रायश्चित्तमिति लक्षणे मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यवाक्यानां तात्पर्यमुन्नेयम्। folio 76 of प्रा. प्रकाश Ms.

151. कामाकामकृतं त्वेवं महापापं द्विधा स्मृतम्। पुरुषापेक्षया चैव निष्कृतिर्द्विविधा स्मृता॥ बृहस्पति q. by प्राय. वि. p. 24, परा. मा. II part 1 p. 13 (first half).

151 a तत्र प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यान्न कुर्यादिति मीमांसन्ते। न कुर्यादित्याहुः। न हि कर्म क्षीयत इति। कुर्यादित्यपरम्। गौ. 19.3.6 = वसिष्ठ 22. 2-5 (the last being कुर्यादित्येव तस्मात् श्रुतिनिदर्शनात्) न कुर्यादित्याहुः. This is the पूर्वपक्ष view. The सिद्धान्त is 'कुर्यात्' which is supported by indications derived from vedic passages.

formed (for the removal of the effects of sin). The latter relies upon certain indications in Vedic passages. Gaut. relies upon four such passages. The first says "[152] 'after performing the *punaḥstoma*[153] one can come back to (become fit for) *soma* sacrifice (i. e. for Vedic rites in general). Another indication is: 'after performing Vrātyastoma (one becomes fit for Vedic sacrifices).' A third is: 'He, who offers the Aśvamedha sacrifice, crosses beyond all sin, beyond brāhmaṇa murder'. The fourth is: one should make a person charged with grave sins perform the Agniṣṭut. Vasiṣṭha also (20. 1–2) gives expression to the two views about the efficacy of penances.[154] Manu XI. 45 (latter half) states, that according to some, prāyaścittas may be prescribed for the removal of intentionally committed sins from indications contained in the Vedas. It cannot be said that these Śruti passages are mere *arthavādas* (i. e. laudatory texts). They must really be taken, though expressed in the form of ordinary arthavādas, as laying down (a *vidhi*) that one desirous of destroying his sins should perform Aśvamedha and the other sacrifices mentioned. In this case the maxim of *rātrisattra*[155] applies (vide Jai. IV. 3. 17–19). There are certain *sattras* (sacrifices extending over more than twelve days) called Trayo-

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152. पुनःस्तोमेनेष्ट्वा पुनः सवनमायान्तीति विज्ञायते । व्रात्यस्तोमैरिष्ट्वा । तरति सर्वं पाप्मानं तरति ब्रह्महत्यां योऽश्वमेधेन यजते । अग्निष्टुताभिशस्यमानं याजयेदिति च । गौ. 19.7–10. वसिष्ठ (22.6) is the same as गौ. 19 9, while it (22.7) reads इति चाभिशस्तो गोसवेनाग्निष्टुता यजेत. तरति सर्वं is तै. सं. V. 3.12.2 quoted above and शतपथब्रा. XIII. 3.1.1. गोसव and अग्निष्टुत् are different sacrifices. The गोसव is a strange rite, for which vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 1213 n. 2644. It is described in तै. ब्रा. II. 7.6.

153. The Punaḥstoma is a śrauta sacrifice, of the class called ekāha (i. e., performed in one day) acc. to Haradatta. Vide Lāṭyāyana-śrauta IX. 4 and 5 for its efficacy. The Vrātyastoma is also an *ekāha*, which was prescribed for those whose *upanayana* was not performed at the proper time (and who had therefore become patita-sāvitrīka). Yāj. I, 38 provides *vrātyastoma* for *patitasāvitrīka*. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 377 and p. 385 (for its description from the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa). The Agniṣṭut is an *ekāha* (vide Tai. Br. II. 7. 12 and Āśv. Śr. IX. 7 22–25). Manu XI. 74 prescribes Aśvamedha, Gosava or Agniṣṭut and several other sacrifices for the removal of the grave sin of brāhmaṇa murder.

154. अनभिसन्धिकृते प्रायश्चित्तमपराधे । अभिसन्धिकृतेऽप्येके । वसिष्ठ 20. 1–2.

155. रात्रीः प्रकृत्य श्रूयते प्रतितिष्ठन्ति ह वा य एता रात्रीरुपयन्ति । ब्रह्मवर्चस्विनोऽन्नादा भवन्ति य एता उपयन्ति । इति । तत्र सन्देहः । किं ते फलार्थवादा उत फलविधय इति । शबर on जैमिनि IV. 3. 17. The second alternative is the सिद्धान्त view.. Vide ताण्ड्यब्राह्मण 23.2.4 for the passage प्रतितिष्ठन्ति...उपयन्ति ।

daśarātra, Caturdaśarātra and so on. All these are called **rātri-sattras**. With reference to these a Vedic passage says 'those who approach (i. e. perform) these rātrisattras attain stability (long life or super-eminence)'. In the text prescribing the rātrisattras there is no mention of any special reward for performance. Therefore 'stability' (*pratiṣṭhā*) contained in the passage must be held to be the reward of the performance of rātrisattras and not mere heaven (which is the reward of all sacrifices for which no special reward is mentioned, according to Jai. IV. 3. 15–16). The same maxim applies to passages like Yāj. III. 226 which say that sin is removed by penances[156]. Medhātithi draws attention to the story in the Tai. S. VI. 2.7.5, Kāṭhaka S. VIII. 5, Ait. Br. 35.2 that Indra consigned yatis to *Śālāvṛkas* (dogs or wolves) and had to perform the rites called Upahavya to get rid of the sin. Manu states his own opinion in the next verse (XI. 46) that sins committed unintentionally are destroyed by the recitation of Vedic texts and sins committed intentionally through folly are destroyed by various prāyaścittas. Yāj. III. 226 (latter half) appears to hold that prāyaścittas do not destroy sins intentionally committed, but the sinner undergoing the prescribed penance becomes fit to be associated with other people on account of the texts (laying down the prāyaścittas); but Yāj. implies, it seems, that the results of sin intentionally committed (such as Hell and the like) are not got rid of. Manu XI. 189 prohibiting social intercourse with sinners who have not performed penance practically conveys the same idea as that of Yāj. in III. 226 (latter half). Yāj. III. 220 observes that a man guilty of *pātakas* should perform prāyaścitta for his own purification (here and in the next world); in this way (i. e. if he performs penance) his inner soul recovers its composure and the people also become satisfied. This verse puts in a nutshell the purposes of prāyaścittas as conceived by the smṛtis, viz. purging of sin (or purification), the satisfaction of the sinner's mind, admission to intercourse with

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156. 'पुनःस्तोमेनेष्ट्वा...यजते इति ।...न चेदमर्थवादमात्रम् । अधिकारिविशेषणाकांक्षया रात्रिसत्रन्यायेनार्थवादिकफलस्यैव कल्पनाया न्याय्यत्वात् । अतो युक्तं प्रायश्चित्तैरपैत्येन इति । मिता. on या. III. 226; vide प्राय. वि. p. 9 and p. 18 for similar views 'अतो रात्रिसत्रन्यायेनार्थवादिकपापक्षयकामिना प्रायश्चित्तं कर्तव्यमिति निर्णीतम्। प्राय. वि. p. 18. The उपहव्य sacrifice is prescribed for one desirous of prosperity. ownership of a village or offspring. Vide कात्या. श्रौ. सू. 22.8.7 'भूतिकामो वा ग्रामकामो वा प्रजाकामो वोपहव्येन यजेत.'

all people. Chāgaleya[157] holds that prāyaścittas free the sinner from the consequences of sins committed unintentionally, but no penance exists which frees a man from the consequences of sins knowingly committed except in the case of upapātakas and in suicides or attempts at suicide. The Par. M. (II. 1. pp. 200–201) cites a verse of Jābāli and verses of Devala setting forth the two views about the efficacy of prāyaścittas, while it also cites the view of Baudhāyana-smṛti that there is no prāyaścitta for sins committed knowingly and the view of Aṅgiras that the penance is double in the latter case[158]. Aṅgiras further says that prāyaścittas do destroy the sin arising from committing acts that are forbidden and the like, just as the rising sun removes darkness. Manu XI. 47 provides: 'A twice-born man having become liable to perform a penance (for a sin), whether he committed it through fate or by some act committed in a former existence, must not have intercourse with virtuous men until he performs the proper penance.' Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 24. 24–25) provides 'If a man slays a *guru* (father, Vedic teacher &c.) or a brāhmaṇa who has studied the Veda and finished the ceremonies of a soma sacrifice he shall live according to these very rules (contained in Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 10–32) until his last breath. He cannot be purified (of the sin of the murder of a *guru* or learned brāhmaṇa) in this life. But his sin is removed (at his death)'.[159] It appears to follow from Āpastamba's words that penance ending in death destroys the sin. The same was the view of Aṅgiras, Yama and others.

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157. छागलेयेऽपि । प्रायश्चित्तमकामानां कामतस्तु न विद्यते । उपपातक एव स्यात्तथा चात्मोपघातने ॥ अस्यार्थः । कामतस्तु ज्ञानपूर्वकपापे नरकभोगनिवारकं प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते । उपपातकात्महननयोस्तु ज्ञानपूर्वकत्वेऽपि स्यादिष्यत एवेति । आत्महननार्थं विषभक्षणे कृते यदि जीवति तदा प्रायश्चित्तं विद्यते यदा मृतस्तदा तच्छिष्यपुत्रा कर्तव्यमित्युभयथापि प्रायश्चित्तं विद्यते इति न विरोधः । मद. पा. p. 705. The half verse प्रायश्चित्त...विद्यते occurs in परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 201.

158. अकामतः कृते पापे प्रायश्चित्तं न कामतः । स्यात्त्वकामकृते यत्तु द्विगुणं बुद्धिपूर्वके ॥ आङ्गिरस q. by परा. मा. II. part I p 201 : अस्ति निषिद्धक्रियाजन्यं पापं तन्नाशकत्वं तु प्रायश्चित्तस्य । तथा चाङ्गिराः । उद्यन्यद्वद्भानुरादित्यस्तमः सर्वं व्यपोहति । तद्वत्कल्याणमातिष्ठन् सर्वं पापं व्यपोहति । पापं चेत्पुरुषः कृत्वा कल्याणमभिपद्यते । मुच्यते पातकैः सर्वैरभ्रैरिव चन्द्रमाः ॥ कल्याणं प्रायश्चित्तम् । प्रा. प्रकाश folio 6a.

159. गुरुं हत्वा श्रोत्रियं वा कर्मसमाप्तमेतेनैव विधिनोत्तममुच्छ्वासाच्चरेत् । नास्यास्मिँल्लोके प्रत्यापत्तिर्विद्यते कल्मषं तु निर्हण्यते । आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 24. 24–25. Vide also आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 28. 18 for the same words. हरदत्त gives his own and another's interpretation of आप. ध. सू. I. 9.24 24–25 'अस्मिँल्लोके जीविते प्रत्यापत्तिः शुद्धिर्नास्तीत्यर्थः । कल्मषं तु निर्हण्यते । तस्य पुत्रादिभिः संस्कारादिः कर्तव्य इति भावः । अन्ये तु पूर्वं सूत्रं तच्छिष्यपरं मन्यन्ते । प्रत्यापत्तिः पुत्रादिभिः पुत्रादिभावेन सम्बन्ध इति ।'.

In this conflict among the authors of smṛtis the solution proposed by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 226 has been accepted by most medieval writers and is as follows[160]: The potentialities and consequences of sins are twofold, viz those leading to Hell and the others preventing intercourse with members of the society to which the sinner belongs. Therefore, even though a prāyaścitta may not be efficacious to prevent the first mentioned consequence (viz. fall into Hell), there is nothing improper in prāyaścitta being effective in removing the obstacle to association with other people. As to sinful acts that are not *patanīya* (do not cause loss of caste) prāyaścitta does destroy such sinfulness as expressly stated by Manu. XI. 46. Even as to sins that are *patanīya* and are committed intentionally, if a penance ending in death is undergone as laid down by Manu XI. 73, Yāj. III. 247–248 and Gaut. 22. 2–3 for brāhmaṇa murder; Manu XI. 90–91, Yāj. III. 253, Gaut. 23.1 for drinking *surā*; Gaut. 23.8–11, Manu XI. 103–104 and Yāj. III. 259 for sexual intercourse with the *guru's* wife; Manu XI. 99–100 and Yāj. III. 257 for theft of brāhmaṇa's gold; then the sin is destroyed as stated by Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.24. 25 and I. 10. 28.18 quoted above. When Manu says (in XI. 89 latter half) that there is no penance for the sin of slaying a brāhmaṇa intentionally, the proper interpretation of this read along with Manu XI. 46 quoted above is not that there is total absence of prāyaścitta in such a case, but that ordinary prāyaścittas (such as those in Manu XI. 72) would not do in such a case, but only very heavy ones that would end in death. Medieval digests like the Prāyaścitta-muktāvali (folio 32a) hold that according to the *Kalivarjya* section penance ending in death is forbidden in the case of brāhmaṇa sinners and therefore a

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160. यत्तु मनुवचनं 'इयं विशुद्धिरुदिता' इत्यादि (11.89) तदपीयमिति सर्वनाम-परामृष्टाद्व्यावहारिकाद्विशुद्धिपर्याया एव 'कामतो...विधीयते' इत्यनेन प्रतिषेधो न पुनः प्रायश्चित्तमात्रस्य। मरणान्तिकादेः प्रायश्चित्तस्य दर्शितत्वात्।... द्वे हि पापस्य शक्ती नरकोत्पादिका व्यवहारनिरोधिका चेति। तत्रेतरशक्त्यविनाशेऽपि व्यवहारनिरोधिकायाः शक्तेर्विनाशो नानुपपन्न-स्तस्मात्पापापनयनेऽपि व्यवहार्यत्वं नानुपपन्नम्। यत्तु मनुवचनं (11.45) 'अकामतः...निदर्शनात्' इति तदपि कामकृते प्रायश्चित्तमात्रपर्यं न पुनः पापक्षयप्रतिपादनपरम्। अपतनीये पुनः कामकृतेऽपि प्रायश्चित्तेन पापक्षयो भवत्येव 'अकामतः...पृथग्विधैः॥' इति मनुस्मरणात् (11.46)। पतनीयेऽपि कर्मणि कामकृते मरणान्तिकप्रायश्चित्तेषु कल्मषक्षयो भवत्येव फलान्तराभावात्। 'नास्यास्मिँल्लोके...निर्हण्यते' इत्यापस्तम्बस्मरणात्। मिता. on या. III. 226. वृद्धहारीत IX. 173 and Yama hold the view that intentional sins are destroyed by penances that end in death: प्रायश्चित्तैरपैत्येनो यदकार्यकृतं महत् (यदकामकृतं?)। कामतस्तु कृतं यत्तु मरणात्तद्विशुध्यति॥; महापातककर्तारश्चत्वारो मतिपूर्वकम्। अग्निं प्रविश्य शुध्यन्ति स्थित्वा महति वा क्रतौ॥ यम q. by प्रा. प्रकाश, folio 16 (b); अपरार्क p. 1039 reads 'चत्वारोऽप्यविशेषतः'. The words of the मिता. are quoted or paraphrased by subsequent works such as the Prāyaścittasāra (p. 4).

brāhmaṇa murderer can only be made to undergo the twelve years' penance.

The Par. M. (II. part 1 pp. 201–203) sets out this view of the Mit. and appears to hold it itself. It sets out another view also. Those who hold this latter view read Yaj. III. 226 as 'kāmatoऽvyavahāryastu' with an *avagraha*. The meaning then is that one who has performed the penance prescribed for a sin does not fall into Hell, but he cannot be allowed to associate with good men (śiṣṭas) if he is guilty of a wilful sin. There is a verse of Manu (XI. 190 = Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54.32) that one should not associate with those who slay children, who return evil for the good done to them, who slay those that come for protection and who kill women, even though they might have become purified by undergoing the appropriate penance. There is a similar verse of Yāj. III. 298 on which the comment of Vijñāneśvara is most interesting as indicative of the spirit of our medieval writers who were always oppressed by the might of words (Vedic or smṛti) deemed as authoritative. The Mit. remarks:[161] 'the prohibition (contained in Yāj. III. 298) is based on the text alone (and not on logic or reasoning). What cannot a text do? There is nothing too heavy for a text. Therefore, even though a light penance is prescribed for slaying an adulterous woman, still there is a prohibition against associating with such slayers based on the words of the text'.

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161. प्रायश्चित्तेन क्षीणदोषानपि न संव्यवहरेदिति वाचनिकोऽयं प्रतिषेधः । 'किमिव हि वचनं न कुर्यान्न हि वचनस्यातिभारोऽस्ति' । अतश्च यद्यपि व्यभिचारिणीनां वधेऽल्पमेव प्रायश्चित्तं तथापि वाचनिकोऽयं संव्यवहारप्रतिषेधः । मिता. on या. III 298. The words किमिव हि वचनं...भारः occur frequently in शाबरभाष्य, e g. on जै. II 2.27, III. 2.3, III. 7.11, IV. 3.38, V. 4.17 etc. On जै. VI. 1.44 (about the privilege of the rathakāra to consecrate Vedic fires) Śabara employs slightly different words 'न हि वचनस्य किंचिदकर्तव्यं नाम.' Even Śaṅkarācārya relies on these words of Śabara in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra III. 4 32. When Yāj I. 58 says that a son born of a brāhma form of marriage renders 21 generations holy (10 paternal ancestors, ten descendants and himself) Viśvarūpa says that this is all laudatory of the brāhma form and not to be taken seriously as it would be contrary to the doctrine of *Karma*; but then he turns round and says that it may be taken literally as stated by those who know Mīmāṃsā 'श्रुतिमात्रमेतत्स्तुतानां भाविनां पावनानुपपत्तेः । उपपत्तौ वा कृतनाशाकृताभ्यागमप्रसङ्गात् । यद्वास्तु फलविधिः । विवाहविशेषस्य फलविशेषापेक्षत्वात् । न चात्मनातुलादिष्वर्थेऽनुपपत्तिरिति शक्यं वक्तुम् । तथा च नैयायिकाः—न हि वचनस्यातिभारोऽस्तीत्याहुः ।' विश्वरूप on या. I. 58. Vide Aparārka on Yāj. II. 73–75 (p. 673) who says that one man's merit (*puṇya*) cannot be transferred to another and that Yāj. II. 73–75 are simply intended to frighten away witnesses from perjury as Nārada (ṛṇādāna 200) clearly states.

This maxim is taken from the bhāṣya of Śabara and is a favourite device with all Dharmaśāstra writers from Viśvarūpa downwards to justify any statement of the smṛtis however illogical or exaggerated it might appear to be. The Pr. T. (pp. 544–545) quotes [162] the Mit. about the two *śaktis* of sin and its remarks on Yāj. III. 298 and does not approve of them, relying on the words of Bṛhaspati that no decision should be arrived at on the bare words of the śāstra, but it should also be supported by reasoning and that the words 'slayers of women' do not refer to adulterous women but to innocent women (such as the wives of one's enemies). Nārada (sāhasa, verse 11) holds that those who are punished by the king with a fine of the first or second (madhyama) kind can be allowed to associate with other members of society but those who are awarded the highest fine should not be spoken to by others [162a]. Those who take the view of the sinner's inability to associate with other men even after undergoing penance rely also upon Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 43 (bahis-tūbhayathāpi smṛterācārācca). The Par. M. very rightly points [163] out that the sūtra refers to those who after going in for life-long celibacy abandon the duties of that stage of life (āśrama) and that it does not refer to householders and quotes a verse of Kauśika in support. The Smṛti-muktāphala (Pr., pp. 867–868) refers to this discussion contained in the Par. M. The Pr. M. (p. 7) appears [164] to hold that the great Śaṅkarācārya explained

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162. एतेन यद्यपि व्यभिचारिणी...प्रतिषेध इति मिताक्षरोक्तं न युक्तिसहम्। केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्तव्यो विनिर्णयः। युक्तिहीनविचारे तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते। पापे गुरूणि गुरूणि स्वल्पान्यल्पे च तद्विदः। प्रायश्चित्तानि मैत्रेय जगुः स्वायम्भुवादयः। इति बृहस्पतिवचनात्। प्राय. त. p. 545.

162 a. स्यातां संव्यवहार्यौ तु धृतदण्डौ तु पूर्वयोः। धृतदण्डोऽप्यसम्भाष्यो ज्ञेय उत्तमसाहसे॥ नारद (साहस, 11).

163. अयं हि बहिष्कार ऊर्ध्वरेतोविषयः न तु गृहस्थविषयः। ऊर्ध्वरेतोविचारस्यैव तत्र प्रस्तुतत्वात्। इदं च कौशिकेन स्पष्टीकृतम्। नैष्ठिकानां वनस्थानां यतीनां चावकीर्णिनाम्। शुद्धानामपि लोकेऽस्मिन् प्रत्यापत्तिर्न विद्यते॥ इति। परा. मा. II part 1 p. 205. प्रा. प्रकाश (*folio* 17 b) quotes कौशिक's *verse*.

164. श्रीशङ्कराचार्यास्तु 'कामतोऽव्यवहार्यस्तु' इति अकारप्रश्लेषेणेदं याज्ञवल्क्यवचो 'बहिस्तूभयथापि स्मृतेराचाराच्च' इति सूत्रे कृतप्रायश्चित्तनैष्ठिकब्रह्मचार्यादिपरम्। आरूढो नैष्ठिके धर्मे यस्तु प्रच्यवते पुनः। प्रायश्चित्तं न पश्यामि येन शुध्येत्स आत्महा॥ इति। प्राय. म. p. 7. The verse आरूढो° is अत्रि VIII. 16 and is quoted by शङ्कर without citing the name. The प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 17 a) also refers to Saṅkara's comment on Vedāntasūtra III. 4.43 and the two verses quoted by him. It observes: एवं तावत्सकलनिबन्धृसंमतं व्यवहार्यं इतिपदच्छेदेन याज्ञवल्क्यवाक्यस्य व्याख्यानद्वयम्। शारीरकमीमांसायां तु° .

Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 43 after reading Yāj. III. 226 as 'kāmatos vyavahāryastu' and that those who fell from the vow of life-long celibacy (either as naisṭhika brahmacārins or as sannyāsins) were to be excommunicated (and not to be associated with). The printed editions of the bhāṣya contain no express quotation of Yājñavalkya's verse, but from the fact of his quoting Atri's verse it is possible to hold that Śaṅkarācārya understood Yājñavalkya as the Pr. M. says he did.

A question may naturally be asked: why should it be accepted that penances destroy sin (as stated in Yāj. III. 226). The answer is: what[165] actions are grave sins or minor sins or not sins at all is laid down by the śāstra (śruti and smṛtis). For example, it is not clear to ordinary people why being an officer over mines or making friends of low people or being a servant of a śūdra should be a sin at all. But the smṛtis say so. If the smṛtis are to be relied upon for determining what acts are sinful, then it follows as a matter of course that the same smṛtis which speak of penances as removers of sins must also be accepted and that no other means for determining the efficacy of penances can be appealed to. So also the Bhagavadgītā (IV. 37) states that the fire of spiritual knowledge consumes all (accumulated, *sañcita*) actions (and their consequences).

Many of the sins (though not *all*) for which penances are provided in the smṛtis are also offences punishable by the king or State. For example, murder, theft, incest, perjury are acts punishable by the State in almost all countries even now and were so in ancient and medieval India. Persons guilty of these were also liable to undergo prāyaścittas. It is probably due to this double liability that punishments for crimes in ancient and medieval India were light as compared with the heavy punishments for even trifling crimes inflicted in western countries only a century or two ago. But there are other acts which are not punishable by the State now and were not probably punished even in ancient or medieval India by the king. For example, forgetting Veda studied by a person, not tending Vedic fires consecrated by a person himself, sleeping till after sun-rise and sleeping at sunset are *pālakas*, acc. to Vas. I. 19 and some of those are upapātakas acc. to Yāj. III. 239. It does not seem

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165. ननु प्रायश्चित्तैरपैत्येन इति न युक्तम्। फलविनाश्यत्वात्कर्मणः। नैवम्। यथा पापोत्पत्तिः शास्त्रगम्या तथा तत्परिक्षयोपीति। नात्र प्रमाणान्तरं क्रमते। अत एव गौतमेन पूर्वोत्तरपक्षभङ्ग्यायमर्थो दर्शितः। मिता. on या. III. 226.

likely that an Indian king ever punished any person for these. On the other hand, obstructing the road, prying when the king is taking his meals, sitting before the king on one's haunches, speaking loudly before the king are among the fifty *chalas* of which the king could take cognisance *suo motu* and award suitable punishment (vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 266). But there is nothing to show that such actions ever fell within the purview of the rules about prāyaścittas. The important questions are: What was the relation of the rules about prāyaścittas which were to be prescribed by a *pariṣad* (a meeting of learned brāhmaṇas) to punishments by the king as regards actions which were both *pātakas* inviting penances and crimes entailing punishments by the King? Which of these two sets of rules was earlier? Were penance and punishment cumulative or alternative? It is difficult to give definite opinions on these questions. We know that prāyaścittas like Aśvamedha are spoken of even in the Tai. S. We also know that the *praśnavivāka* (which is quite close to prāḍvivāka in derivation and meaning) occurs in the Vāj. S. XXX. 10 and Tai. Br. III. 5. 6. Therefore it follows that judicial functions were very early separated from the executive functions of the king. The reference to the ordeal of fire in the Tāṇḍya Br. 14. 6. 6 (vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 361) and the grasping of a red-hot hatchet in the hand by a person accused of theft and his being killed show that ordeals were administered and the punishment for theft was death. Bṛhaspati, quoted in the Vivādaratnākara, says 'When a man of good character and a diligent reader of the Veda has committed theft he shall be kept in prison for a long time and shall be caused to perform penance after having been compelled to restore the goods' (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 362 [166]).

The pariṣad made its own rules about prāyaścittas and the king awarded punishments. Which set of rules was earlier it is difficult to say. The king did not very probably interfere with the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the pariṣad and the brāhmaṇas helped the king in the administration of justice by being judges and by advising him as to the punishments to be imposed (vide

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166. वृत्तस्वाध्यायवान् स्तेयी बन्धनात् क्लिश्यते चिरम् । स्वामिने तद्धनं दाप्यः प्रायश्चित्तं तु कारयेत् ॥ बृहस्पति q. by विवादरत्नाकर p. 331. It is possible that this verse means that a learned brāhmaṇa who has been well conducted but fell a victim to the temptation of theft should not be jailed for a long time because jail life torments his mind and therefore he should be made to restore stolen property and given penance.

Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 194). Gautama VIII.1, echoing the words of the Śat. Br. V. 4. 4. 5, observes:[167] 'the king and the brāhmaṇa with profound learning uphold the moral order in the world (or are upholders of the sacred law). The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 5. 10. 12–16) contains very important information: 'The ācārya shall order those who, while participating according to the śāstras (in the privileges and responsibilities of their castes), have gone astray through the weakness of their senses to perform penances according to the dictates (of the smṛtis) commensurate with their (sinful) acts. If they transgress their ācārya's order he shall take them to the king. The king shall send them to his *purohita* proficient in dharmaśāstra and the science of government. He (purohita) shall order them to perform (proper penances) if they are brāhmaṇas. He shall reduce them by forcible means except corporal punishment and slavery.' So this passage shows that the king helped in carrying out prāyaścittas. Nārada includes 'neglect of penances' among matters solely dependent on the king (prakīrṇaka, verse 3) and not on complaints by private individuals. Devala[168] probably conveys the real position when he says: 'The king is the giver of kṛcchras (i. e. his consent is required for actually undergoing the prescribed penances), the learned man who has studied Dharmaśāstras prescribes the prāyaścitta, the sinner carries out the penance and the king's officer sees to the safe performance of the prescribed penance.' Parāśara VIII. 28 says 'an assembly should point out the proper penance after getting the permission of the king, it should not be done without reference to him, but slight penance may be done without informing him'. The Par. M. II. part 1. p. 232 explains that this applies to prāyaścittas for sins like govadha or those that are greater than it. Devala[169] also has similar verses.

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167. द्वौ लोके धृतव्रतौ राजा ब्राह्मणश्च बहुश्रुतः । गौ. VIII. 1. शतपथ V. 4. 4. 5 has 'निषसाद धृतव्रत इति धृतव्रतो वै राजा...एष च श्रोत्रियश्चैतौ ह वै द्वौ मनुष्येषु धृतव्रतौ.'

168. कृच्छ्राणां दापको (दायको v. l.) राजा निर्देष्टा धर्मपाठकः । अपराधी प्रयोक्ता च रक्षिता कृच्छ्रपालकः॥ देवल q. by मद. पा. p. 777; प्राय. सा. p. 8. राज्ञश्चानुमते स्थित्वा प्रायश्चित्तं विनिर्दिशेत् । स्वयमेव न कर्तव्यं कर्तव्या स्वल्पनिष्कृतिः॥ पराशर VIII. 28, on which परा. मा. II. 1. p. 232 says: अत्र गोवधस्य प्रकृतत्वात्तत्समानेष्वधिकेषु राजाज्ञयैव व्रतं निर्दिशेत् ।

169. याचितास्तेन ते चापि ब्राह्मणाः पापभीरवः । निष्कृतिं व्यवहारार्थं कुर्युस्तस्मै नृपाज्ञया ॥ स्वयं वा ब्राह्मणैः कृच्छ्रमल्पदोषे विधीयते । राज्ञा च ब्राह्मणैश्चैव महत्सु सुपरीक्ष्य च ॥ देवल q. by परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 232–233 and by प्राय. सा. p. 21. प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 25 a) reads देवल's verse as स्वयं तु ब्राह्मणा ब्रूयुरल्पदोषेषु निष्कृतिम् । राजा... महत्सु परिचक्षते ॥

Parāśara VIII. 29 states that the king also should not ignore the pariṣad and should not by himself prescribe penance. Paiṭhīnasi quoted by the Daṇḍaviveka (p. 76) provides[170] for both prāyaścitta and punishment and from the tenor of the verse it appears that both were to be enforced by the king. The position is tolerably clear as to medievel times One feels great hesitation in stating definitely the relation of punishment to penances and the king's position as to both in ancient times. Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 1–4 provide[171] that one who kills a kṣatriya or a vaiśya or a śūdra shall respectively give one thousand cows, a hundred cows and ten cows for the purpose of removing the enmity and that in each of these cases one bull was to be given in addition for the purpose of expiation. Āpastamba does not expressly state to whom the cows were to be given. The commentator Haradatta explains that they were to be given to brāhmaṇas. Manu XI. 127, 129, 130, and Yāj. III. 266–267 have similar provisions but in the chapter on penances. On the other hand, Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 23. expressly states that the cows are to be given to the king. As both the words 'vairaniryātanārtham' and 'prāyaścittārthaḥ' are employed by Āp. it may be said that the cows were to be made over to the king even according to Āpastamba. The cows were to be made over to the king for bestowal on the family of the murdered person to mollify them and if they refused to receive them the king was not to retain them for himself but was to distribute them among brāhmaṇas. We know that Manu (IX. 243–245) provides that the fine recovered from a man guilty of mortal sins was not to be taken for himself by the king but was to be offered to Varuṇa and thrown into water or was to be distributed among learned brāhmaṇas. Manu IX. 236 provides that for those who were guilty of the four grave sins (brāhmaṇa murder &c.) and did not undergo penance for the same the king should inflict corporal punishment (branding on the forehead) together with fine in accordance with the śāstra. Manu IX. 237

170. अकार्यकारिणामेषां प्रायश्चित्तं तु कल्पयेत् । यथाशक्त्यनुरूपं च दण्डं चैषां प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ पैठीनसि q. by दण्डविवेक p. 76.

171. क्षत्रियं हत्वा गवां सहस्रं वैरनिर्यातनार्थं दद्यात् । शतं वैश्ये । दश शूद्रे । ऋषभश्चात्राधिकः सर्वत्र प्रायश्चित्तार्थः । आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 24.1–4; क्षत्रियवधे गोसहस्रं ऋषभैकाधिकं राज्ञ उत्सृजेद्वैरनिर्यातनार्थम् । शतं वैश्ये दश शूद्रे ऋषभश्चात्राधिकः । बौ. ध. सू. I. 10. 23–24.

(= Matsya 227. 164) and Viṣṇu V. 4-7 say that on the forehead a mark of female private parts with red-hot iron should be branded in the case of incest, the mark of a tavern flag in the case of drinking *surā*, the mark of dog's foot in the case of theft (of brāhmaṇa's gold) and the mark of a headless trunk in the case of a brāhmaṇa-murder. Manu IX. 240 further prescribes that men of all castes guilty of the four mahāpātakas committed unintentionally that perform the proper penance should not be branded on the forehead by the king but should be awarded the highest fine. Manu IX. 241 and 242 provide that a brāhmaṇa guilty of these grave sins unintentionally may be punished with the middle amercement (if he himself be possessed of good qualities) but if he was guilty of the grave sins committed intentionally he should be banished from the kingdom being allowed to take with him his wealth and paraphernalia; while persons other than brāhmaṇas when guilty of grave sins unintentionally committed were to be deprived of all their wealth and if guilty intentionally they were to be sentenced to death. These verses show that though prāyaścitta be performed persons guilty of grave sins were liable to undergo punishment and if no penance was performed then they were liable to branding and also fines etc. Manu XI. 56 provides that bearing false witness is similar to the drinking of *surā* and Manu XI. 57 and Yāj. III. 230 hold that misappropriation of a deposit is like the theft of gold. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (V. 169) provides that the misappropriator of a deposit was to be made to return the deposit or its price with interest and was to be punished like a thief by the king and V. 179 that a false witness had all his property confiscated. These instances establish that both fines by the king (i. e. rāja-daṇḍa) and penances prescribed by the assembly of learned men (i. e. pariṣaddaṇḍa or daiva daṇḍa) had to be undergone by those guilty of some grave sins that were also looked upon as crimes. In some cases the penance and the punishment were the same. For example, Gaut. 23. 10-11, Vas. 20. 13, Manu XI. 104, Yāj. III. 259 and several other smṛtikāras prescribe for incest the penance of the excision of the testicles and penis and proceeding toward the south or south-west till the body falls. Nārada as quoted above prescribes for incest the *punishment* (*daṇḍa*) of the excision of the testicles. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 233 quotes Nārada and remarks that the punishment of excision and death prescribed by Yāj. III. 233 applies only to non-brāhmaṇas and that in such cases the punishment of death itself is the

prāyaścitta. There were works like the Madanapārijāta[172] (p. 827) and the Mitākṣarā that held that the prohibition against corporal harm to brāhmaṇas (Manu VIII. 380) applies only to matters other than prāyaścittas and that since the Manusmṛti itself (XI. 100) states that a brāhmaṇa guilty of theft of brāhmaṇa's gold may go to the king with an iron club and have his head smashed by the king, the death of a brāhmaṇa as a penance for theft by being struck with a club presented by himself was not ruled out. In some cases punishment by the king was deemed to have purged a man of sin and no penance seems to have been thought necessary, as Manu VIII. 318 (=Vas. 19.45) says 'men that commit sins and are punished by the king become purified and reach heaven like good men who perform meritorious deeds.' The Mit. on Yāj. III. 259 explains that this holds good only where the punishment is death, as in the case of incest noted above. Āp. Dh. S. II. 10.27. 15–16 provide [173] that a person guilty of slaying a man, of theft and of forcible seizure of land was to be deprived of his wealth by the king and was to be sentenced to death and that if the offender was a brāhmaṇa he was to have a piece of cloth tied over his eyes for the whole of his life (i. e. he was not to be sentenced to death). It appears that in very ancient times as provided by Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.25.4 the thief approached the king [174] with a club (of iron or *khadira* wood) on his shoulder and announced his guilt, when the king struck him with the club; on his being killed he became free from guilt. This was a penance as well as a legal punishment. Manu has a similar rule in his chapter on punishments (VIII. 314–316) providing that the thief should carry a weapon (called *musala*) or a club of *khadira* wood or a double-edged *śakti* or an iron staff and that if the king strikes him once with the club and he is killed

172. अयं च लिङ्गच्छेदवधात्मको दण्डो ब्राह्मणव्यतिरिक्तस्य। न जातु ब्राह्मणं हन्यात्सर्वपापेष्ववस्थितम्—इति तस्य वधनिषेधात् (मनु. ८.३८०)। वधस्यैव प्रायश्चित्तरूपत्वात्। मिता. on या. III. 233; but on या. III. 257 the मिता॰ says 'मनुना सुवर्णस्तेयकृद्विप्र-इत्यभिधाय गृहीत्वा मुसलं राजा सकृद्धन्यात्तु तं स्वयमिति सर्वनाम्ना प्रकृतब्राह्मणपरामर्शेनैव हननविधानात्। न जातु ब्राह्मणं हन्यादित्यस्य प्रायश्चित्तव्यतिरिक्तदण्डरूपहननविषयत्वेनाप्युपपत्तेः।'; vide also मद. पा. p. 827 for the same view.

173. पुरुषवधे स्तेये भूम्यादान इति स्वान्यादाय वध्यः। चक्षुर्निरोधस्त्वेतेषु ब्राह्मणस्य। आप. ध. सू. II. 10, 27. 15–16.

174. स्तेनः प्रकीर्णकेशोंसे मुसलमाधाय राजानं गत्वा कर्माचक्षीत तेनैनं हन्याद्वधे मोक्षः। आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 25. 4.; ब्राह्मणसुवर्णहरणे प्रकीर्य केशान् राजानमभिधावेत्स्तेनोऽस्मि भो शास्तु मां भवानिति तस्मै राजौदुम्बरं शस्त्रं दद्यात्तेनात्मानं प्रमापयेन्मरणात्पूतो भवतीति विज्ञायते। वसिष्ठ 20.41. औदुम्बर means 'made of udumbara wood' or may also mean 'red in colour' (i. e. made of copper).

or if he is not killed but is allowed to go half dead and lives, the thief is freed from the guilt. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 257 quotes a prose passage from Śaṅkha and a verse from Saṁvarta (122) to the same effect. Manu in the chapter on penances (XI. 100–101 = Agnipurāṇa 169. 20–21) provides the same procedure for theft as a penance. Vas. 20. 41, Yāj. III. 259, Viṣṇu 52. 1–2 and Parāśara XII. 69–70 provide a somewhat similar penance for the thief of brāhmaṇa's gold. Vasiṣṭha introduces an important change viz., that the king hands over to the thief a weapon made of udumbara wood (or probably of copper) with which the thief is to kill himself. It appears that gradually the king gave up this unpleasant method of awarding punishment personally. Nārada[175] (pariśiṣṭa, verses 46–47) provides that after the thief comes running to the king and announces his guilt, the king was to touch him (with the club, as a symbolic gesture) and then let him off and the thief became freed from sin by his confession of guilt. It has to be remembered, however, that the thief had to restore, even when he underwent penance, stolen property, as stated by Manu VIII. 40, Yāj. II. 36 and 270, Bṛhaspati and by digests[176] like the Pr. Prakaraṇa. If it were impossible to make the thief restore the stolen property the king had to make it good from his own treasury[177] (Gaut. X. 47, Śāntiparva 75. 10, Kauṭilya III. 16) or he had to make his officers[178] entrusted with the duty of preventing thefts pay the price of the stolen property (Āp. Dh. S. II. 10. 26. 8). Vide for further details H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 166–168. It appears that the actual carrying out of the sentence of death was later on assigned to Cāṇḍālas as stated by Manu X. 56 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 11 (vadhya–ghātitvam cāṇḍālānām).

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175. राजा स्तेनेन गन्तव्यो मुक्तकेशेन धावता। आचक्षाणेन तत्स्तेयमेवंकर्मास्मि शाधि माम्॥ अनेना भवति तेन स्वकर्मप्रतिपादनात्। राजा ततः स्पृष्टोद्देनमुत्सृजेत्तु सकिल्बिषम्॥ नारद, परिशिष्ट 46–47.

176 वृत्तैवापहृतं द्रव्यं धनिकस्याप्युपायतः। प्रायश्चित्तं ततः कुर्यात्कल्मषस्यापनुत्तये॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 52. 14; सर्वमेव सुवर्णहरण.विस्तेयप्रायश्चित्तं विद्यमानस्यापहृतद्रव्यस्य त्यागपुरःसरमेव कर्तव्यम्। इतरथा कृतप्रायश्चित्तस्यापि पुनस्तद्द्रव्यस्वीकारे तथैव स्तेयप्रसङ्गात्। विनष्टे तु द्रव्ये पुनःस्वीकाराभावात्प्रायश्चित्तमेवेति। प्राय.प्रक. on p 77.

177. चौरहृतमपजित्य यथास्थानं गमयेत्। कोशाद्वा दद्यात्। गौ. X. 46–47; प्रत्याहर्तुमशक्यं स्याद्धनं चौरैर्हृतं यदि। तत् स्वकोशात्प्रदेयं स्यादशक्तेनोपजीवता॥ शान्ति 75.10 q. by the मिता. on या. II. 36; चोरहृतमविद्यमानं स्वद्रव्येभ्यः प्रयच्छेत्। कौटिल्य III. 16 p. 190.

178. तत्र यन्मुष्यते तैस्तत्प्रतिदाप्यम्। आप. ध. सू. II. 10. 26. 8.

Another point to be noted is that as regards the awarding of punishments and prescribing of penances, the matters to be considered were the same viz. whether the lapse was intentional[179] (kāmataḥ) or unintentional (*akāmataḥ*) or whether it was the first offence or whether it was repeated and what the circumstances as to the time, the place, the caste, the age, the capacity, learning, wealth were. Compare Kauṭilya IV. 10, Gaut. XII. 48, Manu VII. 16 and VIII. 126, Yāj. I. 368, Viṣṇu V. 194, Vas. 19. 9 about punishments with Baud.[180] Dh. S. I. 1. 16, Yāj. III. 293 (= Atri verse 248 and Agnipurāṇa 173. 6), Aṅgiras 143, Viśvāmitra, Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 297, and Vyāghra as regards penances. It is on account of this close connection between punishments and penances that the Prāyaścittatattva, after quoting Devala to the effect that if a man makes no move for taking prāyaścitta for one year, he has to undergo double penance thereafter and to pay a double fine to the king, remarks that the maxim is that prāyaścittas are to be moulded on the lines of punishments[181]. The Pr. M. (pp. 124-125) quotes Kāśyapa who provides a penance for one that causes mischief to a well, public park, bridge, rampart wall or a temple or idol, then quotes Viṣṇu V. 169 which prescribes the highest fine for a breaker of idols, Manu IX. 285 which provides a fine of 500

179. ज्ञात्वापराधं देशं च कालं बलमथापि वा। वयः कर्म च वित्तं च दण्डं दण्ड्येषु पातयेत्॥ या. I. 368; अनुबन्धं परिज्ञाय देशकालौ च तत्त्वतः। सारापराधौ चालोक्य दण्डं दण्ड्येषु पातयेत्॥ मनु. VIII. 126, on which मेधातिथि remarks that this is the fundamental or basic verse on the question of punishment 'उक्तानुक्तदण्डेष्वपराधेषु मातृकाश्लोकोऽयम्। एतदर्थानुसारेण सर्वदण्डकॢप्तिः कर्तव्या'.

180. शरीरबलमायुश्च वयः कालं च कर्म च। समीक्ष्य धर्मविद् बुद्ध्या प्रायश्चित्तानि निर्दिशेत्॥ बौ. ध. I. 1.16; देशं कालं वयः शक्तिं पापं चावेक्ष्य यत्नतः। प्रायश्चित्तं प्रकल्प्यं स्याद्यत्र चोक्ता न निष्कृतिः॥ या. III. 293; सर्वत्र चैव प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणे-जातिशक्तिगुणापेक्षं सकृद्बुद्धिकृतं तथा। अनुबन्धं परिज्ञाय प्रायश्चित्तं प्रकल्पयेत्॥ इत्येतदेव संक्षेपसूत्रम्। विश्वरूप on या. III. 262. The verse is quoted as विश्वामित्र's in प्राय. प्रकरण. p. 8, प्राय. वि. p. 29, परा. मा. II. part I p. 235 and as देवल's by the मिता. on या. III. 243. Vide also व्याघ्र. q. by परा. मा. II. part 1, p. 24.

181. यथा स्मृतिसागरे देवलः। कालातिरेके द्विगुणं प्रायश्चित्तं समाचरेत्। द्विगुणं राजदण्डं च दत्त्वा शुद्धिमवाप्नुयात्॥ कालातिरेके संवत्सरातिरेके। संवत्सराभिशस्तस्य दुष्टस्य द्विगुणो दमः-इति मनुवचने (8.373) संवत्सरात्परतो द्विगुणदण्डदर्शनेन दण्डवत्प्रायश्चित्तानि भवन्तीति न्यायेन एकत्र निर्णीतः शास्त्रार्थो बाधकमन्तरेणान्यत्रापि तथेति न्यायाच्च। प्राय. तत्त्व p. 474; vide p. 530 of the same work for the same न्याय. 'अथ मण्डपोद्यानादि—देवतागारादि—भेदने काश्यपः। वापीकूपारामसेतुलतातडागवप्रदेवतायतनभेदने प्रायश्चित्तम्।...ब्राह्मणान्भोजयेत्। इति। एतच्चाल्पोपघाते। महतोपघातेऽभ्यासे प्राजापत्यादि कल्पनीयम्। देवता चात्र मृन्मयी पूजोज्झिता च ग्राह्या। प्रायश्चित्तस्याल्पत्वादन्यत्र दण्डगौरवदर्शनेन प्रायश्चित्तगौरवं कल्प्यं दण्डवत्प्रायश्चित्तानि भवन्तीति वचनात्। तथात्र दण्डगौरवमाह कात्यायनः।...विष्णुरपि...मनुः...इति।

purāṇas for a breaker of idols and re-instatement of the idol by him and then remarks 'daṇḍavat prāyaścittāni bhavanti'. Nārada divided *sāhasa* into three kinds viz. *prathama*, *madhyama* and *uttama*, the last of which consisted in killing a person with poison or weapon, adultery and rape and injury to life. He then provides that when offenders guilty of the first two kinds were punished by the king, they became fit for association with the people, but that one guilty of the *uttama-sāhasa*, though punished by the king, was not fit even to be talked to (Nārada, sāhasa, verse 11).

The king had jurisdiction[182] to punish sinners if they did not agree to undergo the prāyaścitta prescribed by the *pariṣad* but it is extremely doubtful whether he exercised that jurisdiction in all cases. Society or the caste also had a weapon in its hand viz. that of excommunication by ghaṭasphoṭa if one guilty of a grave sin refused to perform the prāyaścitta prescribed (i. e. it was jātidaṇḍa). Vide Gaut. 20.2-9, Manu XI. 182-185 and Yāj. III. 294 and H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 388 and vol. III. p. 1009-1010 for the rite of ghaṭasphoṭa and re-admission to caste after ghaṭasphoṭa. Many of the prāyaścittas prescribed for the grave sins were terrible (such as throwing oneself into fire, drinking boiling surā or water or cow's urine or milk or ghee for drinking surā, Manu XI. 73, 90-91, 103 &c.) and were to be self-inflicted and were not to be prescribed by the pariṣad as the words of Manu in XI. 73 'icchayātmanaḥ' and 'prāsyed-ātmānam-agnau vā' clearly convey and as some of the digests expressly provide[183]. In order to enable a man to become fit for intercourse with his caste men he had to give a dinner to them or distribute sweetmeats even after undergoing prāyaścitta. So it follows that a man guilty of a crime was liable to three burdens, punishment by the king, penance prescribed by learned brāhmaṇas and giving dinner or sweetmeats to castemen. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 971.

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182. दण्डं कुर्यान्नृपो नृणां प्रायश्चित्तमकुर्वताम्। कामतोऽकामतो वापि प्रायश्चित्तं कृतं चरेत्॥ अग्निपुराण 168 1. प्रायश्चित्तैः शमं याति पापं कृतमसंशयम्। राजदण्डाच्छमं याति प्रायश्चित्तमकुर्वताम्। प्रायश्चित्तविहीना ये राजभिश्चाप्यदण्डिताः। नरकं प्रतिपद्यन्ते तिर्यग्योनिं तथैव च॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण II. 73.3-4 q. by परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 210, प्रा. प्रकाश folio 102 a.

183. प्राणान्तिकप्रायश्चित्तं तु पर्षदा न देयम्। तत्स्वयमेव ज्ञात्वा कुर्यात्। प्राय. सा. p. 41; एतच्च मरणान्तिकं प्रायश्चित्तं पर्षदा नादेष्टव्यमपि तु व्युत्पन्नश्चेत्स्वयमेव ज्ञात्वा कुर्यात्। अव्युत्पन्नश्चेत् प्रायश्चित्तस्वरूपं शिष्टेभ्यो ज्ञात्वा तदनुज्ञामन्तरेण स्वयमेव कुर्यात्। मद. पा. p. 817.

The literature on prāyaścittas is vast in extent, since in ancient times they loomed very large in the popular mind. Out of the 28 chapters of the Gautamadharma-sūtra, ten (i. e. more than one-third of the whole) are devoted to penances. Out of the 30 chapters of the printed Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra, prāyaścittas cover nine (20–28). Manu devotes verses 44 to 265 (in all 222) of chapter eleven to penances and the Yājñavalkyasmṛti containing 1009 verses deals with prāyaścittas in 122 verses (III. 205–327). Several printed smṛtis such as those of Aṅgiras (168 verses), Atri (chapters 1–8), Devala (90 verses), Bṛhad-Yama (182 verses), Śātātapasmṛti (in 274 verses) from the Ānandāśrama collection of smṛtis alone deal only with prāyaścittas. Many other smṛtis and several purāṇas, such as the Agni (chap. 168–174), Garuḍa 52, Kūrma (Uttarārdha 30–34), Varāha 131–136, Brahmāṇḍa (Upasaṁhārapāda chap. 9), Viṣṇudharmottara (II. 73, III. 234–237) contain hundreds of verses on prāyaścittas. Besides commentaries like the Mitākṣarā, Aparārka, Par. M. and others and digests like Madanapārijāta (pp. 691–994), there are special digests dealing with prāyaścittas alone such as Hemādri on Prāyaścitta (which is of doubtful authenticity), the Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa of Bhavadeva, Prāyaścittaviveka, Prāyaścittatattva, Smṛtimuktāphala (prāyaścitta section), Prāyaścittasāra (part of Nṛsiṁhaprasāda), Prāyaścittamayūkha, Prāyaścittaprakāśa (ms. in the Anūp Sanskrit library, Bikaner, No. 2610), Prāyaścittenduśekhara of Nāgojibhaṭṭa, which have been utilised in this work. The most elaborate treatment is found in Prāyaścittaviveka, Par. M. II parts 1 and 2, and Prāyaścittaprakāśa.

The commentators discuss the question about the persons who have *adhikāra* (capacity) for having penances prescribed for them. Since Manu XI. 44 (prāyaścittīyate naraḥ) and Yāj. III. 219 (naraḥ patanam-ṛcchati) both employ the word 'man' without [184] any qualification, the commentators and digests say that penances are meant for men of all varṇas, for all persons born of unions in the reverse order (pratilomajas) and for even caṇḍālas. Yāj. III. 262 states that a śūdra sinner

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184. नरग्रहणं सार्ववर्णिकप्रदर्शनार्थम्। विश्वरूप on या. III. 210; नरग्रहणं प्रातिलोमजातानामपि प्रायश्चित्ताधिकारप्राप्त्यर्थम्। तेषामप्यहिंसादिसाधारणधर्मव्यतिक्रमसम्भवात्। मिता. on या III. 219; नर इत्यनेन ब्राह्मणादिचाण्डालान्तानां सर्वेषां पापं दर्शयति। अस्ति च चाण्डालादीनामपि विधिनिषेधश्च। यथा देवलः। स्वजातिशोचमं सर्वजनप्रणामस्थितिश्च व्यवहारशुद्धिरपरापमानं स्वभृत्यपोषणं प्रधानकर्मपरिवर्जनमिति चाण्डालधर्मः। मनुः। गवार्थे...बाह्यानां सिद्धिकारणम्॥ (10.62) अतो वेदार्थव्यवहारिणामेव प्रायश्चित्तीयता न चाण्डालादीनामिति मन्दम्। प्राय. वि. p. 12.

though he has no *adhikāra* (for recitation of Vedic *mantras* and *homa*), yet becomes purified by undergoing the observances (except japa and homa) for the periods prescribed. Aṅgiras [185] provides that penance may be administered to a śūdra devoid of *japa* and *homa*. Even as to japa and homa there were works like the Madanapārijāta p. 749 and Vy. M (p. 112) that relying on a verse of Parāśara VI. 63–64 held that a homa could be performed for women and śūdras in the ordinary fire through a brāhmaṇa[186]. The Pr. V. relies on Manu X. 62 and a prose passage of Devala for the proposition that even Cāṇḍālas have to perform penances, if they act contrary to the rules and prohibitions laid down for them. Since the non-performance of what is prescribed and doing what is forbidden lead to sin, the person guilty of these or the person who has a desire to destroy his sins is a person entitled to perform prāyaścitta, as also one who repents of his guilt.

Before going into the subject of the several prāyaścittas prescribed for each grave or minor sin, some questions of a general character have to be disposed of.

Some smṛtis like Bṛhad-yama III. 1–2 and Śaṅkha state that a boy over five years of age and less than eleven years old, if guilty of some pātakas such as drinking *surā*, has not to undergo penance personally, but his brother, father or other

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185. तस्माच्छूद्रं समासाद्य सदा धर्मपथे स्थितम्। प्रायश्चित्तं प्रदातव्यं जपहोमविवर्जितम्॥ अङ्गिरस् q. by the मिता. on या. III. 262, प्राय. म. p. 12, प्र. सार p. 173.

186. स्त्रीशूद्रयोरपि ब्राह्मणद्वारा लौकिकाग्नौ होमो भवत्येव। अत एव धर्मविवृतौ 'उपवासो व्रतं होमस्तीर्थस्नानं जपादिकम्। विप्रैः सम्पादितं यस्य सम्पूर्णं तस्य तत्फलम्॥ इति।' मद. पा. p. 749. This is पराशर VI. 63–64 (the printed edition in B. S. Series reads व्रतं चैव स्नानं तीर्थे जपस्तपः). It is rather inexplicable how while Nīlakaṇṭha in his Vyavahāramayūkha holds, relying on Parāśara, that the *dattahoma* may be performed by a śūdra or a woman through a brāhmaṇa, the Prāyaścittamayūkha of the same author propounds a different view in the words 'एतेन यन्महार्णवमदनरत्नयोः स्त्रीशूद्रादेर्विप्रद्वारा समन्त्रकौ जपहोमौ भवत इति तदपास्तम्' (p. 13). Did the author change his views or is the text of one of the two Mayūkhas tampered with by his successors? The प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 30 b) explains Parāśara VI. 63–64 in a different way. It says that the verse does not lay down generally that a woman or any one else can in every case have a *homa* performed for her through a brāhmaṇa, but that where in a rite *japa* and *homa* are obligatory and the person concerned is unable to perform japa and homa in person there alone he can appoint a brāhmaṇa as *pratinidhi*. अस्य प्रायेषु जपहोमादिषु अशक्तौ विप्ररूपप्रतिनिधिविधानमात्रार्थत्वात्। प्रायश्चित्ताङ्गजपहोमयोस्तु निषेधादेवाप्रसक्तेस्तत्र तस्याप्रवृत्तिः। ...एतेन यन्महार्णवमदनरत्नयोः स्त्रीशूद्रादेर्विप्रद्वारा समन्त्रकौ जपहोमौ भवत इति तदपास्तम्। प्रा. प्रकाश. folio 30 b.

relative or friend has to undergo it for him and that if a child is less than five then whatever act it may do it is not deemed a crime, nor is it a sin and it is not liable to any legal penalty nor to any[187] prāyaścitta. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 243) comments that these verses are not meant to prescribe a total absence of prāyaścitta in the case of children of five or less but are meant to convey that they are not liable for the full prāyaścitta prescribed for a sin. Its argument is that the texts lay down generally without any reference to the stage of life that a brāhmaṇa should not be killed or that a person belonging to the three higher castes should not drink *surā*.[188] Hence any one of whatever age who is guilty of having done such prohibited acts is liable and the words of Gaut. II. 1 and of Kumāra are to be interpreted as not excusing altogether the drinking of *surā* by a child but as referring to minor lapses. Bṛhaspati expressly states that the dictum about a child being allowed to eat what it likes is confined to such matters as will not fall under grave sins.

It has already been stated above (n. 180) that the prāyaścitta to be undergone depended upon many circumstances such as the time, the place, the age &c. And first as to age, several smṛtis[189] provide that a man 80 years old or a boy less than

187 ऊनैकादशवर्षस्य पञ्चवर्षात्परस्य च। प्रायश्चित्तं चरेद् भ्राता पिता वान्यः सुहृज्जनः॥ अतो बालतरस्यास्य नापराधो न पातकम्। राजदण्डो न तस्यास्ति प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते॥ शङ्ख, quoted by the मिता. on या. III. 243, बृहद्यम III. 1-2 (reads बान्धवोऽपि बान्धवः). These are quoted by हरदत्त on गौ. II 6 (without name) and the first occurs in आपस्तम्बस्मृति III. 7 as चरेद्गुरुः सुहृद्वापि प्रायश्चित्तं विशोधनम्. The first verse is देवल 31. Both are ascribed to अङ्गिरस् by प्राय. वि. p. 29.

188. प्रागुपनयनात् कामचारः कामवादः कामभक्षः। गौ. II. 1; मद्यमूत्रपुरीषाणां भक्षणे नास्ति कश्चन। दोषस्त्वा पञ्चमाद्वर्षादूर्ध्वं पित्रोः सुहृद्गुरोः॥ कुमार q. by मिता. on या. III. 253, by प्राय. प्रक. p. 50; स्यात्कामचारभक्षोक्तिर्महतः पातकादृते। बृहस्पति q. by प्रा. तत्त्व p. 551.

189. अशीतिर्यस्य वर्षाणि बालो वाप्यूनषोडशः। प्रायश्चित्तार्धमर्हन्ति स्त्रियो रोगिण एव च॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 54. 33, लघुहारीत 33, देवल 30, आपस्तम्बस्मृति III. 3, बृहद्यम III. 3 (reads अशीत्यधिकवर्षाणि). This verse is ascribed to अङ्गिरस् by the मिता. on या. III. 243 and to भार्गव by हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 26.5. The मद. पा. p. 796 ascribes it to विष्णु, पराशर, बृहस्पति and आङ्गिरस्. तथा बालवृद्धादीनां साक्षात्कर्तृत्वेऽप्यर्धमेव। अशीति...रोगिण एव चेत्यङ्गिरःस्मरणात्। तथा। अर्वाक् द्वादशाद्वर्षादशीतेरूर्ध्वमेव वा। अर्धमेव भवेत्पुंसां तुरीयं तत्र योषिताम्॥ इति। तथानुपनीतस्यापि बालकस्य पादमात्रमेव प्रायश्चित्तम्। क्षीणामर्धं प्रदातव्यं वृद्धानां रोगिणां तथा। पादो बालेषु दातव्यः सर्वपापेष्वयं विधिरिति विष्णुस्मरणात्। मिता. on या. III. 243. The verses अर्वाक् and क्षीणामर्धं are ascribed to विष्णु, पराशर, बृहस्पति and अङ्गिरस् by मद. पा. p 796 and the latter is ascribed to लघुविष्णु by प्राय. वि. p. 28 and to वृद्धविष्णु by प्राय. प्रकरण p. 17.

16 years of age, women and diseased persons should be liable only to half the prāyaścitta (prescribed for able-bodied men). The Mit. on Yāj. III. 243 quotes a verse of Sumantu that for a male below twelve and above eighty years of age the penance is half (of that for ordinary men) and one fourth for women within the same limits and a verse of Viṣṇu that for women, old men and diseased persons half the penance should be prescribed and for boys (before upanayana) only one-fourth. Some say that for boys less than five the penance is one-fourth. Cyavana (prose) prescribes half prāyaścitta for boys, old men and women and declares that a person is a *bāla* up to 16 years and a man is to be regarded as similar to a *bāla* after 70. Kātyāyana provided generally that the fines to be levied from females were to be half of those leviable from male offenders as regards all offences and when the punishment for a male would be death, a woman criminal was to be punished with the cutting of a limb (nose, ears &c.)[190]

The difference between a sin committed unintentionally (akāmataḥ) and the same sin committed with full knowledge (kāmataḥ) is this that for the latter the prāyaścitta is double of what is prescribed for the former as provided by Aṅgiras,[191] Vyāsa and the Agnipurāṇa. As Yāj. III. 226 employs the word 'ajñāna' in the first half and the word 'kāmataḥ' as its opposite in the second half instead of the word 'jñānataḥ' it follows that Yāj. makes no difference between the consequences of *jñāna* (knowledge) and *kāmanā* (desire).

The caste of the offender as well as of the victim made a difference in the prāyaścitta as well as in the legal punishment. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 395–399 as to punishments for crimes dependent on caste. Viṣṇu[192] provides that the prāyaścitta for

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190. बालवृद्धस्त्रीणामर्धं प्रायश्चित्तम्। आ षोडशाद्बालः। सप्तत्यूर्ध्वमतो वृद्धाः। च्यवन q. by परा.मा. II. part 1 p. 122 and प्राय. वि. p. 28. सर्वेषु चापराधेषु पुंसो योऽर्थदमः स्मृतः॥ तदर्धं योषितो दद्युर्वधे पुंसोऽङ्गकर्तनम्॥ कात्या. 487.

191. स्यात्त्वकामकृते यत्तु द्विगुणं बुद्धिपूर्वके। आङ्गिरस q. by प्राय. वि. pp. 22 and 24; विहितं यदकामानां कामात्तु द्विगुणं स्मृतम्। अग्निपुराण 173. 9, q. by the मिता. on या. III. 226 (without name); and as that of अङ्गिरस् by प्राय. प्रकरण p. 12 and as of मध्यमाङ्गिरस् by प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 16b). यत्रैतदेव कुर्वीत शुद्ध्यर्थमकामतः। कामतो द्विगुणं प्रोक्तं पूर्वेषु च यदुच्यते॥ व्यास q. by प्राय. वि. p. 24.

192. विप्रे तु सकलं देयं पादोनं क्षत्रिये मतम्। वैश्येऽर्धं पादमेकस्तु शूद्रजातिषु शस्यते॥ विष्णु q. by प्राय. वि. p. 102 where it is stated that जिकन noted that this verse was not found in the विष्णुसंहिता. It is ascribed to बृहद्विष्णु by प्राय. प्रकरण p. 16 and to वृद्धविष्णु by मिता. on या. III. 267.

a kṣatriya, vaiśya and śūdra sinner should be respectively $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of what is prescribed for a brāhmaṇa sinner. The Agnipurāṇa says[193] the same thing. The Par. M. II. 1. p. 231 quotes the Caturviṁśatimata[194] to the same effect. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 250 explains that the verse of Caturviṁśatimata applies to all cases except where any one of the four *sāhasas* is committed by a man of a lower caste as against one of a higher caste. Bṛhad-Yama (IV. 13-14) in prescribing penance for the killing of a cow provides the same scale of 4, 3, 2, 1 for the four varṇas. Aṅgiras (verse 3) prescribes the penances of Kṛcchra and Cāndrāyaṇa for a brāhmaṇa partaking of the food of an *antyaja*, half of these for a kṣatriya or vaiśya guilty of the same. Yāj. II. 206-207 provide that the punishments for defamation depend upon the higher or lower varṇa or caste of the offender as well as of the person defamed and that if a kṣatriya or vaiśya defames a brāhmaṇa the fines are respectively twice or thrice as high as the fine for a brāhmaṇa defaming a brāhmaṇa and conversely if a brāhmaṇa defames a kṣatriya or a vaiśya the fine is reduced by half in each successive caste. The Mit. quoting Aṅgiras says that the rules about punishments apply to prāyaścittas for slaying a person i. e. if a brāhmaṇa slays anybody and a certain penance is prescribed for him, then a kṣatriya killing the person would have to perform double the penance prescribed for the brāhmaṇa and a vaiśya offender three times as much.[195] It may be pointed out here that though the smṛtis provided for different punishments according to the castes of the offender and of the person wronged and though some commentaries and digests went into all those details for the sake of presenting a

193. सर्वत्र शूद्रे पादः स्याद् द्वित्रयं वैश्यभूपयोः । अग्निपुराण 168.13.

194. प्रायश्चित्तं यदाम्नातं ब्राह्मणस्य महर्षिभिः । पादोनं क्षत्रियः कुर्यादर्धं वैश्यः समाचरेत् । शूद्रः समाचरेत्पादमशेषेष्वपि पाप्मसु ॥ चतुर्विंशतिमत q. by the मिता. on या. III. 250. देवल 28 is a verse of similar import. यत्तु चतुर्विंशतिमतवचनं प्रायश्चित्तं...पाप्मसु-इति प्रतिलोमाद्युक्तचतुर्विधसाहसव्यतिरिक्तविषयम्। तथा मूर्धावसिक्तादीनामप्यनुलोमोत्पन्नानां दण्डवत्प्रायश्चित्तमूहनीयम् ॥ मिता. The four साहसs are 'मनुष्यमारणं स्तेयं परदाराभिमर्शनम् । पारुष्यमुभयं चेति साहसं स्याच्चतुर्विधम् ॥.'

195. यथाहाङ्गिराः । पर्षदा ब्राह्मणानां तु सा राज्ञां द्विगुणा मता । वैश्यानां त्रिगुणा प्रोक्ता पर्षद्वच्च व्रतं स्मृतम् ॥ इति ।...अनयैव दिशा क्षत्रियवैश्ययोरत्रापि हीनेनोत्कृष्टवधे दोषगौरवात्प्रायश्चित्तस्यापि द्वैगुण्यादि कल्पनीयम् । दोषगौरवं च दण्डगौरवादवगम्यते । मिता° on या. III. 250. Vide मिता. on या III 267 also. This verse is q. by परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 67: while the प्राय. वि. p. 102 ascribes it to देवल; 'परिषदा...स्मृता—इति देवलवचनं ब्रह्मवध एव द्वैगुण्यादिकं बोधयति.' The प्राय...प्रक. p. 16 reads the verse of अङ्गिरस् as 'वैश्यानां...प्रोक्ता शूद्राणां तु चतुर्गुणा ॥ परिषद्वद् व्रतं प्रोक्तं शुद्धये पापकर्मणाम् । '

complete statement or digest of the smṛti material, such discriminatory punishments had mostly ceased to be enforced by the rulers from about the 12th century A. D. at least, as stated by the Smṛticandrikā, the Madanaratna (vyavahāra) and the Sarasvatīvilāsa. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 512 note 924 for the relevant quotations from the three works. Since, as stated above (n. 181), prāyaścittas were to be moulded on the lines of legal penalties, it appears that the discriminatory treatment about prāyaścittas depending upon the varṇa of the sinner must also have gradually fallen into disuetude with the disappearance of the more severe prāyaścittas and the substitution of cows and monetary equivalents in later digests. And some digests expressly state this to have been the case in relation to prāyaścittas. For example, the Pr. Prakaraṇa, after quoting Gaut. 22. 14–16 about the prāyaścitta for killing a kṣatriya or vaiśya or śūdra under certain circumstances, remarks that in its day those prāyaścittas were no longer part of the practices of the people.[196]

Whether an act made a man liable to undergo prāyaścitta depended in some cases on the country also. For example, marrying a maternal uncle's daughter was and is allowed in certain countries and among certain castes in the Deccan and Southern India on the ground of custom, but such a practice was severely condemned by Manu XI. 171–172 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 1. 17–24 and other smṛtis. Bṛhaspati refers to this custom as prevalent among southerners and states that in these countries persons following it are not liable to undergo prāyaścitta or penalty (at the hand of the king). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 462 for Bṛhaspati's verses.

Severity and extent of prāyaścitta depended also on the question whether a sinner had repeated the lapse or was a first offender. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 10. 27. 11–13) prescribes that a brāhmaṇa who has once committed adultery with a married woman of equal class shall perform one-fourth of the penance prescribed for a śūdra having intercourse with a woman of the three upper castes, that for every repetition (of the crime) one

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196. यच्च गौतमेनोक्तं राजन्यवधे...गा दद्यात् (२२. १४–१६)–एवमादीनि नानाद्युनिबन्धनानि नानाविधप्रायश्चित्तोत्कर्षप्रतिपादकानि तानि ब्राह्मणजातवृत्तस्थ-वामस्थ-सद्गुणैवाध्ययन-नाविद्गुणयुक्त-कामाकामादिकृतक्षत्रियादिवधविषयाणि यथायोग्यं व्याख्येयानि । इदानीं तु तथाविधक्षत्रियाद्यभावेन व्यवहारानङ्गत्वात् न प्रत्येकं विषयव्यवस्थया व्याख्यातानीति सर्वं चेदं ब्राह्मणस्य क्षत्रियादिवधप्रायश्चित्तमुक्तम् । प्राय. प्रक. p. 22.

fourth of the penance must be added and if (he commits adultery) for the fourth time, the whole penance (of 12 years must be performed [197]). The Mit. on Yāj. III. 293 remarks that for a sin that is committed knowingly the prāyaścitta is double of what is prescribed for the same sin if committed unintentionally and that if a sin is committed intentionally and is repeated then for the repeated lapse prāyaścitta is four times as much as that for the same deed done unintentionally. Similarly, the *āśrama* to which the sinner belonged made a difference in the prāyaścitta as stated by Aṅgiras 'when persons in other āśramas are guilty of sins for which penance is prescribed if committed by householders, then the prāyaścitta is increased in the same proportion that is laid down for *śauca* (bodily purity [198]). Manu V. 137, Vas. VI. 19, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 60. 26, Śaṅkha 16. 23-24 provide that Vedic students, forest hermits and *sannyāsins* have respectively to perform twice, thrice and four times as much *śauca* as is prescribed for householders (e. g. by Manu V. 136 = Viṣṇu 60. 25).

One convenient and merciful rule laid down by the smṛtis was that if a man died in the midst of the period for which penance had to be performed (sometimes it extended to twelve years or more) he became free from the sin here and in the next world as stated by Hārīta, Vyāsa and Yama [199].

Though the smṛtis have entered into very great details about the prāyaścittas for different individual lapses, still they cannot be supposed to have dealt with every lapse. Therefore,

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197. सवर्णायामन्यपूर्वायां सकृत्संनिपाते पादः पततीत्युपदिशन्ति। एवमभ्यासे पादः पादः। चतुर्थे सर्वम्। आप. ध. सू. II. 10.27.11–13.

198. तथाश्रमिणामपि अङ्गिरसा विशेषो दर्शितः। गृहस्थोक्तानि पापानि कुर्वन्त्याश्रमिणो यदि। शौचवच्छोधनं कुर्युरर्वाग्ब्रह्मनिदर्शनादिति। शौचवदिति –एतच्छौचं गृहस्थानां द्विगुणं ब्रह्मचारिणाम्। त्रिगुणं तु वनस्थानां यतीनां तु चतुर्गुणम्॥ इति (मनु ५.१३७) वचनाद्यथा ब्रह्मचार्यादीनां शौचं द्विगुण्यादिक्रमेण वर्धते तथा शोधनं प्रायश्चित्तमपि भवतीत्यर्थः। ब्रह्मचारिणस्तु प्रायश्चित्तद्वैगुण्यं षोडशवर्षादूर्ध्वमेव॥ मिता. on या. III. 250. On ब्रह्मनिदर्शनात् the प्राय. म. p. 3 says 'ब्रह्मनिदर्शनं तत्त्वज्ञानम्। ज्ञानोत्पत्त्यनन्तरं तु त्यक्तपापं ज्ञानेनैव नाश्यते। ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात्कुरुतेऽर्जुनेति भगवद्गीतोक्तेः' (गीता ४ ३७).

199. न च द्वादशवार्षिके चतुर्गुणे क्रियमाणे मध्ये विपत्तिशङ्कया समाप्त्यनुपपत्तेः मृतस्यैव मोक्षस्तत इति शङ्कनीयम्। यतः प्रक्रान्तप्रायश्चित्तस्य मध्ये विपत्तावपि पापक्षयो भवत्येव। तथा हारीतः। प्रायश्चित्ते व्यवसिते कर्ता यदि विपद्यते। पूतस्तदहरेवासाविह लोके परत्र च॥ इति। व्यासोऽप्याह। धर्मार्थं यतमानस्तु न चेच्छक्नोति मानवः। प्राप्तो भवति तत्पुण्यमत्र वै नास्ति संशयः॥ इति॥ मिता. on या. III. 250. बृहद्यम II. 7 is almost the same as हारीत. प्राय वि. p. 86 ascribes the verse प्रायश्चित्ते व्यवसिते to बृहन्मनु; अपरार्क p. 1058 ascribes it to यम.

Gaut. (19. 18–20) provides that these acts (viz. Vedic recitation, *tapas*, fasting, gifts &c.) may be optionally performed, when no (particular penance) has been prescribed, that for grave sins difficult penances and for trivial faults easy ones may be prescribed and that Kṛcchra, Atikṛcchra and Cāndrāyaṇa are penances for all sins.[200] Manu XI. 209 (= Viṣṇu 54.34) provides that for the expiation of offences for which no particular atonement has been prescribed, let (the pariṣad) prescribe a penance after considering the (offender's) strength and the nature of the offence. Parāśara (XI. 55–56) provides that the recitation of the Gāyatrī ten thousand times is the best penance for all sins and that Cāndrāyaṇa, Yāvaka, Tulāpuruṣa and serving cows destroy all sins. Yāj. III. 265 provides that a man is purified from all sins by undergoing the penance for cow-killing or by Cāndrāyaṇa, observance for a month of the milk *vrata* or by Parāka. Manu XI. 117 provides for all *upapātakas* except the sin of sexual intercourse by one who is in the stage of Vedic student the penance prescribed for *govadha* or cāndrāyaṇa.

One guilty of a sin, even though he may himself be a learned man, should approach an assembly of learned brāhmaṇas and after making some present (a cow or the like) announcing the nature of his lapse seek their decision about the proper penance for his lapse (Yāj. [201] III. 300 and Parāśara VIII. 2). The Mit., Par. M., Pr. S. and other digests quote long passages in verse from Aṅgiras [202] who provides that the sinner should

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200. एतान्येवानादेशे विकल्पेन क्रियेरन् ॥ एनःसु गुरुषु गुरूणि लघुषु लघूनि ॥ कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रौ चान्द्रायणमिति सर्वप्रायश्चित्तम् ॥ गौ. 19. 18–20. Vide ब्रह्मपुराण 22. 36 and विष्णुपुराण II. 6. 38 for very similar words 'पापे गुरूणि गुरूणि स्वल्पान्यल्पे च तद्विदः। प्रायश्चित्तानि विप्रेन्द्रा जगुः स्वायंभुवादयः ॥'. Instead of विप्रेन्द्राः the विष्णुपुराण has मैत्रेय. This very verse is quoted as बृहस्पति's in प्राय. तत्त्व. p. 545 (with मैत्रेय for विप्रेन्द्राः).

201. विख्यातदोषः कुर्वीत पर्षदोऽनुमतं व्रतम्। या. III. 300. This is ascribed to both बृहस्पति and या. by परा. मा. II part 2 p. 153. Vide शङ्ख 17. 62 also.

202. A few of the verses of अङ्गिरस् are cited here: कृत्वा पापं न गूहेत गुह्यमानस्य वर्धते ॥ सचैलं वाग्यतः स्नात्वा क्लिन्नवासाः समाहितः। क्षत्रियो वाथ वैश्यो वा परिषद्युपतिष्ठति। उपस्थाय ततः शीघ्रमार्तिमान्धरणीं व्रजेत्। गात्रैश्च शिरसा चैव न च किंचिदुदाहरेत्। ततस्ते प्रणिपातेन दृष्ट्वा तं समुपस्थितम्। वृद्धाः पृच्छन्ति किं कार्यमुपविश्याग्रतः स्थितम्। किं कार्यं का च ते पीडा किं वा मृगयसे द्विज। एवं तैः समनुज्ञातः सर्वं ब्रूयादशेषतः। तस्मिन्निवेदिते कार्ये निष्कारणो यस्तु कार्यवान्। सर्वेषां निश्चितं यत्स्यात् यत्र प्राणान् न घातयेत्। आहूय श्रावयेदेकः पर्षदा यो नियोजितः। शृणुष्व भो इदं विप्र यत्ते आदिश्यते व्रतम्। वृद्धाः पूर्वमुदाहार्यं यथोक्तं धर्मकर्तृभिः। पश्चात्कार्यानुसारेण शक्त्या कुर्युरनुग्रहम् ॥ अङ्गिरस् q. by परा. मा. II. 1. p. 206–207 and 235–236. प्राय. सा. pp. 7. 17–20, प्राय. म. pp. 11–12, प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 27b and 28a).

not conceal his lapse and lose time; he should bathe with his garment on, and with the garment still wet approach the assembly and should prostrate himself on the ground. Thus the elders of the assembly ask the man prostrating himself before them 'what is your business, what is the trouble and what do you seek from us'. The assembly then asks him to go aside a little and debate among themselves what the penance should be, considering all the circumstances of time, place, nature of the lapse, age &c. Then one of them at the desire of the assembly should declare the assembly's decision as to the proper penance after citing the smṛti passages and reducing the penance in view of the weakness and other circumstances of the offender. It has already been stated that the *pariṣad* acted under the direction of the king in matters of prāyaścitta and that the king was not to interfere with the decision of the assembly. The principal stages in a penance were four viz. approaching the pariṣad, the declaration of the appropriate penance by the pariṣad, the actual performance of the penance declared and the announcing of the sinner's freedom from taint (Aṅgiras q. by Pr. Prakāśa folio 27a 'upasthānaṁ vratādeśaścaryā śuddhiprakāśanam । prāyaścittaṁ catuṣpādam vihitam dharmakartṛbhiḥ ॥ ").

It is not necessary here to set out the details of the constitution of the *pariṣad*, of the qualifications of the śiṣṭas who were to be the members of the *pariṣad* and their privileges and duties. These points have already been discussed at length in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 966–974. A few matters not stated there are mentioned here. Caste exclusiveness and pride had gone so far that Parāśara (VIII. 25) and the Caturviṁśatimata quoted by Par. M. state that a *dvija* though he may be of bad character is to be honoured and not a śūdra who may have controlled his senses, that the advice of a śūdra even though learned and devoted to the knowledge of the śāstras should not be accepted like sacrificial food when licked by a dog[203]. Instead of the word '*pariṣad*' the word *parṣad* (which is an irre-

203 दुःशीलोपि द्विजः पूज्यो न तु शूद्रो जितेन्द्रियः । कः परित्यज्य गां दुष्टां दुहेच्छीलवतीं खरीम् । पराशर VIII. 25 on which परा. मा II. 1. p. 228 observes: जातिशीलयोर्मध्ये जात्युत्कर्ष एव प्राधान्येनोपादेयः । शीलं तु यथासम्भवम् । अत एव चतुर्विंशतिमते शूद्रोपदेशस्यानुपादेयत्वं प्रपञ्चयति । श्वचर्मणि यथा क्षीरमपेयं ब्राह्मणादिभिः । तद्वच्छूद्रमुखाद्वाक्यं न श्रोतव्यं कदाचन ॥ पण्डितस्यापि शूद्रस्य शास्त्रज्ञानरतस्य च ॥ वचनं तस्य न ग्राह्यं शुनोच्छिष्टं हविर्यथा ॥

gular abbreviation) is employed in several smṛti passages[203a]. Parāśara (VI. 55–57) provides that the assembly should take compassion on the weak, on boys and old men and should reduce the penance, but not otherwise and that if learned men through affection, greed, fear or ignorance reduce the penance that should be prescribed they themselves incur the sin.[203b] Devala says the same and adds[204] that the reduction in the penance should not be directed by one man alone or by a person ignorant of Dharmaśāstra and that it is only a number of brāhmaṇas who are proficient in Dharmaśāstra that are entitled to reduce the penance through compassion for the sinner. The decision of the assembly should be unanimous[205] as far as possible.

If the learned brāhmaṇas of the assembly knowing the proper prāyaścitta do not declare it in the case of those who are distressed by their own sin and seek direction, they incur sin similar to that of the seeker after proper penance[206].

203a. पर्षच्छब्दोऽत्र पृषोदरादित्वात्साधुः । प्राय. वि. p. 26, on which गोविन्दानन्द says 'परिषीदन्त्यस्यामिति पर्षत् पृषोदरादित्वादिकारलोपो विकल्पितः'. पाणिनि provides पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् । VI. 3. 109.

203 b. दुर्बलेऽनुग्रहः प्रोक्तस्तथा वै बालवृद्धयोः । अतोऽन्यथा भवेद्दोषस्तस्मान्नानुग्रहः स्मृतः ॥ स्नेहाद्वा यदि वा लोभाद्भयादज्ञानतोपि वा । कुर्वन्त्यनुग्रहं ये तु तत्पापं तेषु गच्छति ॥ पराशर VI. 55–57.

204. प्रायश्चित्तं यथोद्दिष्टमशक्यं दुर्बलादिभिः । क्रियतेऽनुग्रहस्तेषां लोकसंग्रहकारणात् ॥ एको नार्हति तत्कर्तुमज्ञो वा नाप्यनुग्रहम् । धर्मज्ञा बहवो विप्राः कर्तुमर्हन्त्यनुग्रहम् ॥ देवल q. by परा. मा. II.1. pp. 130–131, प्राय. म. p. 12.

205. विचारस्तादृशः कार्यो यथा सर्वे सभासदः । एकवाक्यतया ब्रूयुस्तथा श्रेयोऽधिगच्छति ॥ q. by प्राय. सा p. 18.

206. आर्तानां मार्गमाणानां प्रायश्चित्तानि ये द्विजाः । जानन्तो न प्रयच्छन्ति ते यान्ति समतां तु तैः ॥ अङ्गिरस् q. by मिता. on या. III. 300, प्राय. तत्त्व. p. 512, परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 234.

CHAPTER IV

PENANCES FOR PARTICULAR SINS

It is now proper to turn to the penances prescribed for individual sins of different types (grave sins, minor sins and the like). It may be noted that the smṛtis contain numerous prāyaścittas for the same sin and that it is often difficult to reconcile all the dicta. The commentaries and digests such as the Mit. and the Prāyaścitta-viveka therefore try to assign to each penance an appropriate provision, looking to all the circumstances noted above (i.e. they are bent on 'viṣayavyavasthā').[206a] In this work, it is not necessary to set out in detail the numerous penances for numberless lapses that are prescribed in the several smṛtis and digests. In the Śabdakalpadruma (part III) there is an analysis from the Prāyaścitta-viveka alone of the several lapses, the penances for them, the number of cows to be donated as substitutes, the monetary equivalents when even cows cannot be donated and the *dakṣiṇā* in each case, which occupy pages 321 to 364. Setting out all these lapses together with the penances for them would only be a matter of academic interest and of no practical value, as almost all the prāyaścittas have become antiquated and are hardly ever performed now except in the form of gifts of cows or money to brāhmaṇas, pilgrimages and recitation of Vedic mantras or *japa* of the names of some favourite deity such as Viṣṇu or Śiva. Therefore only a few typical sins alone will be taken for treatment here and later on a list of all penances with brief descriptions will be furnished.

First come the Mahāpātakas. Śaṅkha [207] (17. 1–3) prescribes the following penance for the four mahāpātakas: the sinner should bathe thrice every day, should erect in a forest a cottage thatched with leaves, should sleep on the ground, should subsist

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206 a. एवमादीन्यन्यानि उत्कर्षापकर्षप्रतिपादकवचनानि ब्राह्मणादिजातित्व—वृत्तस्था-वृत्तस्थत्व—देशाद्यवस्थाविशेषशक्त्याशक्तित्व—कामाकामकृतत्व—व्यवस्थया व्याख्येयानि। प्राय. वि. p. 220; vide also प्राय. वि pp 338–39 for a similar passage.

207. नित्यं त्रिषवणस्नायी कृत्वा पर्णकुटीं वने। अधःशायी जटाधारी पर्णमूलफलाशनः॥ ग्रामं विशेच्च भिक्षार्थं स्वकर्म परिकीर्तयन्। एककालं समश्नीयाद्वर्षे तु द्वादशे गते॥ हेमस्तेयी सुरापश्च ब्रह्महा गुरुतल्पगः। व्रतेनैतेन शुध्यन्ते महापातकिनस्त्विमे॥ शङ्ख 17. 1–3 q. by अपरार्क pp. 1053–54, परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 320–321, प्रा. प्रकाश folio 87b.

on leaves, roots and fruits, should enter a village for alms all the time declaring his misdeed, should eat only once a day. When the 12th year passes in this way, the thief of gold, the drinker of surā, the murderer of a brāhmaṇa and one who is guilty of incest become free from sin. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 34.1 speaks of sexual intercourse with one's mother, daughter or daughter-in-law as *atipātaka* and (34.2) provides that there is no penance except entering fire for this grave sin. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, Hārīta and Saṁvarta (q. by the Pr. V. p. 43) say the same. But other smṛtis like Manu XI. 54 and Yāj. III. 227 treat mātṛgamana as a mahāpātaka (gurutalpa-gamana) and intercourse with the daughter or daughter-in-law as equal to violating guru's bed (Manu XI. 58, Yāj. III. 233–234). Therefore we begin with the mahāpātakas the first of which is the murder of a brāhmaṇa. Gaut. 22. 2–10, Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 10–25 and I. 9. 25. 12–13, Vas. 20. 25–28, Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra 35. 6 and 50. 1–6 and 15, Manu. XI. 72–82, Yāj. III. 243–250, Agnipurāṇa 169. 1–4 and 173. 7–8, Saṁvarta 110–115 and many others prescribe various penances for brāhmaṇa-murder. As the treatment of Manu is tolerably long, an analysis of it alone will be given here. Manu as stated by the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (quoted by Kullūka on Manu XI. 72–82, Aparārka p. 1055 and Pr. V. p. 63) speaks of 13 separate penances for *brahmahatyā*[208]. The general rule was that for a man of any class who is directly guilty of intentional murder of a brāhmaṇa the penance was to end in death[209]. The thirteen penances as set out by Govindānanda in his commentary (called Tattvārthakaumudī) on Prāyaścittaviveka (p. 63) are as follows:—

(1) The murderer of a brāhmaṇa should construct a hut in a forest and dwell therein for twelve years, should subsist on alms and should carry a piece of the head-bones of the murdered man on a staff. This is a very ancient penance and other smṛtis add some details. For example, Gaut. 22. 4 provides that the sinner should submit to observances meant for a Vedic student (such as not partaking of flesh, honey etc. stated in

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208. तथापि ब्राह्मणवधे प्रायश्चित्तानि सुव्रत। मनुना कीर्तितानीह त्रयोदश यथाक्रमम्। भविष्यपुराण q. by अपरार्क p. 1055, प्राय. वि. p. 63.

209. तत्र कामतः साक्षाद् ब्रह्मवधे विशेषाश्रवणात् सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां मरणान्तिकं प्रायश्चित्तम्। यदाह याज्ञवल्क्यः (3. 247.) 'लोमभ्यः स्वाहेत्येवं...। तथा च मध्यमाङ्गिराः...प्राणान्तिकं तु यत्प्रोक्तं प्रायश्चित्तं मनीषिभिः। तत्तु कामकृतं प्राप्य विज्ञेयं नात्र संशयः। प्राय. प्रक. pp. 8-9 ; परा. मा II. part 2. p 72 and प्रा. प्रकाश 94 a, quote the verse of मध्यमाङ्गिरस्.

Gaut. 2. 19), should announce his sin and enter a village only for begging alms. Yāj. III. 243 prescribes that the sinner should have a piece of the head-bone in the hand (left) and another placed on a staff (in the right hand) and that he should eat a moderate quantity (i. e. only once a day). The carrying of the piece of the head-bone in one hand is not meant for begging alms therein but only as a symbol. There was some divergence of views on this point[209a]. Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 14 further provides that he should beg for alms at seven houses in only a broken reddish vessel (of clay or copper) and wear a piece of hempen cloth round his waist that will reach a little above his knees and that if he got no food at the seven houses he had to go without food that day and that he should protect cows and may for that purpose (for taking them out for grazing or bringing them back) enter the village again. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 243) adds that the staff with head-bone on and the head-bone carried in the left hand are merely symbolic (in order to remind him and others of his being guilty of brāhmaṇa murder), that he should on seeing an *ārya* avoid his path (Gaut. 22. 5), that he should keep standing by day and only sit down at night (Gaut. 22. 6) and bathe thrice in the day (Gaut. 22. 6). It is added by the Mit. that, if the murdered brāhmaṇa's head-bone cannot be had, that of any other brāhmaṇa would do. The Mit. adds that this *vrata*[210] for twelve years propounded by Gautama, Manu, Yājñavalkya and others is one and not different for each smṛti and therefore all the details that are not opposed to each other should be included. Aparārka p. 1053 (on Yāj. III. 243) relies on the 'sarvaśākhāpratyayanyāya'[211] and states

209 a. स्वव्यापादितविप्रस्यैव शिरो द्वेधा कृत्वार्धं ध्वजदण्डाग्रे स्थापयेदर्धं च हस्ते धारयेदिति...केचित्। अपरे तु द्वेधाकरणे प्रमाणाभावात् कृत्वा शवशिरोध्वजमिति मनुवाक्ये अखण्डितशिरःप्रतीतेश्चान्यच्छिरःकपालं हस्ते ग्राह्यं स्वव्यापादितविप्रशिरस्तु दण्डाग्रे स्थाप्यमित्याहुः। इत्यनेन विज्ञानेश्वरशूलपाण्यादयः। वयं तु स्वव्यापादितशिरःकपालं हस्ते ग्राह्यं अन्यदीयशिरसा तु ध्वजः कार्यः। प्रा. प्रकाश folio 88a.

210. इदं च मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यगौतमादिमुनिप्रणीतं द्वादशवार्षिकव्रतमेकमेव न पुनर्भिन्नम्। परस्परसापेक्षत्वादविरोधाच्च। तथाहि—भिक्षाशी कर्म वेदयन्—(या. 3. 243) इत्युक्ते किं भिक्षापात्रं केषां वा गृहेषु कतिषु वेत्याकाङ्क्षा जायते। तत्र लोहितकेन खण्डशरावेण (आप. ध. सू. 1. 9. 24. 14.)—इत्यापस्तम्बवचनैः परिपूरणमित्यूह्यम्। अतः सर्वैरेकस्योपदेशात्सर्वैरुक्तं मनुगौतमाद्युक्तेतिकर्तव्यतायाः परस्परसापेक्षत्वेऽपि विकल्प इति तद्विकल्पेनोक्तमिति। मिता. on या III. 243.

211. अत्र च सर्वशाखाप्रत्ययमेकं कर्मेति न्यायेन स्मृत्यन्तरोक्ता अविरुद्धा धर्माः समुच्चयेन कर्तव्याः। विरुद्धास्तु विकल्पेन। अपरार्क p. 1053. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 870 for explanation of this Nyāya (maxim) which is based on जै. II. 4. 9 and Śabara's bhāṣya thereon.

that there would be an option where the details of several smṛtis are in conflict. It was Viśvarūpa[212] on Yāj. III. 237 who held that the procedure prescribed by each smṛti was separate and that all details taken from different smṛtis were not to be mixed up. According to the Mit. and Kullūka (on Manu XI. 72) this vrata for 12 years is appropriate in the case where a brāhmaṇa is murdered unintentionally and Kullūka quoting Aṅgiras provides that for intentional brāhmaṇa murder the penance will be double (i. e. 24 years). The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 243) states that this observance for twelve years applies only to one who was himself directly the murderer of a brāhmaṇa and that the *anugrāhaka* has to undergo only 9 years' *vrata*, the *prayojaka* only six years, the *anumantā* only 4½ years and the *nimittin* only three years. It is further provided by the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 243) following a verse ascribed to Manu (not found in the printed text) and Devala[213] that if a man commits several murders of brāhmaṇas one after another, and performs penance at one time for them, for two murders he has to undergo the penance for 24 years and for three murders 36 years and when he commits the 4th murder there is no penance (but only death is the penance). The Pr. T. (p. 468) on the other hand,[214] following the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa holds that one performance of the 12 years' penance is enough penance for the murder of several brāhmaṇas, on the analogy of the *Kṣāmavatī iṣṭi* (Jai. VI. 4. 17-20) which is performed when both the puroḍāśas and the house are totally burnt up by accident before the oblations are offered. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 19 a) also says the same and adds that Devala's verse is to be interpreted as laying down that repetition of the same sinful act is more blamable. If the murderer of a brāhmaṇa

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212. न चैकमेकैकस्य सर्वस्मृतिविहितं द्वादशवार्षिकं व्रतमित्याशङ्कनीयं प्रतिस्मृति प्रयोग-भेदस्य चकारो वर्णानामाश्रमाणामित्यत्र श्लोके (या. १.४) अभिहितत्वात्। विश्वरूप on या. III. 237 (शिरःकपालवान्.).

213. यथा महापातकाभ्यासे विधिः प्रायश्चित्तमाद्यमाद् द्वितीये द्विगुणं भवेत्। तृतीये त्रिगुणं प्रोक्तं चतुर्थे नास्ति निष्कृतिः॥ तथा प्रतिनिमित्तं नैमित्तिकमावर्तते इति न्यायेन। मिता. on या. III 243. प्राय. वि. pp. 25 and 77, प्राय. प्रकाश (19a) ascribes the verse to देवल alone, while परा. मा. II part 2 p. 60 ascribes to both and स्मृतिच. (प्राय.) p. 872 attributes it to मनु and यास्क (if the ms. was properly read by the editor). हरदत्त on गौ. 22.6 ascribes it to मनु alone.

214. यथा नानाब्रह्मवधप्रसङ्गे सर्वोद्देशेन सकृत्प्रायश्चित्ते कृते सर्वब्रह्मवधजन्यपापक्षयः। यथा क्षामवत्यां भविष्ये। ब्राह्मणस्य ब्राह्मणयोर्ब्राह्मणानां च पृथक्। प्रायश्चित्तस्य चैकस्य ब्रह्मैकस्मिन्निष्यते। आम्नायाद्विना यद्वत् कर्मणा पृथगापदे। देवयोगादकस्माच्च जाते दोषे कृतघ्नके। होमेनैकेन दोषाणां सर्वेषां प्रशमो भवेत्। प्रा. तत्त्व p. 468.

was a kṣatriya or a vaiśya or a śūdra he had to perform the penance above described respectively for 24, 36 or 48 years (Smṛtyarthasāra p. 105). Instead of staying in a hut for twelve years he may stay at the end of a village or a cowpen and should tonsure his head and the hair on the lips or he may stay in an hermitage or at the foot of a tree and should devote himself to doing good to brāhmaṇas and cows and should observe celibacy (Manu XI. 78 and 81). At the end of 12 years he destroys the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder.

(2) According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.25.12, Gaut. 22. 3, Manu XI. 72, Yāj. III. 248, if a kṣatriya intentionally killed a brāhmaṇa he may at his will enter a fight and if he were killed by his opponents who knew that he was a brāhmaṇa murderer or even if he was wounded and left unconscious on the field but subsequently recovered he should be free from the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder.

(3) According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.25.13, Vas. 20. 25-26, Gaut. 22.2, Manu XI. 74, Yāj. III. 247, he may cut off with an axe his hair, skin, blood, flesh, muscles, fat, bones and marrow and offer them into an ordinary fire kindled by him for the purpose and offer these eight offerings into it for Death[215] (Mṛtyu) as the deity and then throw himself into fire (thrice with head downwards, according to Manu XI. 73). This penance is for intentional murder of a brāhmaṇa by a kṣatriya acc. to the Madanapārijāta and Bhaviṣyapurāṇa q. by Pr. Prakāśa folio 95 a.

(4)—(8) The murderer of a brāhmaṇa may perform the Aśvamedha sacrifice or Gosava or Abhijit or Viśvajit or the threefold Agniṣṭut (Manu XI. 74). The Aśvamedha could be performed only by a king or an emperor (saṁrāj). The others could be performed by any one belonging to the three higher classes. This applies only where the murder was unintentional as stated by Kullūka following the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa.[216] Viṣṇu

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215. अग्नौ सक्तिर्ब्रह्मघ्नस्त्रिरवच्छातस्य। गौ. 22.2; अपि वा लोमानि त्वचं मांसमिति हावयित्वाग्निं प्रविशेत्। आप. ध. I. 9. 25.13: भ्रूणहाग्निमुपसमाधाय जुहुयादेताः। लोमानि मृत्योर्जुहोमि लोमभिर्मृत्युं वासय इति प्रथमाम्।...मज्जानं मृत्योर्जुहोमि मज्जाभिर्मृत्युं वासय इत्यष्टमीम्। वसिष्ठ 20.25-26. When या. III. 247 prescribes that he should utter लोमभ्यः स्वाहा, the देवता is मृत्यु and लोम, त्वक् and all others are the आहुतिs.

216. तदुक्तं भविष्यपुराणे—स्वर्जिताद्यैश्च यष्टिर कर्मणा पूतमप्यते। अज्ञानां द्विजातीनां वधे ह्यमतिपूर्वके॥ कुल्लूक on मनु XI.74. For the Aśvamedha, vide H. of Dh.

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dharmasūtra (chap. 35 last verse) states that all persons guilty of any of the mahāpātakas are purified by the performance of Aśvamedha or by going to all the *tīrthas* on the earth.

(9) Manu XI. 75 provides that for the removal of the sin of *brahmahatyā*, the sinner may walk one hundred *yojanas*, subsisting on limited food, controlling his senses and reciting one of the four Vedas. Kullūka says that this applies only where the killing is unintentional and the victim is a mere brāhmaṇa by caste (i. e. has not studied the Veda &c.). For *yojana*, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 145 note 185.[217]

(10) Manu XI. 76 provides that the murderer of a brāhmaṇa may make a gift of all his wealth to a brāhmaṇa who has studied the Veda.

(11) Manu XI. 76 and Yāj. III. 250 provide that the murderer may donate to a worthy brāhmaṇa (who has studied the Veda and whose character is good) as much wealth as would suffice to maintain the latter throughout his life and a house with all paraphernalia. This is the view of Govindānanda. But the Mit. on Yāj. III. 250 appears to hold that Nos. 10 and 11 are not separate penances. It combines the two into one, viz. that if the murderer has no offspring then he was to donate all his wealth or if he had offspring he was to donate a house with paraphernalia. This explanation is certainly preferable. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 105) states that if the murderer is devoid of qualities but is well-off he may give a house and lands sufficient for the maintenance of a worthy brāhmaṇa or he may donate a house with appurtenances or if he be childless all his wealth.

(12) Manu XI. 77[218] and Yāj. III. 249 provide that the murderer subsisting on sacrificial food (such as nīvāra, milk or

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vol. II. 1228–1237. The Viśvajit and Abhijit are ekāhas and the first and last rites of the Aṣṭarātra and Abhijit follow the procedure of *soma* sacrifice. Vide Jai. VI 7. 14 and VIII. 1.16 and Āśv. Śr. VIII. 5.13. In the Viśvajit one has to make a gift of all his wealth : vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1212 n. 2644. For Gosava and Agniṣṭut vide note 133 above.

217. तथा च भविष्यपुराणेऽयमेव श्लोकः पठितः प्रमादघातश्च-जातिमात्रं यदा विप्रं हन्यादमतिपूर्वकम् । वेदविद्याविरोधी च तदा तस्य भवेदिदम्॥ कुल्लूक on मनु XI.75.

218. हविष्यभुग्वानुसरेत्प्रतिस्रोतः सरस्वतीम् । मनु XI.77 ; मेधातिथि comments 'हविष्यं द्रव्यं नीवारादि ग्राम्यमपि पयोघृतादि । प्रतिस्रोतः स्रोतः स्रोतः प्रति पश्चिम

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ghee) should follow the course of the (holy) river Sarasvatī in all its branches. This, acc. to the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa and Kullūka, applies where a mere brāhmaṇa by caste (without Vedic learning) is killed intentionally by a man who is himself rich but has no vedic learning. The words 'pratisrotaḥ sarasvatīm' have been variously explained. Medhātithi explains as above. Aparārka, Sarvajñanārāyaṇa and Rāghavānanda explain that the murderer should follow the course of the Sarasvatī in the opposite direction from the sea to its origin. This appears to be a better explanation, since it brings out the force of 'pratisrotaḥ' more clearly.

(13) It is provided by Manu XI. 77 and Yāj. III. 249 that the murderer should recite in a forest thrice the *saṁhitā* text of the Veda, while subsisting on limited food. The express mention of *saṁhitā* text precludes the *pada* text or *krama*. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa and Kullūka hold that this penance is proper where a mere brāhmaṇa by birth (without Vedic learning) is killed unintentionally.

Manu XI. 79, Yāj. III. 244 and 246, Vas. 20. 27–28 and Gaut. 22. 7–8 and 11 mention three more penances, but they are not independent ones (as is made clear by Śaṅkha). If a murderer, while undergoing the 12 years' penance, fights him who attacks a brāhmaṇa and saves him (or fights for the king, acc. to Vas.) or dies in the attempt, he becomes at once free from the sin and if he lives after the fight he had not to continue the penance for the whole period. The same applies to the saving of 12 cows by the murderer by putting his own life in danger[219]. Similarly, if a murderer fights a marauder depriving a brāhmaṇa of all his wealth and restores the wealth to a brāhmaṇa or dies in the attempt or is severely wounded (thrice acc. to Yāj, Vas. and Gaut.) and is unable to restore the wealth to the brāhmaṇa he becomes free from the grave sin of brāhmaṇa murder.

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सरस्वत्याः स्रोतांसि तावदनुसरेत्॥'. अपरार्क p. 1060 says 'सरस्वतीं प्रति स्रोतोऽन्ताद्वारभ्योद्गमं यावदपि गत्वा शुध्यति'; सर्वज्ञनारायण explains प्रतिस्रोतः प्रभासमारभ्य प्लक्षप्रस्रवणान्तं यत्र यत्र सरस्वती तत्र तत्र स्रोतो लक्षीकृत्य तीरेण गमनम्॥'. The मिता. on या. III 249 explains प्लक्षात् प्रस्रवणादारभ्य पश्चिमोदधेः प्रतिस्रोतः स्रोतः प्रति सरस्वतीं इत्वा यात्वा.' For the sacredness of the Sarasvatī, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 13–15 and later on under *tīrthas*.

219. अन्तराले वा ब्राह्मणं मोचयित्वा गवां वा द्वादशानां परित्राणात्। इति। शङ्ख q. by हरदत्त on गौ. 22.14 and मिता. on या. III.244.

Manu XI. 82, Yāj. III. 244, Śaṅkha and Gaut. 22.9 lay down that if the murderer of a brāhmaṇa announces his sin when the king and priests have met together for the ceremonial bath after the Aśvamedha sacrifice and being permitted by them bathes along with them, he becomes free from the sin.[220] According to Haradatta this is an independent penance, while according to the Mit. on Yāj. III. 244, Aparārka p. 1057 and others it is not so but is to be performed while undergoing the 12 years' penance.

Yāj. III. 245 provides that if the murderer treats and cures a brāhmaṇa or a cow (or cows) lying helpless on the public road suffering from a long-standing and serious ailment he becomes free from the sin.

Parāśara (XII. 65–67) prescribes for *brahmahatyā* the penance of going to the sea and Rāma's bridge, begging and declaring on the way one's sin, walking without an umbrella or shoes and residing in cowpens, forests, *tīrthas* and river streams; on seeing the *setu* he was to bathe in the ocean and on return to feed brāhmaṇas at a dinner and to donate 100 cows to learned brāhmaṇas.

There are other penances for *brahmahatyā* mentioned by Jamadagni, Atri, Kaśyapa and others quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1064–1065) and others which are passed over here for want of space.

If a brāhmaṇa killed his own father, mother, full brother, his teacher of the Veda, a brāhmaṇa who has studied the Veda or has consecrated sacred Vedic fires, he had to undergo penance till his last breath (acc. to Pr. Prakaraṇa p. 13 quoting Bhaviṣya-purāṇa, Pr. V. pp. 70–71, Smṛtimuktāphala Pr. p. 873 quoting Dakṣa III. 27–28 and Āp. Dh. S. I.9.24). If a man killed a priest that was engaged at a *soma* sacrifice the penance was double (Yāj. III. 252). The Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 13) says that this means that the murderer should perform 12 years' penance and then donate cows[221] in proportion to the difference between his

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220. अश्वमेधावभृथं गत्वा तत्राभ्यनुज्ञातः स्नात्वा सद्यः पूतो भवति । शङ्ख q. by मिता. on या. III. 244. अपरार्क p. 1057 (on या. III 244) and प्राय. सा. p. 33 combine the two sūtras of Śaṅkha into one.

221. तथा च भविष्यपुराणम् । मातरं पितरं हत्वा सोदर्यं भ्रातरं तथा । गुरुं हत्वा श्रोत्रियं च आहिताग्निमथापि वा ॥ आ उत्क्रमाद्धि प्राणानां व्रतं चीर्णो विशुध्यति । अत्र धेनुसङ्कलनायां जीवनकालस्यानियतत्वाद् विंशत्युत्तरं शतं परमायुरेव ग्राह्यम् । तेन द्वादशवार्षिकं कृत्वा वधकालात्पूर्वं विंशत्यधिकशतस्य यावद्वर्षाधिकं तावत्परिमाणद्वादशवार्षिकसंख्याका धेनवो दातव्याः । प्राय. प्रक. p. 13.

age at the time of finishing twelve years and 120 years (which is regarded as the highest limit of life). If a person strikes a brāhmaṇa intending to kill him but only injures him he should perform the *vrata* for *brahmahatyā* (acc. to Yāj. III. 252, Gaut. 22.11). The Mit. explains that this is an extension (*atideśa*) of the rules about *brahmahatyā* and so the penance is a little less than the full one (i. e. 9 years). Where certain sins are said to be equal (*sama*) to *brahmahatyā* or *surāpāna*, the penance for them is half of what is prescribed for the latter. If a person intending to commit suicide by entering water or fire or by hanging himself or by taking poison or by falling from a precipice or the dome of a temple or by cutting his belly with a weapon or by fasting, does not die, but luckily lives, he has to undergo a prāyaścitta for three years (acc. to Pr. Prakaraṇa p. 15). Vas. 23. 18–19 and Parāśara XII.5–8 prescribe other prāyaścittas for such persons (who are styled '*pratyavasita*'). Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 15) and Pr. V. (p. 75) quote two verses of Yama[221a] for nine kinds of *pratyavasita* and prescribe Cāndrāyaṇa or two Taptakṛcchras for them.

If a kṣatriya, vaiśya or śūdra intentionally and directly killed a brāhmaṇa, the expiation was death, but otherwise each had respectively to undergo twice, thrice or four times as much prāyaścitta as a brāhmaṇa sinner would have had to undergo for killing a brāhmaṇa.[222] Conversely, if a brāhmaṇa killed a kṣatriya or vaiśya or a śūdra the sin was only an upapātaka (acc. to Yāj. III. 236 and Manu XI. 66), unless the kṣatriya or vaiśya victim was engaged in performing a soma sacrifice (Śāmavidhāna Br. I. 7. 5, Yāj. III 251, Vas. 20. 34) when the penance was heavy. Yāj. III. 266–267, Manu XI. 126–130 and Āp. Dh. S. I.9.24. 1–4 prescribe other penances for killing a kṣatriya, a vaiśya or a śūdra. The penance for a kṣatriya

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221 a जलाग्न्युद्बन्धनभ्रष्टाः प्रव्रज्यानाशकच्युताः । विषप्रपतनप्रायशस्त्रघातहताश्च ये ॥ नवैते प्रत्यवसिताः सर्वलोकबहिष्कृताः । चान्द्रायणेन शुध्यन्ति तप्तकृच्छ्रद्वयेन वा ॥ यम, verses 22–23, वृद्धयम 3–4, नारदपुराण. These include those who give up *sannyāsa* and those who sit down at the door of another for killing themselves (प्राय).

222. प्राय. प्रक. p. 16 says : तत्र क्षत्रियादीनां साक्षाद्ब्रह्मवधे विशेषाश्रवणात् प्राणान्तिकमेव । इतरत्र तु यद् ब्राह्मणस्य ब्रह्मवधे प्रायश्चित्तं तद् क्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्राणां यथाक्रमं द्विगुणं त्रिगुणं चतुर्गुणमिति बोद्धव्यम् ।...तथा च ब्रह्मवधप्रकरणेऽङ्गिराः । परिषदा 0 (vide note 195 for the quotation); vide the प्राय. वि. p. 75 (which quotes भविष्यपुराण that quotes the verses of अङ्गिरस्), स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 105, स्मृतिच. (प्रा.) p. 873. परा. मा. II part 2 p. 74 and प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 94 a) quote a verse of प्रजापति 'द्विगुणं त्रिगुणं चैव चतुर्गुणमथापि वा । क्षत्रविट्शूद्रजातीनां ब्राह्मणस्य वधे व्रतम् ॥.'

killing a kṣatriya is a little less (i. e. by ¼) than the penance for a brāhmaṇa killing a kṣatriya. Vide the verse 'vipre tu sakalam deyam' quoted above (note 192).

Women victims were placed on the same footing as kṣatriya, vaiśya and śūdra males (Yāj. III. 236 and Manu XI. 66), except the cases where the woman was an Ātreyī or pregnant or in her monthly illness (Gaut. 22.17, Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 5 and 9, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1.10, 12–13, Vas. 20.34, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 50. 7–9) or the wife of a twice-born performing a soma sacrifice, when the penance was heavy (like the one for *brahmahatyā*). The period of soma-yāga was reckoned from the *Dīkṣaṇīyā* iṣṭi to the *Udavasānīyā* (acc. to the Mit.) or up to the end of *avabhṛtha* bath (acc. to Aparārka). For killing women guilty of adultery the penances were higher and varied according to the caste of the paramour and of the woman (vide Gaut. 22.26–27, Manu XI. 138, Yāj. III. 268–269).

Manu (XI. 208 = Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54.30) and Yāj. III. 293 prescribe that for threatening to beat or strike a brāhmaṇa the penance is kṛcchra, for striking him it is Ati-kṛcchra, for shedding his blood a Kṛcchra and Atikṛcchra. The Sāmavidhāna Br. I. 7. 4 prescribes other penances (i. e. recitation of certain *sāman* texts) for these.

Gaut. 23.1,[223] Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 25.3, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 21., Vas. 20.22, Manu XI. 90–91, Yāj. III. 253 and Bṛhaspati prescribe that if a brāhmaṇa drinks intentionally spirituous liquor prepared from flour even once he has to undergo a penance that ends in death, viz. he has to drink that liquor boiling hot or to drink boiling hot cow's urine, milk, ghee, water or liquid cow-dung, and when his body has been completely scalded thereby and he dies he becomes free from that sin. Some like Haradatta on Gaut. 23. 1 hold that this horrible penance is meant for one who knowingly and repeatedly drinks *surā* (manufactured from rice flour). Manu XI. 92 and Yāj. III. 254 prescribe another penance in place of the one ending in death viz. that the sinner should eat during one year (during three

223. सुरापोऽग्निस्पर्शां सुरां पिबेत्। आप. ध. सू. 1.9.25.3, सुरापस्य ब्राह्मणस्योष्णामासिञ्चेयुः सुरामास्ये मृतः शुध्येत्। गौ. 23.1; सुरापाने कामकृते ज्वलन्तीं तां विनिक्षिपेत्। मुखे तया विनिर्दग्धे मृतः शुद्धिमवाप्नुयात्॥ बृहस्पति q. by मिता. on या. III 253, अपरार्क p. 1071; प्राय. प्रक. p. 43; प्रायेण धर्मशास्त्रेषु सर्वेष्वेव [illegible]। मतिपूर्वे सुरापाने मारणान्तिक [illegible]॥ पैष्टीपाने तु ब्राह्मणैर्निष्कृतिः कथ्यते। भविष्यपुराण q. by दीपकलिका on या. III. 253.

years, acc. to Yāj.) once (a day) at night the (boiled) small grains of rice, or oilcake, should wear clothes made of cow's hair, should have matted hair on his head and carry a flagstaff (with a wine cup thereon). The same rules apply to a kṣatriya or vaiśya drinking *surā* (manufactured from rice flour). Only they have as stated above (in note 192) to undergo three-fourths and one-half respectively of the penance for a brāhmaṇa sinner. This penance was to be undertaken after vomiting the contents of the stomach. According to the Madanapārijāta (p. 818), Pr. V. p. 104, Pr. Prakaraṇa p. 43, Mit. (on Yāj. III. 24) and other works the twelve years' penance is meant for one who drinks *surā* (made from flour) through ignorance or force. According to Gaut. 23. 2-3, Yāj. III. 255, Manu. XI. 146, Atri 75, for drinking intoxicants or human semen, ordure or urine through ignorance a person of the three first classes had first to undergo the penance called Taptakṛcchra and then his *upanayana* was again performed. Vasiṣtha 20.19 prescribes for drinking any intoxicant unintentionally the penances of Kṛcchra and Atikṛcchra, the drinking of ghee and the performing of upanayana again. There is great divergence of views about Manu XI. 146 and Yāj. III. 255 which is passed over here. Bṛhaspati [224] quoted by the Mit., Aparārka and others prescribes that a brāhmaṇa who drinks *surā* prepared from raw sugar, flour and honey (or madhūka flowers) should respectively undergo Taptakṛcchra, Parāka and Cāndrāyaṇa. This light penance is restricted acc. to the Mit. and others to cases where *surā* is drunk for curing a malady which no other medicine could cure. If a brāhmaṇa drank *surā* (not manufactured from flour) or any other intoxicant, various easy penances were prescribed for him (such as undergoing Cāndrāyaṇa on a river falling into the sea, feeding brāhmaṇas and donating a cow and a bull to the brāhmaṇas, Parāśara XII. 75-76). Vide Yāj. III. 255 and the Mit. thereon. Kṣatriyas and vaiśyas incurred no sin by drinking intoxicants other than *surā* (made from flour) and the śūdra incurred no sin even by drinking *surā* of the

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224. गौडीं पैष्टीं तथा माध्वीं पीत्वा विप्रः समाचरेत्। तप्तकृच्छ्रं पराकं च चान्द्रायणमनुक्रमात्॥ बृहस्पति q. by मिता. on या. III. 254, अपरार्क p. 1073, परा. मा. II part 2 p. 84, मद. पा. p. 821, प्राय. सा. p. 42. The मिता. comments: यत्तु बौधायनीयं त्रैमासिकममत्या सुरापाने कृच्छ्राब्दपादं चरित्वा पुनरुपनयनमिति, यच्च वाक्यं 'सुरां पीत्वा द्विजं हत्वा रुक्मं हृत्वा द्विजन्मनः। संयोगं पतितैर्गत्वा द्विजश्चान्द्रायणं चरेत्॥' इति, यदपि बार्हस्पत्यं 'गौडीं...क्रमात्॥' इति तत्त्रितयमप्यमत्यौषधत्वेन व्याध्युपशमार्थं पाने वेदितव्यं प्रायश्चित्तस्याल्पत्वात्।

paiṣṭī variety. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 243) holds that since Manu XI. 93 generally forbids the drinking of *surā* on the part of brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas and vaiśyas the prohibition applies even to boys who have not undergone the rite of *upanayana* and girls who are not yet married and adds that for drinking surā the child has to undergo only one-fourth penance (for 3 years) if the offence was unintentional and double of that (6 years) if it was intentional (vide also Pr. prakaraṇa p. 48). The Kalpataru, it appears, held, relying on Gaut. II. 1 ('before upanayana a child may do as it pleases as regards behaviour, speech and eating'), that no sin (*doṣa*) was incurred by a child before *upanayana* and by a girl before marriage for drinking surā. The Pr. V. (p. 104) and Pr. Prakāśa criticize the Kalpataru for this view.[225] As Bṛhaspati states (vide n. 188 above) the license allowed by Gautama is limited by the Mit. and other digests to the partaking of sour or stale drinks and the like and is not extended to drinking surā which is a mahāpātaka. Jātūkarṇya[226] (q. by the Par. M.) provides that if a boy whose upanayana has not been performed drinks an intoxicant (*madya*) through foolishness, his father, mother or brother should perform three kṛcchras as an expiation for him. Aṅgiras (Jiv. p. 557), Āpastamba-smṛti III. 7, Laghu-Hārīta 34–35, Bṛhad-yama III. 1–2 also provide that a *pratinidhi* (brother, father, friend) may undergo an expiation for a boy who is himself unable to do so or is less than eleven and above five years of age.

The Āśv. gṛ. (I. 22.22–26)[227] prescribes what is to be done and what is to be omitted in *punar-upanayana*. It provides that the rites of the cutting of the hair and the production of intelligence are optional, there are no express rules about giving the person in charge (of the deities) and as to the time, and the verse to be recited as the Sāvitrī is Ṛgveda V. 82.1 instead of the usual Gāyatrī (tatsavitur-vareṇyam, Ṛg. III. 62.10).

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225. अत्राऽनुपनीतब्राह्मणकुमारानूढब्राह्मणकुमारिकयोः सुरापाने दोषाभावः सुरां पीत्वा द्विजो मोहादित्यादि प्रायश्चित्ते द्विजग्रहणादिति कल्पतरुस्तन्न तस्माद् ब्राह्मणराजन्यौ इति मनुवचनात् सुरापाननिषेधोऽयं जात्याश्रय इति स्थितिः । न पिबेद् ब्राह्मणो मद्यं निषिद्धमपि चापरम् ॥ इति कुमारवचनाच्च द्विजग्रहणस्य जात्युपलक्षणार्थत्वात् । प्राय. वि. pp. 104–105.

226. अनुपेतस्तु यो बालो मद्यं मोहात्पिबेद्यदि । तस्य कृच्छ्रत्रयं कुर्यान्माता भ्राता तथा पिता ॥ जातूकर्ण्य q. by परा. मा. II part 2 p. 80.

227. अथोपेतपूर्वस्य । कृताकृतं केशवपनं मेधाजननं च । अनिरुक्तं परिदानम् । कालश्च । तत्सवितुर्वृणीमहे इति सावित्रीम् । आश्व. गृ. I. 22. 22–26, q. by मद. पा. p. 821.

Vasiṣṭha 20.18 quotes Manu XI. 151 on this point[228] and Viṣṇu (Dh. S. 51.4–5) in prose is to the same effect. Viṣṇu (Dh. S 51. 2–3) provides Cāndrāyaṇa for drinking any of the (twelve) unclean excretions of the body (Manu V. 134) or any of the several kinds of intoxicating drinks and for eating garlic or onion or red garlic or any plant having a similar flavour or the flesh of village pigs, of tame cocks, of apes and of cows and then adds (in sūtra 4) that they (the sinners) must undergo fresh *upanayana* also. The smṛtis provide different prāyaścittas for various lapses about drinking and eating such as drinking water from a pot which had already been used for holding surā, for drinking water from the water vessel of a cāṇḍāla or of a washerman or from a śūdra's house or for drinking milk which should not be drunk (Gaut. 17.22–26, Yāj. I. 170, Manu V. 8–10), for eating forbidden food, which must be passed over here, because[229] they are too many and too various and depend on circumstances for their application as observed by the Pr. V. and because they are now of academic interest alone. Some reference, however, may be made to show how some of these lapses were treated. Śaṅkha states that there are many articles that are allowed or forbidden to men, particularly to brāhmaṇas and in cases of transgressions the decision rests with the *śiṣṭas* (the *pariṣad* of respectable people). Bṛhaspati[230] (quoted by Aparārka) prescribes that in the case of the partaking of things that should not be licked or drunk or eaten or in case of taking in human semen, urine or ordure, the penance of a cāndrāyaṇa is the purification. Some of the sages such as Saṁvarta, Śaṅkha-likhita took a lenient view, prescribed Cāndrāyaṇa even for eating cow's flesh and human flesh.[231]

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228. मानवं चात्र श्लोकमुदाहरन्ति । वपनं मेखला दण्डो भैक्षचर्या व्रतानि च । एतानि तु निवर्तन्ते पुनःसंस्कारकर्मणि ॥ इति । वसिष्ठ 20. 18. The verse is मनु XI. 151.

229. यानि चान्यानि मुन्यन्तरोक्तानि अभक्ष्यभक्षणे अपेयपाने गुरुलघुप्रायश्चित्तानि तानि कामाकामकृतसकृदभ्यासापेक्षया योज्यानि द्रव्याणामानन्त्यात्प्रतिव्यक्तिषु अभक्ष्यत्वमभिधातुमशक्यत्वामिति तत्स्मृत्यन्तरादेवावगन्तव्यम् । शिष्टवाक्याच्च । यथा शङ्खः । भक्ष्याभक्ष्याण्यनेकानि ब्राह्मणस्य विशेषतः । तत्र शिष्टा यथा ब्रूयुस्तथा कार्यो विनिश्चयः ॥ q. by प्राय. वि. p. 339. The verse is quoted by परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 462.

230. अलेह्यानामपेयानामभक्ष्याणां च भक्षणे । रेतोमूत्रपुरीषाणां शुद्धिश्चान्द्रायणं स्मृतम् ॥ बृह. q. by अपरार्क p. 1164, परा. मा. II part 1 p. 367.

231. गोमांसं मानुषं चैव सूनिहस्तात्समाहृतम् । अभक्ष्यं तद्भवेत्सर्वं भुक्त्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥ संवर्त 197 q. by अपरार्क p. 1165, परा. मा II part 1 p 367; शृगालकुक्कुटदंष्ट्रि-क्रव्याद-वानर-खरोष्ट्र-गजवाजि-विड्वराह-गोमानुषमांसभक्षणे चान्द्रायणम् ॥ शङ्खलिखित q. by अपरार्क p. 1166, परा. मा. II part 1 p. 368; vide गौ. 23. 4–5, वसिष्ठ 23. 30, मनु XI. 156, विष्णु 51. 3–4 for similar provisions.

The general rule stated by the Sāma. Br. I. 5.13, Manu XI. 160 and others is that one desirous of inner purity should not eat forbidden food, that if he eats it through ignorance he should make efforts to vomit it and if that is impossible he should quickly take some prāyaścitta (which is slight in the case of ignorance). It may be mentioned that even from very ancient times exceptions were recognised to the prohibitions against the partaking of forbidden food. The Chāndogya Upaniṣad (I. 10)[232] narrates the story of Uṣasti Cākrāyaṇa, who when the country of the Kurus had been devastated by hailstones (or by locusts), begged (along with his very young wife) of a chief eating beans and took from the latter the beans that had been put away for the chief (and so were *ucchiṣṭa*), but when asked to take water for drinking meant for the chief replied that if he drank of it he would be drinking what was unclean, since he could get water whenever he liked. This Vedic passage indicates that even unclean things may be eaten when there is distress (*āpad*) or danger to life, but that when there is no distress or danger even one who has knowledge of *brahmavidyā* should not violate the injunctions of śāstra about eating. The Vedāntasūtra (III.4.28) has an aphorism on this incident. Manu X.104 provides that he who, when in danger of losing his life, accepts food from any person whatsoever is not tainted by sin as the sky is not tainted by mud. Manu then refers (X.105-108) to the stories of Ajīgarta who, when famished, approached for slaying his own son, of the sage Vāmadeva who when tormented by hunger desired to eat the flesh of a dog in order to save his life and did not sully himself, of Bharadvāja who when distressed by hunger along with his son in a lonely forest accepted many cows from the carpenter Vṛdhu (Bṛbu ?) or of Viśvāmitra who, well knowing what was right or wrong, proceeded, when tormented by hunger, to eat the haunch of a dog, receiving it from the hands of a Cāṇḍāla.[232a]

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232. स हेभ्यं कुल्माषान्खादन्तं बिभिक्षे तं होवाच नेतोऽन्ये विद्यन्ते यच्च ये म इम उपनिहिता इति। एतेषां मे देहीति होवाच तानस्मै प्रददौ हन्तानुपानमित्युच्छिष्टं वै मे पीतं स्यादिति होवाच। न स्विदेतेऽप्युच्छिष्टा इति न वा अजीविष्यमिमानखादन्निति होवाच कामो म उदपानमिति। छा. उप. 1. 10. 2-4; सर्वान्नानुमतिश्च प्राणात्यये तद्दर्शनात्। वेदान्तसूत्र III 4.28; on this शाङ्करभाष्य observes: तदेतदुच्छिष्टोच्छिष्टपर्युषितभक्षणं दर्शयता श्रुतेराशयातिशयो लक्ष्यते प्राणात्ययप्रसङ्गे प्राणसन्धारणायाभक्ष्यमपि भक्षयितव्यमिति। स्वस्थावस्थायां तु तन्न कर्तव्यं विद्यावतापीत्युदपानप्रत्याख्यानाद्गम्यते।

232a For the legend of Ajīgarta, vide Aitareya Br. VII.13-16 (or 33.1 ff) and H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 563-64, 660, 663. In Ṛg. VI 45.31-33 Bṛbu is described as the carpenter of the Paṇis and his liberality is highly praised. For Viśvāmitra trying to steal from a hamlet of cāṇḍālas a dog's leg, when famished, vide Śāntiparva 141.26-96

For eating the flesh of various birds Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 29 and 31 and others prescribe fasting for three days or one day and also for eating several varieties of fish (Viṣṇu 51.21).

We may now revert to the penances for the other Mahāpātakas. It has already been seen how the thief that had stolen a brāhmaṇa's gold of a certain weight was to approach the king with a club (p. 73 above). Even Ap. Dh. S. I.9.25.4 refers to this and prescribes as an option (Āp. Dh. S. I.9.25.6–7) entering into fire as an expiation for theft or starving oneself by reducing the intake of food. Therefore, the penance for the theft of brāhmaṇa's gold of the weight of 80 *raktikās* or more (Manu VIII. 134 and Yāj. I.363) was death for the offenders of all varṇas, except a brāhmaṇa offender, who clad in rags (or bark garment) was to undergo a penance in a forest for twelve years of the same kind as for brāhmaṇa murder (Manu XI. 101) or for the drinking of *surā* prepared from flour (Yāj. III. 258). The offender may also give as much gold (if he is rich) as his own weight or as much wealth as would be required for the maintenance of a brāhmaṇa's family for the latter's lifetime (Yāj. III. 258 and Mit. thereon). The Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.25.8 provides the observance of the penance of Kṛcchra for one year (as defined in Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.27. 7–8) and quotes a verse "those who have committed a theft (of gold), drunk spirituous liquor, or had connection with a *guru's* wife, but not those who have slain a brāhmaṇa, shall eat every fourth meal-time a little food, bathe thrice a day, pass the day standing and the night sitting; after the lapse of three years they cast off their sins."[232b] The digests contain numerous and varying expiations for theft depending upon the weight of gold stolen, upon the qualities of the man robbed and of the thief, upon the caste of both, upon whether it is a first offence or a repeated one, on the price and nature of the thing stolen and on the time and place and so on. Vide Pr. V. pp. 117–127, Pr. Sāra p 49, Madanapārijāta pp. 828–834, Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 108–109, Smṛtimuktāphala pp. 883–885. These have to be passed over here for reasons of space.

If the gold stolen (even from a brāhmaṇa) was less than 80 raktikās or if gold of any weight was stolen from a kṣatriya

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232 b. कृच्छ्रसंवत्सरं वा चरेत्। अथाप्युदाहरन्ति। स्तेयं कृत्वा सुरां पीत्वा गुरुदारं च गत्वा ब्रह्महत्यामकृत्वा चतुर्थकाला मितभोजनाः स्युरपोऽभ्यवेयुः सवनानुकल्पम्। स्थानासनाभ्यां विहरन्त एते त्रिभिर्वर्षैरप पापं नुदन्ते। आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 25. 8–10.

or any other non-brāhmaṇa, the expiation would be as one for an upapātaka. Manu (XI. 162–168 = Matsyapurāṇa 227. 41–47) and Viṣṇu 52. 5–13 prescribe various penances such as kṛcchra for a year for the theft of corn or cooked food or wealth; cāndrāyaṇa for abducting men and women (slaves) or for appropriating a field or house and the water of wells and cisterns; sāntapana for thefts of objects of small value; pañcagavya for stealing eatables of various kinds or a vehicle or a bed or a seat or flowers or roots and fruits; fasting for three days and nights in the case of theft of grass, wood, trees, dry food, molasses, clothes, leather (or armour) and flesh; subsisting for twelve days on small grains of rice for stealing gems, pearls, coral, copper, silver, iron, bell-metal or stones; subsisting on milk alone for the theft of cotton, silk, wool, animals with cloven hoofs (cows &c.) or uncloven hoofs (horses &c.), birds, perfumes, medicinal herbs or a rope (used for drawing water). It must be remembered as stated above (p. 74) that the thief had to restore to the owner the thing stolen and then undergo a penance (Manu XI.164 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 52.14) and Medhātithi (on Manu XI. 164) adds that if he is unable to restore the thing (or its price) the penance is to be double. Besides, in certain cases of theft if corporal punishment or death was not inflicted by the king, the thief was fined eleven times the price of the thing stolen (Manu VIII. 321, 323, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 5.82).[233]

Steya (theft) is of two kinds, by force (such as robbery and dacoity and called *sāhasa*) and by clandestine means. In the former case the penance goes on increasing (twice, thrice) according as the offender is a kṣatriya or vaiśya (*parṣadyā brāhmaṇānām*, quoted above, Par. M. II part 1 p.231). In the case of theft by clandestine means if the owner whose gold or wealth is stolen is a brāhmaṇa and the thief a kṣatriya or vaiśya, then also the penance must be higher than for a brāhmaṇa thief (since, as, Nārada says in his chapter on *sāhasa* verse 16, the wealth belonging to idols, brāhmaṇas and kings is the best). But conversely, if the owner of stolen property is of lower class than the thief then the verse of Bṛhad-Viṣṇu ('vipre tu sakalam deyam,' quoted above in note 192) will apply.

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233. द्विमाषादिमाषात्मकहेमहरणं तु क्षत्रियादिहेमहरणमुपपातकमेवेति युक्तम्। किं च सुवर्णन्यूनपरिमाणहेमहरणे प्रायश्चित्तान्तरोपदेशात्तत्परिमाणस्यैव हेम्नो हरणे मरणान्तिकादि प्रायश्चित्तमिति युक्तम्। तथा चोक्तं षट्त्रिंशन्मते। मिता. on या. III 257.

The penance for incest with the *guru's* wife was prescribed from very ancient times as follows: Gaut.[234] 23. 8–11, Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.25. 1–2, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 14–16 (almost in the same words as in Gaut), Vas. 20. 13–14, Manu XI. 103–104 prescribe that the offender shall confess his guilt and then extend himself on a red-hot iron bed or embrace the red-hot iron image of a woman or having himself cut off his organ and testicles and having taken them in his joined hands may walk straight towards the south or south-west until he falls down dead and that he becomes purified by death. According to the Mit. on Yāj. III. 259 the three are not distinct penances, but that two of them, viz. embracing the red-hot iron image of a woman and sleeping on a bed of red hot iron form one penance. The words of Yāj. no doubt convey that the two together are one penance (viz. sleeping on red hot bed and clinging to a red hot image). Others like the Madanapārijāta (p. 837), Medhātithi[235] on Manu XI. 103 do not accept this interpretation. The latter moreover relies on Gautama who employs the word 'vā' (or) in the two latter of his three sūtras on this point. The Pr. V. (p. 138) points out this difference between Gaut. and Yāj. Manu XI. 58 and 170–71, Yāj. III 231, Saṁvarta 159 regard sexual intercourse with a friend's wife or a maiden of a higher caste and the wives of one's son or of sagotras and women born of the same womb (sister &c.) or with an *antyaja* woman as equal to *gurutalpagamana* and the penance is only a little less than for the latter. Manu XI. 105 and Yāj. III. 260 prescribe a penance (other than one ending in death), viz. that the sinner should dwell in a tenantless forest, allow his beard to grow, should wear tattered garments and practise Prājāpatya Kṛcchra for one year (three years acc. to Yāj.). The commentators say that this was meant where the sin was committed by mistake. Manu XI. 106 and Yāj. III. 260 provide another penance viz. Cāndrāyaṇa for three months, Manu prescribing that the sinner should subsist on sacrificial food (fruits, roots or *nīvāra* grain) or on barley gruel and Yāj. adding that he should recite for the three months the Vedasaṁhitā. The commentators say that this applies in cases where the *guru's* wife is of a lower varṇa or of the śūdra class.

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234. तप्ते लोहशयने गुरुतल्पगः शयीत। सूर्मीं वा श्लिष्येज्ज्वलन्तीम्। लिङ्गं वा सवृषणमुत्कृत्याञ्जलावाधाय दक्षिणाप्रतीच्योर्व्रजेदजिह्मम् शरीरपातात्। गौ. 23.8–10.

235. आचार्याण्यां गत्वेदं प्रायश्चित्तमपरा मतैव। समानजातीयागमने इमानि त्रीणि प्रायश्चित्तानि कल्प्यन्ते। मेधातिथि on मनु XI.103.

Parāśara (X. 10-11) provides three different prāyaścittas, viz. excision of the organ, three *kṛcchras* or three *cāndrāyaṇas* if a man commits incest with his mother, sister, or daughter and in X. 12-14 prescribes other penances for adultery with other near female relatives. The Mit. on Yāj. III 259 quotes Śaṅkha for twelve years' penance for all four kinds of Mahāpātakas, which applies acc. to it to intercourse with guru's wife of the same class. It is not necessary to quote further smṛti passages which vary greatly as to the extent of the penance. Manu XI. 178 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 53. 9 = Agnipurāṇa 169. 41), Śānti 165. 29 state that the sin which a twice-born man commits by sexual intercourse for one night with a *vṛṣalī*[236] (a cāṇḍāla woman) is removed by him by the penance of subsisting on alms for three years and reciting mantras (like the Gāyatrī). Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 27. 11 has a somewhat similar verse about a brāhmaṇa's intercourse with a śūdra woman[237]. Yāj. III. 233 prescribes for women death as a legal penalty and the same prāyaścitta as for a male if a man has sexual intercourse with his paternal or maternal aunt, or daughter-in-law, maternal uncle's wife and others (enumerated above) with their consent. Manu XI. 175 (= Laghu-Śātātapa 155 = Agnipurāṇa 169. 38) holds that a brāhmaṇa, who has sexual intercourse with a *cāṇḍāla* woman or *mleccha* woman or dines with *cāṇḍālas* or *mlecchas* or accepts gifts from them, has to perform penance as if he were *patita* if he unknowingly did these things, and becomes like them by committing these sins knowingly. Compare Vasiṣṭha 23. 41, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 53. 5-6.

If a woman be guilty of a Mahāpātaka the general rule stated by Manu XI. 176 (latter half), Kātyāyana and Bṛhaspati[238] was that whatever penance was prescribed for a male in cases of adultery with other's wives the same was to be administered to women in case of adultery with males. In this parti-

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236. वृषली in मनु XI.177 is explained as चण्डाली by कुल्लूक and मिता. on या. III.260, which quotes a smṛti verse 'चण्डाली बन्धकी वेश्या रजःस्था या च कन्यका। ऊढा या च सगोत्रा स्याद्वृषल्यः पञ्च कीर्तिताः॥.' शूलपाणि understands वृषली as शूद्री; vide Pr. Prakāśa folio 111 b for this difference.

237. यदेकरात्रेण करोति पापं कृष्णं वर्णं ब्राह्मणः सेवमानश्चतुर्थकाल उदकाभ्यवायी त्रिभिर्वर्षैस्तदपहन्ति पापम्॥ आप. ध. सू. I. 9.27. 11. शान्तिपर्व 165.29 reads 'निकृष्टवर्णं' and 'स्थानासनाभ्यां विहरन् व्रती स त्रिभिर्वर्षैः शमयेदात्मपापम्॥'.

238. यत्पुंसः परदारेषु समानेषु व्रतं चरेत्। व्यभिचारात्तु भर्तुः स्त्री तदशेषं समाचरेत्। बृह. q. by अपरार्क p. 1124, प्राय. वि. p. 371; एवं दोषश्च शुद्धिश्च पतितानामुदाहृता। स्त्रीणामपि प्रसक्तानामेष एव विधिः स्मृतः। कात्या. q. by मिता. on या. III. 260.

cular case the rule about half penance being prescribed for women did not hold good when a woman with full knowledge committed adultery and half penance was to be prescribed only where the adultery was through mistake. A similar rule was laid down by Aṅgiras[238a]. If a woman became *patita* and did not undergo prāyaścitta she could be excommunicated by the process called *ghaṭasphoṭa* (described in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 615-616 and 1009). But there was a difference between a male and a woman in this respect. A woman, however, was not to be altogether abandoned on the street and left to fare for herself, though she be *patita*, but she was to be lodged in a cottage thatched with grass near the house and was to be guarded against further lapses and given bare maintenance (enough to keep body and soul together) and (dirty) clothes (Yāj. III. 296, Manu XI. 176). There were certain acts, however, which were specially condemned in women (Yāj. III. 297) viz. sexual intercourse with a man of a lower class, causing abortion and killing the husband. Vas. 21. 10 provides[239] that four classes of women may be altogether abandoned (and not given even starving maintenance &c.) viz. a woman who has sexual intercourse with (her husband's) pupil or with his *guru* or one who kills her husband or one who sexually approaches a man of a lower degraded class. Women, however *patita* they may be, were to be dealt with as stated in Yāj. III. 296 even if they did not perform any penance. Vas. 21.12 states that women of the brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya and vaiśya classes, if guilty of sexual intercourse with a śūdra can be purified by penance if they do not give birth to a child, but not those others (who give birth to a child born of the condemned connection). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 946-949 for penance and other matters in relation to adultery by men and women.

It is now necessary to turn to the penance for association with those that are guilty of grave sins (mahāpātakas). Manu XI. 181, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54.1, Yāj. III. 261 provide that whoever associates with (for a year, acc. to Yāj.) a person guilty of one

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238a. व्रतं यच्चोदितं पुंसां पतितस्त्रीनिषेवणात् । तच्चापि कारयेन्मूढां पतितासेवनात् स्त्रियम् ॥ अङ्गिरस् q. by प्राय. वि. p. 372.

239. चतस्रस्तु परित्याज्याः शिष्यगा गुरुगा च या । पतिघ्नी च विशेषेण जुङ्गितोपगता च या ॥ वसिष्ठ 21.10 q. by the मिता. on या. III. 297 and अपरार्क p. 1208 on या. I. 72. The मिता. attributes the verse to व्यास and explains जुङ्गित as 'प्रतिलोमजचर्मकारादिः'. The दीपकलिका explains as 'कुत्सितः प्रतिलोमजः'. The प्राय. वि. p. 374 attributes it to अङ्गिरस् and explains 'जुङ्गितः कुत्सितो हीनवर्णः'.

of the four mahāpātakas has to undergo the *vrata* (the observances) prescribed for that grave sinner in order to free himself from the sin of association. Kullūka, the Pr. sāra (p. 61) and others state that the penance here referred to is the one for twelve years and not death since it is the word *vrata* that is employed by Manu and vrata does not ordinarily convey the idea of death.[240] If the association was due to ignorance the penance was half. Vyāsa prescribed [241] for the knowing associator ¾ ths of the penance provided for the sinner himself. According to the Pr. V. (p. 171) there was no difference in the extent of the penance for association with a sinner in the case of a brāhmaṇa [242] and a śūdra, though in other cases penance was reduced by one quarter for each varṇa. If the association was for less than one year, then the penance was proportionately reduced. Not only was the *patita* condemned but even his son born after he became *patita* and he was excluded from inheritance. But the daughter of a *patita* was treated differently and she could be married without any stigma being attached to the husband. Vide Vas. 13.51-53, Yāj. III. 261, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 73-74, Hārīta q. by Pr. V. p. 174 and Pr. prakaraṇa p. 110 and H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 614-616.

Viṣṇu Dh. S. (chap. 36) speaks of certain sins as *anupātakas* which are declared by Manu (XI. 55-58) and Yāj. (III. 228-233) to be equal to or like one or other of the mahāpātakas and provides that those guilty of them become pure by Aśvamedha sacrifice or by resorting to pilgrimages. It has also been seen that such sins are removed by the penances that are slightly less (i. e. by ¼th) than those for the mahāpātakas themselves.

The penances for *upapātakas* must now be briefly dealt with. The number of upapātakas is very large and it is of no practical importance to deal with each of them separately. First of all, some general rules about them will be stated and

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240. अत्र च महापातकिषु यद्यपि कामतो मरणान्तिकमुपदिष्टं तथापि संसर्गिणस्तज्जातिविश्यते। स तस्यैव व्रतं कुर्यादिति व्रतस्यैवातिदेशात्। मरणस्य च व्रतशब्दवाच्यत्वाभावात्। अतोऽत्र कामकृतेऽपि संसर्गे द्वादशवार्षिकमकामतस्तु तदर्धम्। मिता. on या. III. 261; vide also मद. पा. p. 853.

241. यो येन संवसेद्वर्षं सोऽपि तत्समतामियात्। पादहीनं चरेत्सोऽपि तस्य तस्य व्रतं द्विजः॥ व्यास q. by the मिता. on या. III 261, कुल्लूक on मनु XI.181.

242. अतः संसर्गिणि ब्राह्मणे शूद्रे च न प्रायश्चित्ते विशेषः। तथा निरन्तरसंवत्सरसंसर्गे यत् प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तं तस्य च संवत्सरासम्पूर्तौ भागहारः कार्यः। तथा च बृहस्पतिः। षाण्मासिके तु संयोगे याजनाध्यापनादिना। एकत्रासनशय्याभिः प्रायश्चित्तार्धमाचरेत्। प्राय. pp. 171-172.

a few of them that are of some importance will be dealt with individually. The Sāmavidhāna[243] Br. (I. 5.14) states that on committing several upapātakas a man becomes pure by reciting thrice the whole of the veda while fasting. Manu XI. 117, Yāj. III. 265, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37.35 prescribe that purification from all classes of upapātakas (except the sin of the *avakīrṇin*) is effected by the same penances that are prescribed for *govadha* or by *cāndrāyaṇa* or by subsisting on milk alone for a month or by *Parāka* or *Gosava*. The digests prescribe that Parāka is meant for him who is strong enough to undertake it, Cāndrāyaṇa for him who is weak, Gosava for him who repeatedly commits the same upapātaka or is guilty of several at the same time (vide Pr. Prakāśa, folio 122 a).

Govadha stands at the head of upapātakas in Manu, Yāj., the Agnipurāṇa (168. 29-37). Several smṛtis provide different penances for the sin of killing a cow. Gaut. 22. 18 prescribes[244] the same penance for *govadha* as for killing a vaiśya (Gaut. 22. 15) viz. staying for three years in a forest, subsisting on alms, observing celibacy and donating one hundred cows together with a bull. In Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 26. 1 for killing a milch cow or a full grown ox the penance is said to be the same as for killing a śūdra. Vas. 21. 18 provides that if a man kills a cow he should cover himself with the raw hide of the cow (that is killed) and should observe Kṛcchra or Atikṛcchra for six months. Manu[245] XI. 108-116, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 50. 16-24, Saṁvarta 130-135, Parāśara VIII. 31-41 (q. in Smṛtimuktāphala p. 875, prāyaścitta section) prescribe elaborate observances as penances for *govadha*. Yāj. (III. 263-264) provides four separate prāyaścittas, viz (1) the killer of a cow should control his senses for a month, should subsist on *pañcagavya* (cow's urine, cow-dung, milk, curds and ghee), should sleep in a cowpen, should follow the cows so penned (by day) and at the end of a month donate a cow; (2) or he should perform Kṛcchra penance while sleeping in a cow-pen and following cows by day; (3) or should perform an *atikṛcchra* in the same way; (4) or should fast for three days and donate ten cows together with

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243. बहून्युपपातकानि कृत्वा त्रिभिरनश्नन्पारायणैः पूतो भवति । सामविधानब्रा. I. 5. 14.

244. गां च वैश्यवत् । गौ. 22. 18; धेन्वनडुहोश्चाकारणात् । आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 26.1.

245. अग्निपुराण 169. 5-7 are the same as मनु XI. 108-110; संवर्त 130-134 are quoted (with slight variations) by विश्वरूप on या. III. 262.

one bull. Śaṅkha provides[246] that the killer of a cow should fast for 25 days and nights subsisting on pañcagavya, should tonsure his head together with the top-knot, should wear as an upper garment cow-hide and should follow cows, lie down in a cow-pen and donate a cow. Some of the smṛtis and digests declare that the penance differed according as the cow that was killed belonged to a learned brāhmaṇa or to a mere brāhmaṇa by caste, to a kṣatriya or vaiśya or śūdra. For example, Devala (q. by Pr. V. p. 202) states that if a cow belonging to a brāhmaṇa were killed, then the sinner should wear as upper garment that cow's hide for six months, should bring fodder for cows, should imitate cows, should subsist on barley gruel, should move among cows and then he becomes free from the sin. Śātātapa (q. by Pr. V. p. 203) states that one killing the cow of a vaiśya should subsist on pañcagavya for a month, should recite the Gomatī-vidyā[247] and stay in a cowpen for a month. Viśvāmitra (Pr. V. p. 203) says about the killer of a cow belonging to a śūdra that he should undergo four kṛcchras if he kills intentionally and two if unintentionally. The *Gomatī-vidyā* as quoted by Aparārka (p. 1102), the Madana-pārijāta (p. 862) and Pr. T. p. 522 (which takes it from the Prāyaścitta section of the Kalpataru that takes it from Yama) is a laudation of cows: 'cows always emit fragrance, they have the smell of *guggulu* (bdellium), they are the support of beings, they are a great blessing; cows are (yield in their milk) the best food and the best offerings for gods; they are purifiers of all beings and offerings ooze from them; they please the gods in heaven by the offerings (of milk and ghee) that are rendered pure by the *mantras* recited over them; in the *agnihotra* (keeping up the sacred fire) of sages cows help

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246. गोघ्नः पञ्चगव्याहारः पञ्चविंशतिरात्रमुपवसेत् सशिखं वपनं कृत्वा गोचर्मणा प्रावृतो गाश्चानुगच्छन् गोष्ठेशयो गां च दद्यात्। शङ्ख q. by विश्वरूप on या. III. 262, मिता. on या. III 264, हरदत्त on गौ. 22. 18, अपरार्क p. 1094. The मिता. and हरदत्त ascribe the passage to both शङ्ख and प्रचेतस्.

247. गोमतीविद्यामाह प्रायश्चित्तकाण्डकल्पतरौ यमः। गोमतीं कीर्तयिष्यामि सर्वपापप्रणाशिनीम्। तां तु मे गदतो विप्राः शृणुध्वं सुसमाहिताः॥ गावः सुरभयो नित्यं गावो गुग्गुलुगन्धिकाः। गावः प्रतिष्ठा भूतानां गावः स्वस्त्ययनं महत्। अन्नमेव परं गावो देवानां हविरुत्तमम्। पावनं सर्वभूतानां क्षरन्ति च हवींषि च॥ हविषा मन्त्रपूतेन तर्पयन्त्यमरान्दिवि। ऋषीणामग्निहोत्रेषु गावो होमप्रयोजिकाः॥ पावनं सर्वभूतानां गावः शरणमुत्तमम्। गावः पवित्रं परमं गावो मङ्गलमुत्तमम्। गावः स्वर्गस्य सोपानं गावो धन्याः सनातनाः। नमो गोभ्यः श्रीमतीभ्यः सौरभेयीभ्य एव च। नमो ब्रह्मसुताभ्यश्च पवित्राभ्यो नमो नमः। ब्राह्मणाश्चैव गावश्च कुलमेकं द्विधा कृतम्। एकत्र मन्त्रास्तिष्ठन्ति हविरन्यत्र तिष्ठति॥ प्राय. तत्त्व pp. 522-523, अपरार्क and प्रा. प्रकाश folio 1166 with some variations such as 'सर्वभूतानां रक्षन्ति च वहन्ति च.' अपरार्क p. 1102 quotes the verses from गावः सुरभयो to पवित्राभ्यो नमो नमः।

to bring about *homa*; cows are the holy and eminent protection for all beings; cows are extremely holy and most auspicious; cows are blessed; salutation to cows that abound in wealth and are called *saurabheyi* ! salutation to the cows that are holy and the daughters of Brahmā. Brāhmaṇas and cows are (really) one family divided into two parts, in one (brāhmaṇas) reside the (vedic) *mantras* and in the other reside offerings (to Gods of ghee &c.)." The Pr. prakaraṇa [248] (p. 33) says that Kātyāyana, Gautama, Saṁvarta, Parāśara and other sages prescribe differing penances for govadha, which are to be explained away by reference to the killing being intentional or unintentional or to the fact of the cow being owned by a brāhmaṇa engaged in a *soma* sacrifice or by a brāhmaṇa who has studied the Veda with the six auxiliary śāstras, or by the fact that the cow was useful for the *homa* of a brāhmaṇa possessed of good qualities or was a pregnant cow or of the *kapilā* (brown or tawny) variety. It adds the important statement that in its days such cows being not found in ordinary life it is not necessary to expressly assign to each of those texts its appropriate subject matter.

Yāj. III. 284, [249] Saṁvarta 137, Agnipurāṇa 169.14 provide that if a cow or bull dies while being treated with medicine or while an attempt is being made to help the cow in delivery, or being branded (as a treatment) there is no sin. This applies as an exception in all cases of injury or death of brāhmaṇas, cows or other animals. Parāśara (IX. 4 ff.) and Aṅgiras (q. by Pr. T. pp. 526–527) prescribe $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ of the prāyaścitta for killing out-right a cow, if the death is due to putting an obstacle in the cow's or bull's free movement or to tying it up or to yoking it with thongs. Before undergoing a penance for *govadha*, the sinner had to make good the price of the animal to the owner, according to the Brahmapurāṇa and Parāśara.[250]

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248. यत्तु नः कात्यायनेन...पराशरादिमुनिभिरपि न्यूनाधिकप्रायश्चित्तान्युक्तानि तानि कामाकामकृत—सवनस्थ—श्रोत्रिय—षडङ्गवेदाध्यायि-ब्राह्मणसम्बन्धिगुणवद्धोमधेनु—गर्भिणी—कपिलादिविषयाणि यथायोग्यं व्याख्येयानीति । इदानीं तु तथाविधगवाभावेन व्यवहारानङ्गत्वान्न प्रत्येकं विषयव्यवस्थया व्याख्यातानीति । प्राय. प्रक. p. 33.

249. क्रियमाणोपकारे तु मृते विप्रे न पातकम् । विपाके गोवृषाणां तु भेषजाग्निक्रियासु च ॥ या. III. 284; यन्त्रणे गोचिकित्सार्थे मूढगर्भविमोचने । यदि तत्र विपत्तिः स्यान्न स पापेन लिप्यते ॥ संवर्त 137 q. by the मिता. on या. III. 284, प्राय. प्रकरण p. 33.

250. गोवधे तु स्वामिने गोमूल्यं दत्त्वा व्रतं करणीयम् । आदौ गोपतये दत्त्वा गोमूल्यं साधुकल्पितम् । इति ब्रह्मपुराणात् । न चैतद्ग्रहणे दोषः। ...तथा च पराशरः। प्रमापणे प्राणभृतां दद्यात् प्रतिरूपकम् । तस्यानुरूपं मूल्यं वा दद्यादित्यब्रवीन्मनुः । प्राय तत्त्व p. 513. The verse प्रमापणे is quoted as कात्यायन's (792) by the परा. मा. III. p. 425 and वि. र. p. 284.

The Sāmavidhāna Br. (I. 7.8.) prescribes that on killing any animal (except a cow or bull) the guilty person should fast for one night and recite the sāmaveda verse 'Agnis-tigmena' (I. 1. 3. 2). Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9.25.14) provides for killing a crow, a chameleon, a peacock, a *chakravāka, haṁsa, bhāsa,* a frog, ichneumon, musk-rat, a dog the same penance as for killing a śūdra. Gaut. 22. 19–22, 24–25, Manu XI. 133–137, Yāj. III. 269–274, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 50.25–32, Parāśara VI. 1–15 prescribe several penances for killing an elephant, a horse, a tiger, a monkey, a cat, a serpent and numerous other animals, which are passed over here. Some smṛtis such as Saṁvarta 10 and Paiṭhīnasi make a difference between *grāmya* and *āraṇya* (forest) animals, in each class seven being specificed by Paiṭhīnasi.[251] The great concern of the sages for anything possessed of the principle of life or growth went so far as to prescribe the penance of reciting one hundred *ṛk* verses if a man cut off big trees (like mango or jack-fruit tree) or shrubs and creepers, except for purposes of sacrifices or agriculture [252] (Manu XI. 142, Yāj. III. 276, Vas. 19. 11–12). These provisions tended against wanton destruction of trees, shrubs and forests that are so beneficent to humanity and lend a charm to the landscape.

It is remarkable that in case a man was bitten by a harlot or a monkey or an ass or by a dog or jackal or a camel or a crow he had to perform (in addition to the pain of the bite) *prāṇāyāma* while standing in water and to drink ghee for purification (Manu XI. 199, Yāj. III. 277, Vas. 23. 31). Parāśara V. 1–9 prescribe elaborate rules of purification for bites by wolves, dogs and jackals (such as a bath and *japa* of Gāyatrī &c.).

PĀRADĀRYA (adultery with another's wife)—is a minor sin (acc. to Yāj. III. 235, Manu XI. 59). This excludes intercourse with *guru's* wife and other intercourse declared to be like *gurutalpagamana* or with cāṇḍāla women (Manu XI. 170–172, 175, 178, Yāj. III. 231–233, Vas. XX. 15–17 and XXIII. 41). Āp. Dh. S. I. 10.28.19 is very severe on a male adulterer who transgresses his vow of loyalty to his wife; one who proves false to his wife shall put on the skin of an ass with the hair turned

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251. ग्रामारण्यपशुविवेके पैठीनसिः । ग्राम्यारण्याश्चतुर्दश । गौरविरजोऽश्वोऽश्वतरो गर्दभो मनुष्यश्चेते सप्त ग्राम्याः पशवः । महिषवानरऋक्षसरीसृपरुरुपृषतमृगाश्चेति सप्तारण्याः पशवः । माध वि. p. 233. Even the तै. सं. VII. 2.2. 1 says 'सप्त ग्राम्याः पशवः सप्तारण्याः'.

252. पुष्पफलोपगान्पादपान्न हिंस्यात् । कर्षणकारणार्थे चोपहन्यात् । वसिष्ठ 19.11-12.

outside and beg at seven houses saying 'give alms to him who played false to his wife'. This should be his livelihood for six months". Conversely, Āp. (I. 10.28.20) provides that if a wife plays false to her husband she should perform for as many months (i. e. six months) the twelve night kṛcchra penance. In another place Āp. Dh. S. (II. 10. 27. 11) states that if a brāhmaṇa commits adultery once with a married woman of equal class he shall perform one-fourth of the penance prescribed for an outcast. Gaut. (22. 29-30, 34) provides penances for two years generally and three years if the woman be the wife of a learned brāhmaṇa. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 265 quotes numerous texts dealing with the penance for adultery that does not amount to a mahāpātaka and tries to evolve order by assigning to each its proper province. This is passed over here. A woman guilty of adultery with a male of the same or higher caste than herself had to undergo the same penance as a male adulterer (Manu XI. 176 and Bṛhaspati), but if she committed adultery with a male of lower caste, then the penances differed as stated above (vide Vas. 21. 1-5 and Saṁvarta 167-172). Bṛhadyama IV. 48 states that adultery in the inverse order of classes is a grave sin, but adultery in the *anuloma* order of classes entails different penances for purification from it.[253]

Vrātyatā (failure to have upanayana performed at the right time)—A person whose upanayana is not performed at the proper time is called *vrātya* or *patitasāvitrika*. Vide Āśv. gr. I. 19. 5-7, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 22-26, Baud. gṛ. III. 13. 5-6, Vas. XI. 71-75, Manu II. 38-39, Yāj. I. 37-38. The penances also such as the performance of *Vrātyastoma* and *Uddālakavrata* (Vas. XI. 76-79, Gaut. 19.8) are prescribed by some of these works, while Manu XI. 191 (=Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54. 26-27=Agnipurāṇa 170. 8-9) prescribes a milder penance of three *kṛcchras* and then *Upanayana* is to be performed again. Vas. XI. 77 describes Uddālakavrata as follows: 'for two months he should subsist on barley gruel, for a month on milk, for half a month on āmikṣā, for eight days on ghee, for six days on food obtained without begging or asking for it, for three days on water and he should observe a complete fast for one day.' Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1.1. 24-27) prescribes another penance for vrātyatā. For *vrātya* or *patitasāvitrika*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 96, 376-379. Haradatta as

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253. संवर्त 167-168 are q. by माध. वि. p. 358 and परा. मा. II part 1 p. 330; संवर्त 169 is q. by विश्वरूप on या. III. 254 p. 132; बृहद्यम IV.48 is प्रातिलोम्ये महत्पापं प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः। प्रायश्चित्तं चानुलोम्येन भवत्येव चान्यथा ॥.

quoted in H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 379 appears to hold that even if generations before the great-grand-father of a man had been without *upanayana*, still proper penance should be prescribed and the man taken in the fold of Hinduism. But there were others who stuck literally to the words of Āp. and Parāśara and hold that if all the generations from the father of the great-grand-father of a man were without upanayana then nothing could be done for that man.[253a]

Vratalopa (non-observance of the vow of celibacy on the part of a brahmacārin). A Vedic student who has sexual intercourse with a woman is technically called *avakirṇin*. The Tai. Ā. II. 18 contains the penance for avakirṇin first promulgated by Sudeva Kāśyapa[254]. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 26. 8–9) provides[255] that such a student shall offer to Nirṛti (goddess of Hell or death) an ass according to the manner of *Pākayajñas* and that a śūdra shall eat the remainder of the offering. Jaimini (VI. 8. 22) provides that the offering is to be made in the ordinary fire (*laukikāgni*) and not in the consecrated Vedic fire.[256] Vas. (23. 1–3) prescribes 'if a Vedic student approaches a woman, then he should offer an ass to the goblins (*rakṣas*) in a forest where four roads meet, kindling an ordinary fire or he may offer an oblation of boiled rice to Nirṛti and throw into the fire four oblations of that food saying 'To lust, *svāhā*; to him

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253a. इदं न्याय्यतां हरदत्तेन भाष्यकृता। ...यस्य प्रपितामहस्य पितुरारभ्य नानुस्मर्यते उपनयनं तस्य प्रायश्चित्तं नोक्तमिति। तथा च संस्कारस्य त्रिपुरुषोर्ध्वमपि ब्रात्यत्वे कथमपि संस्कार्यस्य उपनयनं न भवतीति फलितम्। प्राय. मुक्तावली folio 80 a.

254. यो ब्रह्मचार्यवकिरेदमावास्यायां रात्र्यामग्निं प्रणीयोपसमाधाय द्विराज्यस्योपघातं जुहोति कामावकीर्णोऽस्म्यवकीर्णोऽस्मि कामकामाय स्वाहा कामाभिद्रुग्धोऽस्म्यभिद्रुग्धोऽस्मि कामकामाय स्वाहेत्यमृतं वा आज्यममृतमेवात्मन्धत्ते। तै. आ. II. 18.

255. गर्दभेनावकीर्णी निर्ऋतिं पाकयज्ञेन यजेत। तस्य शूद्रः प्राश्नीयात्। आप. ध. सू. I. 9.26.8–9; ब्रह्मचारी चेत्स्त्रियमुपेयादरण्ये चतुष्पथे लौकिकेऽग्नौ रक्षोदैवतं गर्दभं पशुमालभेत्। नैर्ऋतं वा चरुं निर्वपेत्। तस्य जुहुयात्कामाय स्वाहा कामकामाय स्वाहा नैर्ऋत्यै स्वाहा रक्षोदेवताभ्यः स्वाहेति। वसिष्ठ 23.1–2. अवकीर्णिन् is explained by क्षीरस्वामी on अमरकोश as 'अव अन्तरे कीर्णं रेतोऽस्यावकीर्णी.' The वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र VI.8 employs the word in a wider sense 'सप्तरात्रौ हीने नित्यकर्मणि अवकीर्णी भवति'. For पाकयज्ञs which are ordinarily said to be seven, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 194. The Āśv. gr. I.1.2–3 speaks of three and quotes Ṛg. VIII. 19.5 in support. The commentator explains 'पाकयज्ञाः अल्पयज्ञाः प्रशस्तयज्ञा वा' and quotes Ṛg. VII. 104.8 in support for the latter meaning. The खादिरगृह्य I.1.20 defines 'पाकयज्ञ इत्याख्या यः कश्चैकाग्नौ'. वृद्धगौ. VIII. p. 557 speaks of five पाकयज्ञs.

256. अवकीर्णिपशुश्च तद्वदाधानस्याप्राप्तकालत्वात्। जै. VI. 8.22, on which शबर says 'अस्त्यवकीर्णिपशुः, ब्रह्मचार्यवकीर्णी नैर्ऋतं पशुमालभेतेति।...तस्माद्विद्वानपि कर्म लौकिकेऽग्नाविति।.'

who follows his lust, svāhā; to Nirṛti svāhā; to the deities called *Rakṣas*, svāhā'. Gaut. 23. 17–19, Manu XI. 118–123, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 35–43; Yāj. III. 280, Agnipurāṇa 169. 15–18, Pār. gṛ. III. 12 contain similar provisions, Gautama adding that he shall beg for a year at seven houses with a red vessel (earthen) in his hand and proclaim his misdeed. The Baud. Dh. S. and Pār. gṛ. furnish elaborate details. The former states that the Paśupuroḍāśa may be offered to Rakṣas or to Yama or he may offer on the Amāvāsyā at night two offerings of clarified butter in fire after performing the preparatory rites of a *darvihoma* and that he may then invoke fire with the verse (Tai. Ā. II. 18) 'Sam mā ciñcantu marutaḥ &c.' (may the Maruts grant me long life and strength).

If an ascetic reverted to the life of a householder, Saṁvarta (171–172) prescribes the penance of kṛcchra for six months[257]. Such a man is called *pratyavasita*. The pratyavasitas are said to be of nine kinds[258] by Yama (22–23), Bṛhad-Yama (3–4) and others viz. those who turn back from water, fire, halter (by means of which they wanted to kill themselves), those who revert back from the stage of *sannyāsa* or from a fast (unto death), or from poison, precipice or sitting *dharṇā* and those who (desiring to commit suicide) strike themselves with a weapon (but are not killed); these nine are called *pratyavasita* and are beyond commerce with people, become pure by the penance of *Cāndrāyaṇa* or two *Taptakṛcchras*. Vṛddha-Parāśara quoted by Par. M. and Prāyaścitta-muktāvali provides that sannyāsins, who revert to the life of the householder, are to be treated as cāṇḍālas even after undergoing penance and their children born after they fall from the ascetic stage are to be made to dwell among cāṇḍālas. This explains the harsh treatment alleged to have been meted to the great saint Jñāneśvara and his brothers at Paithan in the 13th century. A person who after becoming a sannyāsin reverts to another āśrama or acts contrary to the

257. संन्यस्य दुर्मतिः कश्चिदपत्यार्थं स्त्रियं व्रजेत्। कुर्यात्कृच्छ्रं समानं तत्षण्मासात्-स्तदनन्तरम्॥ संवर्त 171–172, quoted in परा. मा. II part 2 p. 129 (reads प्रत्यापत्तिं व्रजेद्यदि। स कुर्यात्कृच्छ्रमश्रान्तः षण्मासात्प्रत्यनन्तरम्) and प्राय. सा. p. 123 (reads प्रत्यापत्तिं चिकीर्षति). 'सत्यपि प्रायश्चित्ते लुप्तधर्माः परिव्राजका गर्हिता इत्याह वृद्धपराशरः। लुप्तधर्मास्तु चाण्डालाः परिव्राजकतापसाः। तेभ्यो जातान्यपत्यानि चाण्डालैः सह वासयेत्॥ इति। प्राय. मुक्तावली folio 73 b, परा. मा. II part 2 p. 11.

258. जलाग्न्युद्बन्धनभ्रष्टाः प्रव्रज्यानाशकच्युताः। विषप्रपतनप्रायशस्त्रघातहताश्च ये॥ नवैते प्रत्यवसिताः सर्वलोकबहिष्कृताः। चान्द्रायणेन शुध्यन्ति तप्तकृच्छ्रद्वयेन वा॥ यम 22–23 q. by प्राय. सा. p. 126.

rules of his āśrama is called *ārūḍhapatita* also (vide Par. M. II. part. I. p. 373 quoting Hārīta).

Elaborate purifications are prescribed for removing the taint of touching certain men, unclean objects like bones (Manu V. 87), women in their monthly illness or within certain days after delivery and animals (like dogs, village pigs, cocks, crows). They have to be passed over here for reasons of space. But a few passages may be cited by way of sample. Gautama [259] (14. 28) provides that on touching *patita*, caṇḍāla, a woman freshly delivered, a woman in her monthly illness, a corpse, or on touching any one who has touched any one of these or any one who is the third in contact, the purification is brought about by a bath with the clothes on. Manu V. 84 and Yāj. III. 30 contain similar provisions. The Pr. V. (pp. 495–499) discusses the question whether *sparśa* [260] (touch) means direct touch or includes even indirect touch and ultimately arrives at the conclusion that indirect touch also is included and cites Āpastamba-smṛti in support that if a brāhmaṇa and a cāṇḍāla or the like are both seated on the same branch (without actually touching each other) the brāhmaṇa can become purified only by a bath. A verse quoted as Yājñavalkya's by Pr. Prakaraṇa [261] p. 110 (not found in the printed text) states: 'on touching a cāṇḍāla, pukkasa, mleccha, *bhilla*, a *pārasīka* (one coming from Persia) and the like and persons guilty of grave sins one should bathe with the clothes on.' The Ṣaṭ-triṁśan-mata[262] provides 'on touching

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259. पतितचण्डालसूतिकोदक्याशवस्पृष्टितत्स्पृष्ट्युपस्पर्शने सचैलोदकस्पर्शनाच्छुध्येत् । गौ. 14. 28. The मिता. on या. III. 30 reads it as सचैलमुदकोº and हरदत्त observes that the latter is the better reading.

260. उपस्पर्शो यद्यपि न स्पर्शशब्दस्यार्थः तथाप्यत्र वचनादेकावयविद्वारा परम्परास्पर्शोऽपि ग्राह्यः । तथा चापस्तम्बः । एकशाखां समारूढश्चाण्डालादिर्यदा भवेत् । ब्राह्मणस्तत्र निवसन् स्नानेन शुचितामियात् ॥ आदिशब्दात्पुक्कसादीनां ग्रहणम् । शाखाग्रहणमेकावयव्युपलक्षणार्थं तेनैकपाषाणादेरपि ग्रहणम् । प्राय. वि. p. 496. The verse is आपस्तम्बस्मृति VII. 14 (reads somewhat differently). It is quoted in प्रा. प्रक. p. 111 also.

261. तत्र याज्ञवल्क्यः । चाण्डालपुक्कसम्लेच्छभिल्लपारसिकादिकान् । महापातकिनश्चैव स्पृष्ट्वा स्नायात्सचैलकः ॥ प्रा. प्रक. p. 110. This verse is quoted as वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य's by अपरार्क p. 923.

262. षट्त्रिंशन्मतम् । बौद्धान्पाशुपतांश्चैव लौकायतिकनास्तिकान् । विकर्मस्थान् द्विजान् स्पृष्ट्वा सचैलो जलमाविशेत् ॥ चैत्यवृक्षश्चितिर्यूपश्चाण्डालः सोमविक्रयी । एतांस्तु ब्राह्मणः स्पृष्ट्वा सचैलो जलमाविशेत् ॥ प्रा. प्रक. p. 110, and स्मृतिच. I p. 118 (which reads पाशुपतान् जैनान् लौकायतिककापिलान्). The first verse is quoted as from the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa by the मिता. on या. III. 30 and by स्मृतिच. I. p. 118 (reads शैवान् पाशुपतान् स्पृष्ट्वा and शूद्रान् for स्पृष्ट्वा) and the 2nd is ascribed to पराशर by अपरार्क p. 923.

Bauddhas, Pāśupatas, Laukāyatikas, atheists and those who follow forbidden actions, one should plunge in water together with the clothes on. On touching a *caitya* tree (such as a fig tree round which a platform is built), a funeral pile (or brick altar prepared in the śrauta rite called Agnicayana), a sacrificial post, a cāṇḍāla, one who sells the soma plant, a brāhmaṇa should enter water with the clothes on.' Saṁvarta [263] requires a *dvija* to sip water on touching a shoemaker, a washerman, a *veṇa* (Manu X. 19, 49, one who beats drum &c.), a fisherman, a dancer (*naṭa*) and Śātātapa [264] provides that if any limb of a *dvija* (except the head) is touched by one who colours clothes, a shoemaker, a hunter, a fisherman, a washerman, a butcher, a *ṭhaka* (*Thug*), an actor, one who allows sexual intercourse in the mouth, a dog, a prostitute allowing men of all varṇas to visit her, an oil-grinder, the keeper of a tavern, an executioner, a village pig or cock, he should wash the limb with water and perform *ācamana*. If the head is touched by any one of these, then he should bathe. In this connection it may be noted that Hemādri quotes (on p. 38) the Garuḍapurāṇa and (on p. 316) Parāśara for the 16 castes in a village that were treated as cāṇḍālas in the matter of touch, speech or sight. Devala (q. by Hemādri on prāyaścitta p. 312) says that Cāṇḍāla and Turuṣka (Turk) are equally low. The chapter on untouchables in the 2nd vol. of the H. of Dh. pp. 165–179 may be consulted in this connection. On pp. 175–176 of the same work references are given to verses of Atri, Śātātapa, Bṛhaspati and others stating that no purification is required on the ground of untouchability in the case of religious festivals and marriage processions, in battle, in the case of fire or invasion and similar calamities. By no stretch of imagination can these verses be restricted to the untouchability arising from death or birth as some propose

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263. चर्मारं रजकं वेणं धीवरं नटमेव च। एतान् स्पृष्ट्वा द्विजो मोहादाचामेत् प्रयतोऽपि सन्॥ संवर्त q. by प्राय. वि. pp. 472–473.

264. रजकश्चर्मकृच्चैव व्याधजालोपजीविनौ। निर्णेजकः सौनिकश्च ठकः शैलूषकस्तथा॥ मुखेभगस्तथा श्वा च वनिता सर्ववर्णगा। चक्री ध्वजी वध्यघाती ग्राम्यशूकरकुक्कुटौ। एभिर्यदङ्गं संस्पृष्टं शिरोवर्जं द्विजातिषु। तोयेन क्षालनं कृत्वा आचान्तः शुचितामियात्॥ शातातप q. by प्राय. वि. p. 473 and स्मृतिच. I p. 119. The word ठक: explained by प्राय. वि. as धूर्त: may be noted as the original word for the modern word 'Thug'. The स्मृतिच° reads नट: for ठक: and explains as जातिविशेष:. रजकश्चर्मकारश्च नटो बुरुड एव च। कैवर्तमेदभिल्लाश्च स्वर्णकारश्च सौविक: (सौचिक: ?)॥ कारुको लोहकारश्च शिलाभेदी तु नापितः। तक्षकारस्तिलयन्त्री च चूलशाकी तथा ध्वजी। एते षोडशधा प्रोक्ताश्चाण्डाला ग्रामवासिनः। गरुडपुराण q. by हेमाद्रि (on प्रा. p. 38 and also पराशर on p. 316.)

to do. The words are too sweeping for this explanation and there being no untouchability on birth for any one except the mother and persons in mourning not being likely to join religious festivals and marriage processions those verses cannot be so construed.

The smṛtis were very keen on keeping a high ideal before brāhmaṇas as regards receiving gifts. The Sāma. Br. (I. 7. 1–2) prescribes that if a brāhmaṇa receives a gift from a kṣatriya when not in distress (or difficulty) he should eat only one meal by day for a month and recite the Sāma verse 'mahat tat somo mahiṣaścakāra' (Sāmaveda I. 6. 1. 5. 10, No. 542) for one month, while standing in water and if he accepts a gift from any one else from whom he should not accept it, he should undergo *kṛcchra* penance and recite the sāma verse 'trikadrukeṣu' (Sāmaveda I.5.2.3.1, No. 457). Yāj. I. 140 provides that a brāhmaṇa should not accept a gift from a king who is parsimonious (or greedy) and acts against the dictates of śāstra and Manu XI. 194 (=Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54.24) provides that a brāhmaṇa becomes free from the sin of the acceptance of a thing which should not be accepted or of the acceptance of a gift from a condemned donor by reciting the Gāyatrī three thousand times (in a month) or subsisting on milk alone or staying in a cowpen for a month. It may be noted that Manu X. 102–103 and Yāj. III. 41 allow a brāhmaṇa when in distress to accept a gift from anybody or to take food from anyone whatever or to maintain himself by teaching any one whatever and state that he is not tainted by sin in so doing, since he is like fire and water (like that of the Ganges) and since it is unreasonable (or impossible) to assert that what is pure can be sullied. Manu X. 109, however, regards acceptance of a gift from an unworthy (or low) person as worse than teaching an improper person or officiating for him. A brāhmaṇa was not to sell things declared to be unfit to be sold by him such [264 a] as sesame, oil of sesame, curds, bees' wax (kṣaudra), salt, grapes, wine, cooked food, female or

264 a. अथाविक्रेयविक्रयप्रायश्चित्तानि । शङ्खलिखितौ । न विक्रीयादविक्रेयाणि । तिलतैलदधिक्षौद्रलवणद्राक्षामद्यमांसकृतान्नस्त्रीपुरुषहस्त्यश्ववृषगन्धरसक्षौमकृष्णाजिनसोमोदकनीलीविक्रयात् सद्यः पतति ब्राह्मणस्तत्र प्रायश्चित्तमकामकारतो कामकृतेऽप्येके पतितं त्यात्मानमुद्धरेत् । संवत्सरं तप्तकृच्छ्रमाचरेत् । कृतवापनः शुचिरपोऽभ्युपेयात् त्रिरेकाह्नवासाः काष्ठमौनी वीरासनमासीत रात्रौ दिवा तिष्ठेदग्नौ अग्निः कार्यपरः (अग्निकार्यपरः ?) सावित्रीं सहस्रानुगां अपेत्य त्र्यहं व्रतमभ्युपगम्य कृष्णचीरवासा मौञ्जी मेखली दण्डी पवित्रपाणिर्द्वादशाहं वा अप्रयेज्य भैक्षमयुक्तं वा यावत्कमश्नीयात् द्वादशरात्रं चोपवासो ब्राह्मणतर्पणं गवाह्निकमित्येवं व्यवहार्यो-न्यथा पतितः शिष्टैरसंभाष्यः शूद्रधर्मेति । प्रा. प्रकाश folio 127b.

male slaves, elephants, horses, bulls, fragrant substances, liquids, silken cloth (kṣauma), black antelope hide, soma plant, water, indigo; by selling these he at once incurs sin. As penance he should practise *Tapta-kṛcchra* for a year after tonsuring his head, he should enter water thrice, wear only one wet piece of cloth, should observe silence, should practise the Vīrāsana, should sit up at night and stand by day, should recite the Gāyatrī.

One important matter dealt with by a few of the smṛtis and some of the digests is the re-admission into the Hindu fold of those who were converted by force by the invading *mlecchas*. About the meaning of the word *mleccha*, there is some divergence of views. From the Śat. Br. (III. 2.1. 23-24) it appears that the mlecchas spoke a degraded and corrupt speech (such as saying 'helavaḥ' for 'heṣrayaḥ'). Parāśara (IX. 36) refers to the mlecchas as the eaters of cow's flesh. The Pr. T. (p. 549) quotes a smṛti[265] text to the effect that a mleccha is an eater of cow's flesh and talks much that is contradictory, and cites a passage from the Harivaṁśa for the manner of the dress and of the trimming of hair in the case of Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas, Pahlavas &c. Vide for *mleccha* and for the return to the Hindu fold of those that were forcibly carried away as slaves by *mlecchas* and robbers or made to kill cows or to eat the flesh of asses, camels, village pigs, H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 92, 383-385, 389-392 (where verses of Devala ascribed by some like the Mit. to Āpastamba-smṛti are set out), 973-974. A few matters not dealt with there may be added here. The Viṣṇudharmottara[266] purāṇa (II. 73. 203-206) provides that when persons are kidnapped by mlecchas or raiders or persons passing through forests are so treated and return to their own country, the penances for purifying them from the sin of eating forbidden food are to be prescribed after considering their class (varṇa), viz. that a

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265. गोमांसखादको यश्च विरुद्धं बहु भाषते। सर्वाचारविहीनश्च म्लेच्छ इत्यभिधीयते॥ बोधायन q. by प्रा तत्त्व p. 549; रायमुकुट as q. by प्राय. मुक्तावली (folio 104 b) reads गो. ...भक्षको यस्तु अपशब्दं च भाषते। सर्वाचारविहीनश्च°; सगरः स्वां प्रतिज्ञां च गुरोर्वाक्यं निशम्य च। धर्मं जघान तेषां वै वेषान्यत्वं चकार ह॥ अर्धं शकानां शिरसो मुण्डं कृत्वा व्यसर्जयत्। यवनानां शिरः सर्वं काम्बोजानां तथैव च॥ पारदा मुक्तकेशाश्च पह्लवाः श्मश्रुधारिणः। निःस्वाध्यायवषट्काराः कृतास्तेन महात्मना॥ शका यवनकाम्बोजाः पारदाश्च विशांपते। कोलिसर्पा समाहिषाः दार्वाश्चोलाः सकेरलाः॥ सर्वे ते क्षत्रियास्तात धर्मस्तेषां निराकृतः। हरिवंश, हरिवंशपर्व 14.15-19 q by प्राय. तत्त्व p. 549.

266. म्लेच्छैर्हृतानां चोरैर्वा कान्तारे वा प्रवासिनाम्। भक्ष्याभक्ष्यविशुद्ध्यर्थं तेषां वक्ष्यामि निष्कृतिम्॥ पुनः प्राप्य स्वदेशं च वर्णानामनुपूर्वशः। कृच्छ्रस्यार्धे ब्राह्मणस्तु पुनः संस्कारमर्हति॥ पादोनान्ते क्षत्रियस्तु अर्धार्धे वैश्य एव च। पादं कृत्वा तथा शूद्रो दानं दत्त्वा विशुध्यति॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 73.203-206.

brāhmaṇa should undergo half kṛcchra penance and should have the Upanayana performed again, a kṣatriya should undergo three-fourths of Kṛcchra (and also upanayana), a vaiśya one-fourth Kṛcchra and a śūdra becomes pure by undergoing only ¼ of a kṛcchra and by making a gift. In view of the fact that Manu VIII. 169, Viṣṇu Dh. S. VII. 6-7, Yāj. II. 89 declare that what is given by force, what is enjoyed by force and what is caused to be written by force and all transactions whatever that are brought about by force are void, and the burning desire of many people forcibly converted in times of disturbances to return to the Hindu fold and to the religion of their forefathers, the movement now called *śuddhi* should be encouraged by all interested in the well-being and stability of Hindu society. It is better to call this return by the name of 'parāvartana'. A model but brief rite for the *parāvartana* of those who were forcibly converted or for those who voluntarily left the Hindu fold but want to return to it is given in the Appendix. The same *prayoga* with suitable changes may be employed for taking into the Hindu fold any one who was not born a Hindu. In ancient times such people appear to have been taken into the Hindu fold by the performance of *Vrātyastoma*. For this latter, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 385-387 and for the spread of Hinduism in Java, Bali, Sumatra, Siam and other countries of South-East Asia, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 934-935. Recently, through the kindness of Dr. J. M. Unvala, I had an opportunity of reading several inscriptions of the 18th and 19th centuries at the fire temple called Jvālāji at Suruhani near Baku, the capital of Russian Azerbaijan, situated on the northern shore of the Caspian sea, which were inscribed by Hindu pilgrims or visitors, that begin with obeisance to Gaṇeśa and in one of which occurs the verse quoted below.[267].

Manu XI. 124 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 38.7) prescribes the penance of Sāntapana for committing with full knowledge any of the deeds described above as *jātibhraṁśakara* and the penance of Prājāpatya for doing it unintentionally. For doing any of the deeds called *saṅkarīkaraṇa* or *apātrīkaraṇa* described above, Manu XI. 125 prescribes the penance of cāndrāyaṇa for a month and for doing any of the deeds called *malāvaha* prescribes that the perpetrator should scald himself with barley gruel for three

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267. श्लोकः। देवयज्ञे व्रते तीर्थे सत्पात्रब्रह्मभोजने। पितृश्राद्धे जहीहस्ते धनं व्रजति धर्म्यताम्॥

days. Those two verses of Manu occur in Agnipurāṇa (170. 23–25). Viṣṇu Dh. S. (39.2, 40.2, 41.5) prescribes somewhat different penances for saṅkarīkaraṇa, apātrīkaraṇa or malinīkaraṇīya deeds. Vide also the Mit. on Yāj. III. 290 for the penances prescribed for these deeds by Yama and Bṛhaspati. About miscellaneous *pātakas* the rule laid down by Manu XI. 209, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 42.2, Yāj. III. 294 and others is that the penance should be prescribed by the brāhmaṇas after taking into account the nature of the deed, the ability of the perpetrator and other circumstances of time and place &c.

Some of the digests prescribe certain times for the performance of penance. The first rule is laid down by Hārīta that having done something sinful or improper through trustfulness, affection, greed, fear or heedlessness one should resort to puri-fication at once. Dakṣa[268] II. 73 also states that all *naimittika* and *kāmya* matters must be performed as they fall due and no delay should be caused. If more than a year is allowed to pass after the sin is incurred the penance would have to be double of what it otherwise would have been, according to Devala and Manu.[268a] The Pr. T. (pp. 474, 512) quotes a verse from the Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi[269] and an astrological work to the effect that a penance or ordeal should not be administered on the 8th or 14th *tithi* of a month, nor should an ordeal or marriage take place on a Saturday or Tuesday. The Prāyaścittenduśekhara (p. 15) says that according to respectable people (*śiṣṭas*) the *saṅkalpa* (declaration of undergoing a penance) should be made on the 14th *tithi* and the actual rite should be performed on the *amāvāsyā*. If the guilty person is in mourning he may perform penance after the period of mourning is over.

The procedure for undergoing penances for sins and lapses prescribed by the assembly of learned men has varied in details from time to time. The Gaut. Dh. S. 26.6–17 prescribes

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268. नैमित्तिकानि काम्यानि निपतन्ति यथा यथा। तथा तथा हि कार्याणि न कालं तु विलम्बयेत्॥ दक्ष II. 73 q. by प्रा. तत्त्व p. 512.

268 a. यथा स्मृतिसागरे देवलः। कालातिरेके द्विगुणं प्रायश्चित्तं समाचरेत्। द्विगुणं राजदण्डं च दत्त्वा शुद्धिमवाप्नुयात्॥ कालातिरेके संवत्सरातिरेके। संवत्सराभिशस्तस्य दुष्टस्य द्विगुणो दमः। इति मनुवचने०। प्रा. तत्त्व p 474. This is मनु VIII.374.

269. 'तस्माद्विश्रम्भात् स्नेहात् लोभाद्भयात्प्रमादाद्वा अशुभं कृत्वा सद्यः शौचमारभेत्' इति हारीतेन सद्यःकरणमुक्तम्। अत्रापि व्यवहारचिन्तामणौ विशेषः। नाष्टम्यां न चतुर्दश्यां प्रायश्चित्तपरीक्षणे। न परीक्षा विवाहश्च शनिभौमदिने तथा॥ प्रा. तत्त्व p. 474. The words 'तस्मात्...चरेत्' (for आरभेत्) are quoted from हारीत by मद. पा. 703-704.

the method of performing Kṛcchra penance. It is briefly as follows: The sinner desiring to be free of sin quickly should stand by day and sit up by night (i. e. should take sleep in a sitting position and not lie down), he should speak the truth and should not hold conversation with *anāryas* (śūdras &c.), should bathe thrice in the day, should perform *mārjana* (splashing or sprinkling water on the head and other limbs by means of *kuśas* dipped in water after repeating sacred mantras) with the three verses 'āpo hi sṭhā' (Ṛg. X.9.1-3), with the verses called Pavitravatī and with the eight verses beginning with 'hiraṇyavarṇāḥ śucayaḥ pāvakāḥ' (Tai. S. V. 6.1.1-8). Then he should perform the *tarpaṇa* [270] (satiating with water) with thirteen mantras beginning with *namaḥ* and ending with *namaḥ* (each respectively containing 6, 4, 4, 13, 2, 2, 2, 6, 5, 2, 2, 6, 2 names of deities). This constitutes for him the worship of Āditya (the Sun) and he offers oblations of clarified butter with these thirteen *mantras* and, after he passes twelve days in this way, on the 13th he offers nine oblations of boiled rice to Agni, Soma, Agni and Soma, Indra and Agni, Indra, the *Viśve Devas*, Brahman, Prajāpati, Agni Sviṣṭakṛt. Then he serves dinner to brāhmaṇas. The Āp. Dh. S. II. 6.15.9 states [271] the general rule that in all religious observances one should give dinner to brāhmaṇas that are pure (in conduct) and that have studied the Veda. The Baud. Dh. S. (II. 1. 95-99) prescribes that in a kṛcchra penance one has to bathe thrice in the day, to lie down on the ground (not on a cot &c.), to wear only one piece of cloth, to shave one's hair on the head, the moustache and the body and to pare one's nails, and that the same mode is prescribed also for women (sinners) except the tonsure of the head. Manu (XI. 222-225) prescribes that in all penances there is *homa* with the mahāvyāhṛtis every day, the sinner has to practise *ahiṁsā* (non-injury to all sentient beings), truthfulness, absence of anger and straight forwardness, has to bathe thrice by day and thrice by night together with the clothes on, he should not talk with women, śūdras and *patitas*, he should stand by day and sit down at night or if unable to do so he should sleep on the ground (raised platform called *sthaṇḍila*), should observe celibacy and the rules of a student, such as wearing girdle of *muñja* grass and carrying a staff (of *palāśa* &c.), should honour gods, brāhmaṇas and his elders, should always recite the Gāyatrī and sacred texts.

270. For the usual tarpaṇa, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 689-695.

271. शुचीन्मन्त्रवतः सर्वकृत्येषु भोजयेत्। आप. ध. सू. II 6. 15. 9.

Vas. 24.5 (a long prose passage) contains similar provisions. Yāj. III. 312–13 are very important. They prescribe the practice of certain virtues and rules of conduct called *yamas* (such as *brahmacarya*, kindliness, forbearance, truthfulness, *ahiṁsā* &c.) and *niyamas* (such as bath, silence, fasting, purity of body &c.) as necessary adjuncts in all penances. The Laugākṣigṛhya (V. 3–11) prescribes the procedure for all penances. Yāj. III. 325 holds that one should, while performing the penance of kṛcchra or cāndrāyaṇa, bathe thrice daily, recite holy mantras (as stated in Vas. 28.11–15) and should eat balls of rice over which the Gāyatrī has been recited. Śaṅkha[272] (18.12–14) also summarises the different items that have to be gone through in undergoing a penance. The Madanapārijāta (pp. 781–784), Pr. V. (pp. 503–506), Pr. Sāra (pp 21,22 and 200–203), Pr. T. pp. 497–510, 523–524, Pr. Mayūkha pp. 18–21, Pr. Prakāśa (folios 38b to 43b), Prāyaścittenduśekhara (pp. 15 and 88) and other works provide elaborate rules about the procedure of undergoing prāyaścittas. It is not possible nor necessary to set out these in detail here. Briefly put, on the day previous to the actual day of commencing penance the sinner should pare his nails, shave his head, bathe with clay, cow-dung, holy water &c., drink clarified butter, make a declaration of performing the penance indicated by the assembly of learned men. On the next day he should bathe, perform śrāddha, drink *pañcagavya*, should perform homa, give *dakṣiṇā* (gold, cows &c.) to the brāhmaṇas and feed them. Parāśara (XI. 3) says that at the end of the rite of penance pañcagavya should be taken and one, two, three or four cows should be donated respectively by a brāhmaṇa, a kṣatriya, a vaiśya and a śūdra. Yama (verse 63) says that brāhmaṇas should be fed on the performance of a penance and a dakṣiṇā of one golden *māṣa* should be given to each brāhmaṇa. Jābāli says that at the beginning and close of all penances the sinner should offer in the smārta fire oblations of clarified butter to the accompaniment of the *Vyāhṛtis*, perform śrāddha and offer *dakṣiṇā* consisting of a cow or gold. Vide Aparārka (p. 1230) and Par. M. II part 2 p. 195 for Jābāli's verses. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 30a) adds that according to the Mahārṇava the number of *vyāhṛti-homas* should be 28 or 108.

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272. मुण्डस्त्रिषवणस्नायी अधःशायी जितेन्द्रियः । स्त्रीशूद्रपतितानां च वर्जयेत्परिभाषणम्॥ पवित्राणि जपेच्छक्त्या जुहुयाच्चैव शक्तितः। अयं विधिः स विज्ञेयः सर्वकृच्छ्रेषु सर्वदा। शङ्ख 18. 12–14, which are almost the same as the last two verses of विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46.

A few words may be said about the tonsure of the head (*vapana* or *muṇḍana*). The Tai. Br. (I.5.6.1–2) states[273]: 'The Asuras first shaved the hair on the head, then the moustache and then the armpits; therefore they went down (or with face downwards) and were defeated, while the gods first shaved the armpits, then the moustache and then the hair on the head.' The Pr. Prakāśa quotes this passage in a mutilated form and then states that *vapana* is of three kinds, *daiva* (of the gods), *āsura* (of the *asuras*) and *mānuṣa* (of men), that the āsura method is condemned, that in consecrating the Vedic fires, in the *iṣṭis* and *soma* sacrifices the daiva method is ordained, while in prāyaścittas, there being no special *vidhi*, there is an option. Tonsure of the head is enjoined on several occasions e. g. the Viṣṇupurāṇa provides: [274] 'Tonsure should be carried out at Prayāga when on a pilgrimage, and on the death of one's father or mother; one should not in vain (lightly) tonsure the head'. To these occasions may be added penances. The idea seems to have been entertained that whatever sin a man commits it becomes centered in the hair, as a verse quoted by the Madanapārijāta and Pr. M. states. [275] Gaut. (27.3), Vas.[276] (24.5), Baud. Dh. S. (II.1.98–99) and others provide for the tonsure of the hair on the head and lips (except those on the eye-brows, the hair on the trunk and the top knot). Exceptions were introduced to the rule about tonsure. Dakṣa[277] forbade tonsure, the offering of *piṇḍas* and the carrying of a corpse and all funeral rites to

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273. तेऽसुरा ऊर्ध्वं पृष्ठेभ्यो नापश्यन्। ते केशानग्रेऽवपन्त अथ श्मश्रूणि अथोपपक्षौ। ततस्तेऽवाञ्च आयन् पराभवन्। यस्यैवं वपन्ति अवाङेति।...अथ देवा ऊर्ध्वं पृष्ठेभ्योऽपश्यन्। त उपपक्षौ अग्रेऽवपन्त अथ श्मश्रूण्यथ केशान्। सुवर्गं लोकमायन्। तै. ब्रा. I. 5.6. 1–2 (about the vapana of a Cāturmāsya-yājin); वपनं त्रिविधं दैवमासुरं मानुषं चेति। आसुरं निन्दितं मानुषदैवयोर्विकल्पः। आधानेष्टिसोमेषु दैवस्य विहितत्वात्। प्रायश्चित्तेषु तु विशेषविध्यभावाद् विकल्प एव। प्रा. प्रकाश folio 31 b.

274. प्रयागे तीर्थयात्रायां पितृमातृवियोगतः। कचानां वपनं कार्यं न वृथा विकचो भवेत्॥ विष्णुपुराण q. by प्राय. तत्त्व p. 489.

275. यानि कानि च पापानि ब्रह्महत्यासमानि च। केशानाश्रित्य तिष्ठन्ति तस्मात्केशान्वपाम्यहम्॥ इति मन्त्रमुक्त्वा कक्षोपस्थशिखावर्जं क्रमेण श्मश्रुपक्षकेशादक्षसंस्थान् वापयेत्। यतिविधवादीनां सशिखं वपनम्। ब्रह्महत्यादिष्वपि सशिखं सर्वाङ्गलोम्नां च। प्राय. म. p. 19.

276. कृच्छ्राणां व्रतरूपाणि श्मश्रुकेशान्वापयेद् भ्रूवोक्षिलोमशिखावर्जं०। वसिष्ठ 24.4–5; कृच्छ्रे त्रिषवणमुदकोपस्पर्शनम्। अधः शयनम्। एकवस्त्रता। केशश्मश्रुलोमनखवापनम्। एतदेव स्त्रियाः केशवपनवर्जम्। बौ. ध. सू. II. 1. 95–99. The मिता. on या. III. 325 reads वसिष्ठ as श्मश्रुकेशादि वापयेत् कुक्षिरोमशिखावर्जम्।: should it not be अक्षिरोम०?

277. मुण्डनं पिण्डदानं च प्रेतकर्म च सर्वशः। न जीवत्पितृकः कुर्याद् गुर्विणीपतिरेव चेति दक्षीयनिषेधस्य रागप्राप्तविषयत्वाद् विधिस्पृष्टे निषेधानवकाशात्। प्रा. प्रकाश folio 32a.

one whose father was alive and to a man whose wife was pregnant. But this prohibition did not apply to penances. The Baud. Dh. S. already referred to prohibits the tonsure of women in penances. Aṅgiras 163, Āpastamba-smṛti I. 33–34, Bṛhad-Yama IV.16, Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 386, Parāśara IX. 54–55, Yama 54–55 provide [278] that in the case of married women whose husbands are alive and in the case of maidens all their hair should be held together and only two finger-breadths of hair should be cut off. In the case of widows and ascetics the entire head was to be shaved. It was further provided by Parāśara (IX 52–54), Śaṅkha (q. by Par. M. II. part I, pp. 290–291) that in the case of a king or prince or a learned brāhmaṇa tonsure of the head should not be insisted upon, but that they should have to undergo double the usual penance and the *dakṣiṇā* would have to be double. [279] The Mit. on Yāj. III. 325 quotes a verse of Manu [280] (not found in the printed text) 'tonsure of the head is not desired in the case of learned brāhmaṇas and kings except in the case of those guilty of mahāpātakas, of cow-killing or of being an *avakīrṇin*'. The Mit. (on Yāj. III.264) further quotes Saṁvarta [281] to the effect that when the penance prescribed is only a quarter then only the hair on the body below the throat is to be shaved, when half is prescribed then in addition the hair on the lips is to be cut, when three-fourths then all the hair on the body except the knot is to be cut and in the case of the full penance all hair including the *śikhā* (the top-knot) also are to be cut off. The Par. M. (II part 1. p. 300) while describing cāndrāyaṇa penance requires the cutting of the hair on all parts

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278. सर्वान्केशान् समुद्धृत्य छेदयेदङ्गुलिद्वयम्। एवं नारीकुमारीणां शिरसो मुण्डनं स्मृतम्। न स्त्रियाः केशवपनं न दूरे शयनाशनम्॥ पराशर IX. 54–55.

279. केशानां रक्षणार्थाय द्विगुणं व्रतमाचरेत्। द्विगुणे व्रत आदिष्टे द्विगुणा दक्षिणा भवेत्। राजा वा राजपुत्रो वा ब्राह्मणो वा बहुश्रुतः। अकृत्वा वपनं तस्य प्रायश्चित्तं विनिर्दिशेत्। पराशर IX. 52-54, नारदपुराण, पूर्वार्ध 14.52–54; for the half केशानां°, vide वृद्धहारीत IX. 387. The मिता. on या. III. 325, प्राय. वि. p. 503, प्राय. सा. p. 22, मद. पा. p. 782 quote these verses as हारीत's in a different order and प्राय. तत्त्व. p. 519 ascribes almost similar verses to लघुहारीत.

280. विद्वद्विप्रनृपस्त्रीणां नेष्यते केशवापनम्। ऋते महापातकिनो गोहन्तुश्चावकीर्णिनः॥ मनु q. by मिता. on या. III. 325, प्राय. सा pp. 22–23 (as महर्षि). The प्राय. तत्त्व p. 516 expressly refers to this text as cited by the मिता.

281. पादेऽङ्गरोमवपनं द्विपादे श्मश्रुणोऽपि च। त्रिपादे तु शिखावर्जं सशिखं तु निपातने॥ संवर्त q. by मिता. on या. III 264, प्राय. म. p. 14, मा. प्रकाश folio 31a, which remarks: 'शिखावर्जमिति शिखामात्रमेव तेन भ्रातृपितृव्यादीनां सर्ववपनमेव। यतिः शूद्रश्च शिखया सशिखं वपनं चरेदिति वचनाच्च।'

of the body (including private parts).[282] The tonsure is to be performed by a barber and yet the *saṅkalpa* is 'vapanam kariṣye' and not 'vapanam kārayiṣye'. From Gaut. 27.3 (vapanaṁ vratam caret) prescribing tonsure in cāndrāyaṇa Haradatta and others infer that *vapana* is unnecessary in kṛcchra penance.

Baths that are subsidiary to prāyaścitta are performed with ashes, cowdung, clay, water, pañcagavya and water in which *kuśa* grass has been dipped. *Mantras* that are to be recited at the time of bath are laid down in the Liṅga-purāṇa, the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa and elsewhere.

There are certain virtues to be cultivated as being common to all prāyaścittas whether secretly or openly undergone. They are called *yamas* and *niyamas* and have been set out above (p.121) from Yāj. III. 312-313. Atri (verses 48-49) sets them out somewhat differently. Manu IV. 204 (= Atri verse 47) refers to *yamas* and *niyamas* which Medhātithi explains as follows: viz. *yamas* are in the nature of prohibitions (e. g. a brāhmaṇa should not be killed), while *niyamas* consist of what is to be done (such as one should always recite the Veda, as in Manu IV. 147).

While undergoing prāyaścittas certain rules about food and other matters were to be observed. For example, Hārīta[283] prescribes that the person undergoing penance should omit on all days *māṣa* and *masūra* pulse, honey, taking food at the house of or belonging to others and sexual intercourse, should not speak at an improper time, should perform *ācamana* if he speaks with women or śūdras or those who are *ucchiṣṭa*. Yama ordains that one who is undergoing a penance should omit massaging the body or head with oil, the chewing of *tāmbūla*, applying unguents and every thing else that causes one to feel strength or sexual passion.

According to the Pr.[284] Prakāśa when undertaking a penance one should begin with the mantra 'Agne vratapate

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282. पौर्णमास्यामुपेतस्तु ब्राह्मणः सुसमाहितः। केशश्मश्रूणि लोमानि कक्षोपस्थं च वापयेत्॥ q. by परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 300.

283. माषमसूरमधुपरान्नमैथुनानि प्रत्यहं वर्जयेत्। व्रतोपेतो नाकाले वाचं विसृजेत्। स्त्रीशूद्रोच्छिष्टाभिभाषण आचामेत्। हारीत q. by अपरार्क p. 1230; गात्राभ्यङ्गं शिरोभ्यङ्गं ताम्बूलमनुलेपनम्। व्रतस्थो वर्जयेत्सर्वं यच्चान्यद्बलरागकृत्॥ यम q. by परा. मा. II part 2 p. 196.

284. व्रतनिवेदनविमोचनमन्त्रौ तैत्तिरीयशाखायां अग्ने व्रतपते व्रतं चरिष्यामि तच्छकेयं तन्मे राध्यताम्, अग्ने व्रतपते व्रतमचारिषं तदशकं तन्मे राधि इति तु व्रतसमाप्तौ॥ प्रा. प्रकाश folio 37 b; अग्ने...राध्यताम् is तै. सं. I 5.10.3 = वाज. सं. I.5 and अग्ने व्रतपते व्रतमचारिषं is तै. सं. I.6 6.3 = वाज. सं II.28.

vratam carisyāmi' (O! Fire, lord of vratas! I shall perform a *vrata*) and when finishing a penance one should repeat the mantra 'agne vratapate vratam-acārisam tad-aśakam tan-me rādhi' (O! Fire, lord of vratas; I have performed the vrata, I had the strength to do it, may it be propitious for me &c.').

Prāyaścittas are of two kinds, *prakāśa* (undergone openly) and *rahasya* (undergone secretly). A few words must be said about the latter. Gaut. (24.1-11), Vas. (25.1-3), Manu XI. 248-265, Yāj. III. 301-305, Visnu Dh. S. 55 and other smṛtis lay down rules about secret prāyaścittas. Where a man's [285] sin is not known to anyone except himself he may perform secret expiation. In the case of adultery and in the case of association with one guilty of a grave sin, one may still perform a secret penance, even though the adultery is known to the adulteress and even though the man guilty of a mahāpātaka is aware of the association. Vas. [286] 25.2 states the general rule that secret penances are meant for those who have consecrated the Vedic fires, who are disciplined, old or learned and that the openly undergone penances are meant for others. If such a man is himself aware of the proper penance, he should perform it without going to an assembly (*parsad*), but if he is not so aware he may consult some knowing person privately, asking him in a general way what the penance for a particular sin may be. Vas. 25.3 provides that those who are always intent on prāṇāyāmas, holy texts, gifts, *homas* and *japa* are released from sin. Manu XI.226 states that those whose sins have not become public may be purified by *homas* and *mantras*. Even women and śūdras can perform penance in secret, since, though they cannot perform *homa* and repeat Vedic *mantras*, they can, as the Mit. on Yāj. III.300 says, perform expiation by means of gifts and *prāṇāyāmas*. Gaut. 26.2 and Manu XI. 253 prescribe that one who desires to receive a gift which he should not accept or who receives such a gift should recite in water (navel-deep according to some) the hymn of four verses beginning with 'tarat

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285. हारीतोऽप्याह। अथ ब्राह्मणस्य श्रुतधर्मशास्त्रस्य रहस्यमनुक्रमिष्यामः। रहस्ये रहस्यं प्रकाशे प्रकाशमिति। प्राय. सा. p 161, परा. मा. II. part 2 p 153; vide प्रा. सार p. 161 and प्राय. वि. p. 500 for रहस्ये...प्रकाशमिति as from यम.

286. आहिताग्नेर्विनीतस्य वृद्धस्य विदुषोऽपि वा। रहस्योक्तं प्रायश्चित्तं पूर्वोक्तमितरे जनाः॥ प्राणायामैः पवित्रैश्च दानैर्होमैर्जपैस्तथा। नित्ययुक्ताः प्रमुच्यन्ते पातकेभ्यो न संशयः॥ वसिष्ठ 25. 2-3 ; the first verse is q by अपरार्क p. 1212 as from चतुर्विंशतिमत (reads वृत्तस्य तु).

sa mandi' (Ṛg. X.58.1-4). For one who is guilty of brāhmaṇa murder Gaut. (24.6) prescribes that for the first ten days he should subsist on milk alone, on clarified butter for a further ten days, on water for another period of ten days, that he should partake of the articles specified only once in the morning, should wear wet clothes and should offer every day eight symbolic *homas* with clarified butter, of his hair on the body, nails, skin, flesh, blood, muscles, bones and marrow with the words 'I offer in the mouth of Death' added at the end.[287] Yāj. III.301 prescribes that the murderer of a brāhmaṇa should fast for ten days, should recite the Aghamarṣaṇa hymn (Ṛg. X.190) while submerged in water, donate a cow yielding milk, while Viṣṇu prescribes that he should bathe for a month in a flowing stream or river, should perform every day 16 prāṇāyāmas, should eat only once a day sacrificial food and may then become purified. Viṣṇu provides that the drinker of *surā* becomes pure by observing the *vrata* (as stated) for brāhmaṇa murder and reciting Aghamarṣaṇa; while the thief of brāhmaṇa's gold becomes pure by fasting for three days and reciting the sacred Gāyatrī ten thousand times and one guilty of incest by the repeated recital of the hymn beginning with 'sahasraśīrṣā' (Ṛg. X. 90).

The sages observed that some of the penances mentioned in old smṛtis were terrible and involved loss of life. Therefore, gradually more humane and easier penances came to be prescribed. For example, Hārīta[288] states 'brāhmaṇas who have studied dharmaśāstra should prescribe a penance appropriate to the age, the time and the strength of the brāhmaṇa (sinner), the penance being such that he may not lose his life and yet may be purified; one should not prescribe an observance that will cause great distress (to the sinner). Aṅgiras also says that the *parṣad* should indicate the penance resolved upon by all the members which would not cause loss of life. Śaṅkha

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287. हरदत्त on गौ. 24.6 explains that he will have to say लोमानि आत्मनो मुखे मृत्योरास्ये जुहोमि स्वाहा नखान्यात्मनो मुखे मृत्योरास्ये जुहोमि स्वाहेत्येवंप्रकारा होमाः.

288. यथावयो यथाकालं यथाप्राणं च ब्राह्मणे । प्रायश्चित्तं प्रदातव्यं ब्राह्मणैर्धर्मपाठकैः ॥ येन शुद्धिमवाप्नोति न च प्राणैर्वियुज्यते । आर्तिं वा महतीं याति न चैतद् व्रतमादिशेत् ॥ हारीत q. by परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 235 ; पर्षत्सांचिन्त्य तत्सर्वं प्रायश्चित्तं विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ सर्वेषां निश्चितं यत्स्यात्तच्च प्राणान् न घातयेत् ॥ अङ्गिरस् q. by परा. मा. II part 1 p. 236, मद. पा. p. 779.

declares:[289] 'a brāhmaṇa should never practise the performance of a penance in a forest full of thieves, ferocious beasts, elephants and other animals through fear of injury to life. The body that is the all in all (i. e. the only source) of (the observance of) dharma must be protected with efforts; just as water oozes down from the mountain, so dharma springs from the body'.

As times changed easier substitutes (called *pratyāmnāyas*) were found and prescribed. The word pratyāmnāya was used in this sense in the Āp. Śr. S. V. 20.18 (yadyanādhyo-gnin-ādadhīta kāmam-evaikām gām dadyāt sā gavām pratyāmnāyo bhavatīti vijñāyate), 6. 30.9 and Śāṅ. Śr. S. 14.51.6 and other sūtras. Saṁvarta[290] states that if a sinner is unable to undergo the Prājāpatya penance, he may donate instead a cow yielding milk and if he cannot donate such a cow he may donate the full price of such a cow. Parāśara[291] (XII. 63–64) provides four substitutes for a Prājāpatya penance viz. the recital of the famous Gāyatrī mantra (Ṛg. III. 62.10) ten thousand times or 200 prāṇāyāmas, or bathing twelve times in a sacred watery place after drying the head on each bath, or taking to a journey of two *yojanas* towards a holy place. From the words of Gaut. 19.16 and 18 (quoted above in note 120) it follows that gold is a substitute for a cow by way of penance. The Brahmapurāṇa[292] provides that in the absence of a cow a *niṣka* or half niṣka

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289. तस्करश्वापदाकीर्णे बहुव्यालमृगे वने । न व्रतं ब्राह्मणः कुर्यात्प्राणबाधभयात्सदा । शरीरं धर्मसर्वस्वं रक्षणीयं प्रयत्नतः । शरीरात्स्रवते धर्मः पर्वतात्सलिलं यथा । शङ्ख 17. 63 and 65 q. by मद. पा. 728, अपरार्क p. 1231 (which inserts one more verse between the two (सर्वतो जीवितं रक्षेज्जीवन्पापं व्यपोहति । व्रतैः कृच्छ्रैस्तथा दानैरित्याह भगवान्यमः ॥). This is शङ्ख. 17.64.

290. प्राजापत्यव्रताशक्तो धेनुं दद्यात्पयस्विनीम् । धेन्वोरभावे दातव्यं तुल्यं मूल्यं न संशयः ॥ संवर्त q. by परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 197, प्रा. सार. p. 203, प्राय. तत्त्व pp. 517 and 541. The मिता. on या. III. 326 quotes this verse as स्मृत्यन्तर and adds another half as 'मूल्यार्धमपि निष्कं वा तदर्धं शक्त्यपेक्षया'. The verse is q. from मार्कण्डेयपुराण by अपरार्क p. 1248.

291. प्राजापत्यकृच्छ्रस्य चतुरः प्रत्याम्नायानाह कृच्छ्रं देवयुतं चैव प्राणायामशतद्वयम् । पुण्यतीर्थेऽनार्द्रशिरःस्नानं द्वादशसंख्यया ॥ द्वियोजने तीर्थयात्रा कृच्छ्रमेकं प्रकल्पितम् ॥ पराशर XII. 63–64 and परा. मा. II part 2 p. 47.

292. मूल्यं वा यथाशक्ति देयम् । अत एव ब्रह्मपुराणे गवामभावे निष्कं स्यात्तदर्धं पादमेव वा । परा. मा. II part 2 p. 197, प्रा. सार p 203. The मिता. on या III. 326 quotes it without name.

or a quarter niṣka may be given. The Caturviṁśatimata [293] provides several *pratyāmnāyas* for Prājāpatya viz. recital of Gāyatrī ten thousand times, standing in water, gift of a cow to a brāhmaṇa—these four (including Prājāpatya) are equal, as also a thousand *homas* with sesame, recitation of the whole *saṁhitā* of the veda, feeding twelve brāhmaṇas, Pāvakeṣṭi are equal. The Caturviṁśatimata [294] stated that one should substitute the gift of one cow for Prājāpatya penance, of two cows for Sāntapana, of three cows for Parāka, Tapta-kṛcchra and Atikṛcchra and eight for Cāndrāyaṇa. The result was that from medieval times at least even in the case of mahāpātakas there was a sliding scale of penances ultimately ending in feeding brāhmaṇas or making monetary or other presents to them. For example, the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 326) says that in the case [295] of the twelve years' penance, optionally 360 prājāpatyas could be performed, each prājāpatya extending over twelve days, that if a man was unable to undergo this he should donate as many (i. e. 360) milch cows; if that was impossible he may donate their price or 360 niṣkas or even half or quarter thereof &c. Yāj. III.309 provides (a lakh of) *homas* with sesame to the accompaniment of the Gāyatrī or making brāhmaṇas recite the Veda by the gift of sesame. Vas.28.18–19 (=Atri VI. 7–8) and Viṣṇu Dh. S.90.10 state that by feeding seven or five brāhmaṇas on the Full moon of Vaiśākha with sesame and honey a man becomes free of all sins. These provi-

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293. कृच्छ्रोऽयुतं च गायत्र्या उदवासस्तथैव च । धेनुप्रदानं विप्राय सममेतच्चतुष्टयम् । तिलहोमसहस्रं तु वेदपारायणमेव च । विप्रा द्वादश वा भोज्याः पावकेष्टिस्तथैव च । अन्यानि वा पवित्राणि समान्याहुर्मनीषिणः । चतुर्विंशतिमत q. by परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 47 and also p. 196 (with some variations), प्रा. मयूख p. 26. The मिता. on या. III. 326, प्रा. सार p. 204 ascribe the first verse to पराशर and the latter reads उपवासः for उदवासः. There are similar verses in the षट्त्रिंशन्मत also (vide प्रा. सार p. 204).

294. प्राजापत्ये तु गामेकां दद्यात्सान्तपने द्वयम् । पराकतप्तातिकृच्छ्रे तिस्रस्तिस्रस्तु गास्तथा ॥ अष्टौ चान्द्रायणे देयाः प्रत्याम्नायविधौ सदा । यथा विभवसारेण दानं कुर्याद्विशुद्धये । चतुर्विंशतिमत q. by परा. मा. II part 2 p 200, अपरार्क p. 1248, प्रा. सार p. 204 (first verse).

295. न च महापातकमनुक्तनिष्कृतिकं सम्भवति कस्मादुक्तनिष्कृतिकेऽपि प्राजापत्यादयो योजनीयाः । तत्र द्वादशवार्षिकव्रते द्वादश द्वादश दिनान्येकैकं प्राजापत्यं परिकल्प्य गण्यमाने प्राजापत्यानां षष्ठ्यधिकशतत्रयं द्वादशवार्षिके वैकल्पिकमनुष्ठेयं भवति । तदशक्तौ तावत्यो वा धेनवो दातव्याः । तदसम्भवे निष्काणां षष्ठ्यधिकशतत्रयं दातव्यम् । तथा स्मृत्यन्तरम् । प्राजापत्य ...मूल्यार्धमपि निष्कं वा तदर्धं शक्त्यपेक्षया । गवामभावे निष्कः स्यात्तदर्धं पाद एव वा इति स्मरणात् । मिता. on या. III. 326. The प्रा. प्रकाश says 'सुवर्णचतुष्टयसमतोलितं रूप्यं निष्क इत्यर्थः' (folio 62 b). This is the view of the Prāyaścitta-muktāvalī (folio 17 a) which remarks, 'तथा च धरण-पुराण-कार्षापणसंज्ञा अन्योन्यं पर्यायाः भासन्ते'.

sions are maintained in almost all medieval works such as the Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 149, 155, Prāyaścittasāra p. 203, Pr. T. pp. 517, 541, Pr. Mayūkha p. 18 &c. The same method is followed in penances for lesser periods. It is due to this provision in the smṛtis that in modern times men, when on death-bed, perform prāyaścittas for all their sins by donating a cow or more or by monetary presents to priests.[295a]

Some interesting sidelights are thrown on the prices of milch cows, cows and bulls by the medieval writers. The Pr. V. (p. 199) states that the price of a milch cow (*payasvinī*) was 3 purāṇas, that of an ordinary cow (*go*) one purāṇa and that of a bull was five purāṇas. The Pr. T. (pp. 517–18) quotes Kātyāyana to the effect that the price of a cow (*go*) is 32 *paṇas* and that of a male calf one purāṇa, that a *paṇa* is copper weighing 80 *raktikās* or equal to 80 *varāṭakas* (*cowries*), that 16 paṇas were equal to one purāṇa (following Bhaviṣya and Matsya purāṇas), that by niṣka is not meant the one indicated by Manu (VIII. 137) but a dīnāraniṣka i. e. gold weighing 32 raktikās. The Prāyaścittenduśekhara p. 7 follows Yāj. I.365 and holds that niṣka is silver equal (in weight) to four *suvarṇas* or a *pala*. A raktikā weighs on an average 1·8 grains; so a copper paṇa of 80 raktikās would weigh about 144 grains. Therefore a *dhenu* was equal to 32 paṇas (or two purāṇas) i. e. about 26 *tolas* of copper (one *tola* being taken as equal to 180 grains). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp.120–121 notes 161 and 162 for information about ancient coins and their weights. There appears to be owing to lapse of centuries some difference in the views of several writers. According to Vijñāneśvara four *suvarṇas* are equal to a silver niṣka. According to the Līlāvatī 20 varāṭakas are equal to a kākiṇī, 4 kākiṇīs are equal to a paṇa and a niṣka is equal to 256 paṇas.

295a. There was a parallel to this method of pratyāmnāya in Europe as remarked by Gibbon 'A year of penance was appreciated at 26 *solidi* of silver, about four pounds sterling, for the rich, at 3 *solidi* or nine shillings for the indigent; and these alms were soon appropriated to the Church which derived from the redemption of sins an inexhaustible source of opulence and dominion' Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. VII, p. 187 (Smith's ed. of 1862).

CHAPTER V

NAMES OF ALL PRĀYAŚCITTAS

Now all the prāyaścittas mentioned in the smṛtis and digests will be arranged in alphabetical order (Sanskrit, transliterated into English), excepting mere hymns, fasts, &c. and brief explanations and references will be added to each.

AGHAMARṢAṆA—(The hymn Ṛg. X.190.1–3).

This is prescribed as a penance for all sins by even the most ancient Dharmaśāstra works such as Gaut. 24.11, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 2.19–20, Vas. 26.8, Manu XI.259–260, Yāj. III.301, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55.7, Śaṅkha 18.1–2 and others. They prescribe that if a man recites (for three days, according to Haradatta) the Aghamarṣaṇa hymn thrice in the day while immersed in water for a bath, he is freed from all sins and that this penance is equal in sanctification to the bath at the end of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. The Pr. Sāra p. 199 speaks of the Aghamarṣaṇa-vrata. He has to fast for three days and stand up by day and sit up by night and donate a milch cow at the end. Śaṅkha 18.1–2 and Viṣṇu Dh. S.46.1–9 prescribe the details.

ATIKṚCCHRA—Vide under Kṛcchra. Manu XI. 213 prescribes that this penance is constituted by eating only one morsel of food for three days in the morning only, for three days in the evening only, for three days eating one morsel got without asking for it and observing a complete fast for the next three days. Yāj. III.319, on the other hand, prescribes the eating of just as much food as would fill the hand (and not merely one morsel). The Mit., Pr. Sāra (p. 176) and others state that the rule of Manu applies to those who are able to undergo it, while that of Yāj. is meant for those who are unable (*aśakta*). The Sāmavidhāna Br. I.2.6–7, Gaut. 26.18–19, Viṣṇu Dh. S.54.30, Laugākṣigṛhya V.12–13, Parāśara XI.54–55, Vas. 24.1–2, Baud. Dh. S. IV.5.8 also speak of this. Manu XI.208 (= Viṣṇu 54.30) prescribes this penance for striking a brāhmaṇa with a weapon or a cudgel. Gaut. 26.22 states that this penance purifies a man of all sins except the *mahāpātakas*.

ATISANTAPANA—See under Mahā-sāntapana. This is variously defined. According to the Agnipurāṇa 171.10 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.21 it lasts for 18 days (3 times of the Mahā-sāntapana in which for six days one has to subsist on cow's urine and five

other things). The Mit. on Yāj. III. 315 quotes a verse of Yama according to which this penance lasts for 12 days.[296] The Pr. M. (p. 23) speaks of it as lasting for 15 days.

ARDHAKṚCCHRA—See under Kṛcchra. According to the Āpastamba-smṛti 9.43–44. this is constituted by taking food only once in the day for one day, only once in the evening for one day, taking food for two days without asking for it and completely fasting for two days[297] (in all six days). The Mit. quotes another variety of it, viz. subsisting for three days on food obtained without asking for it and thereafter observing a complete fast for three days.

AŚVAMEDHĀVABHṚTHASNĀNA— the ceremonial bath in the sea or a holy river at the end of an Aśvamedha sacrifice. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 36 (last verse) prescribes for those guilty of mahāpātakas and anupātakas the Aśvamedha sacrifice. It is only an emperor or a crowned king who is entitled to perform an Aśvamedha, at the end of which comes a ceremonial bath. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1228–1236 for a description of the Aśvamedha. According to Pr. V. p. 65 only a kṣatriya could perform Aśvamedha and so this bath was a penance for him alone. But according to Kullūka (on Manu XI. 92) and Pr. T. (both quoting a verse from Bhaviṣya-purāṇa) even a brāhmaṇa could participate in the bath at the end of the Aśvamedha and become free from the sin of brāhmaṇa murder if committed unintentionally.[298]

ĀGNEYA KṚCCHRA—According to the Agnipurāṇa and Viṣṇudharmottara if a man subsists for twelve days on sesame alone that is *āgneya* Kṛcchra.[299] Vide also Pr. Pr. (folio 48 b.)

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296. यदा तु षण्णां सान्तपनद्रव्याणामेकैकस्य द्व्यहमुपयोगस्तदाऽतिसान्तपनम्। यथाह यमः। एतान्येव तथा पेयान्येकैकं तु द्व्यहं द्व्यहम्। अतिसान्तपनं नाम श्वपाकमपि शोधयेत्॥ इति। मिता. on या. III. 315, प्राय. सा. p. 191, अपरार्क p. 1234 (reads द्व्यहं त्र्यहम्).

297. सायंप्रातस्तथैवैकं दिनद्वयमयाचितम्। दिनद्वयं च नाश्नीयात्कृच्छ्रार्धं तद्विधीयते॥ आपस्तम्बस्मृति 9 43–44 q. by मिता. on या. III. 318, मा. वि. p. 509, परा. मा. II part 2 p. 173, प्राय. सा. p. 172.

298. अश्वमेधप्रायश्चित्तं तु राज्ञ एव तत्र तस्यैवाधिकारात्। ...अश्वमेधावभृथस्नाने विप्रस्याप्यधिकारः। तथा च कल्पतरुधृतं भविष्यपुराणम्। यदा तु गुणवान् विप्रो हन्याद्विप्रं तु निर्गुणम्। अकामतस्तदा गच्छेत्स्नानं चैवाश्वमेधिकम्। तत्राश्वमेधावभृथस्नानं क्षत्रियविषयमिति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकोक्तं हेयम्। प्राय. तत्त्व p. 544. Vide प्राय. वि. p. 65 for the opinion referred to.

299. तिलैर्द्वादशरात्रेण कृच्छ्रमाग्नेयमार्तिहृत्। अग्निपुराण 171. 14; विष्णुधर्मोत्तर q. in प्रा. प्रकाश folio 48b (reads ० मपनुद्यते).

ṚSICANDRĀYAṆA—According to Bṛhad-Viṣṇu quoted by Pr. Prakaraṇa p. 132 this penance requires that one should take only three mouthfuls of sacrificial food every day for a month.[300]

EKABHAKTA—According to Pr. Pr. (folio 48a) if one takes for a month only one meal a day it is ekabhaktaka.[301]

KṚCCHRA—This is the general word for several penances. The Sāma. Br. (I.2 1) starts[302] by saying 'we shall now expound three kṛcchras' and adds that one should eat sacrificial food for three days only by day and eat nothing at night, then for three days more one should eat at night only, then for three more days one should not beg or ask for food from others and should then observe a complete fast for three days. If he is in a hurry to purify himself he should pass the day standing and the night in a sitting posture. Gaut. (26.2–16) describes the procedure of the first Kṛcchra (called Prājāpatya by later writers), then Atikṛcchra (26.18–19), and then Kṛcchrātikṛcchra (26.20). Baud. Dh. S. (II.1.91) speaks of Parāka as Kṛcchra. Āp. Dh. S. (I.9.27.7) describes the Kṛcchra penance of twelve days. The Kṛcchra penance described by Gaut. 26.2–16 is one for twelve days and is called Prājāpatya by Manu (XI.211), Śaṅkha (18.3), Yāj. III 319 and others. Laugākṣi Gṛ. (5.3–11) describes Kṛcchra. According to the Par.[303] M. (II. part 1 p. 30) and Pr. Pr, (folio 64a) the word Kṛcchra without any qualifying epithet (*upapada*) means Prājāpatya. The Pr. T. (p. 481) states that the Kṛcchra described by Gaut. (26.1–5) is given the name of Prājāpatya by Manu (XI. 211). Besides the rules about the intake of food, Gaut. prescribes certain other observances viz. speaking the truth, not holding conversation with

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300. तथा बृहद्विष्णुः । त्रींस्त्रीन् पिण्डान् समश्नीयान्नियतात्मा दृढव्रतः । हविष्यान्नस्य वै मासमृषिचान्द्रायणं चरन् । प्राय. प्रक. p. 132. This verse is quoted as Yama's by Pr. V. p. 520, Pr. T. p. 544, प्राय. सा. p. 196 (reads ग्रासान् for पिण्डान्).

301. एकभक्तेन मासेन कथितं चैकभक्तकम् । नक्तकृच्छ्रं तु नक्तेन महत्संवत्सराञ्चरेत् । प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 48 a).

302. प्रातराशान् भुक्त्वा तिस्रो रात्रीर्नाश्नीयात् । अथापरं त्र्यहं नक्तं भुञ्जीताथापरं त्र्यहं न कञ्चन याचेदथापरं त्र्यहमुपवसेत् तिष्ठेदहनि रात्रावासीत क्षिप्रकामः । साम. ब्रा. I. 2. 1–4. गौ. (26. 1–6) is word for word the same except that Gaut. omits the word क्षिप्र in the first sūtra. अथातस्त्रीन् कृच्छ्रान् व्याख्यास्यामः । हविष्यान् त्र्यहमनक्ताश्यदिवाशी ततस्त्र्यहं त्र्यहमयाचितव्रतस्त्र्यहं नाश्नाति किंचनेति कृच्छ्रद्वादशरात्रस्य विधिः । आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 27. 7.

303. स्मृतिशास्त्रेषु निरुपपदस्य कृच्छ्रशब्दस्य प्राजापत्य एव प्राचुर्येण प्रयोगात् कृच्छ्रमिति प्राजापत्यमिति केवलस्मरणाच्च । परा. मा. II part 1, p. 30.

men and women that are *anāryas* (not of the three higher **castes), always singing the** *sāmans* called 'Raurava' and '**Yaudhājapa**', **bathing thrice** in the day in the morning, the noon and the night, then performing mārjana[304] (sprinkling of of water) with the three verses beginning with 'Āpo hi sthā' (Ṛg. X.9.1-3), with the mantras called 'pavitravatī' viz. those beginning with 'pavamānaḥ suvarjanaḥ' (Tai. Br. I 4.8.1) and the eight verses beginning with 'Hiraṇyavarṇāḥ' (in Tai. S. V. 6.1), he should perform *tarpaṇa* with water with 13 *mantras* (Gaut. 26.12); he performs the worship of Āditya (the sun) with the same mantra (i. e. after *tarpaṇa* with the 13 mantras, he is to perform the worship of the sun with the same thirteen mantras) and offers oblations of clarified butter with the same 13 mantras and then on the 13th day he cooks boiled rice and offers oblations into ordinary Agni ('svāhā' added at the end of each, such as 'agnaye svāhā), Soma, Agni and Soma, Indra and Agni, Indra, Viśve devāḥ, Brahman, Prajāpati and Agni Śviṣṭakṛt and then feeds the brāhmaṇas.

Kṛcchra-saṁvatsara—Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.27.8 speaks of this as a penance in which Kṛcchras are undergone continuously in a cycle for one year.

Kṛcchrātikṛcchra—Gaut. 26.20 and Sāma. Br. I. 2. 8, Vas. 24.3 define it as a kṛcchra where only water is drunk on those days on which food is allowed and Gaut. 26.23 and Sāma. Br. I. 2. 9 state that this penance frees a man from all sins.[305] Yāj. III. 320 (= Devala 86, first half) and Brahmapurāṇa q. by Pr. Pr. (folio 40 a) prescribe that in this one has to subsist on water alone for 21 days. This difference between the views of Yāj. on the one hand and of Gaut. on the other is reconciled by the digests by saying that the period depends on the capacity of the sinner. According to Pr. Pr. (folio 46b) and Aparārka p. 1238, Yama prescribed a kṛcchrātikṛcchra for 24 days.[306] Vide Par.

304. For *mārjana* vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp 317, 812 n and for *tarpaṇa* the same vol. pp. 668-9, 689-695. Raurava Sāman is sung on the ṛk 'punānaḥ soma dhārayā' (Ṛg. IX. 107.4 = Sāmaveda Nos. 511 and 675) and Yaudhājapa on 'Duhāna ūdhar' (Ṛg. IX. 107.5 = Sāmaveda No. 676).

305. अब्भक्षस्तृतीयः स कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रः । ..तृतीयं चरित्वा सर्वस्मादेनसो मुच्यते । गौ. 26, 20, 23; कृच्छ्रोऽब्भक्षः स कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रः । वसिष्ठ 24, 3.

306. चतुर्विंशतिरात्रं तु नियतात्मा जितेन्द्रियः । कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रं कुर्वीत एकस्थाने द्विजोत्तमः ॥ यम q. by अपरार्क p. 1238, मद. पा. p. 716; महार्णव folio 182 explains; पूर्वोक्तद्वादशाहसाध्यातिकृच्छ्रद्वयेन एकः कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रो भवतीत्यर्थः ।

M. II part 1 p. 179 and Madanapārijāta p. 716. According to Manu XI. 208 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54.30) when a person strikes a brāhmaṇa with a weapon and draws blood, he has to undergo this penance. The Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 15) states that for those unable to undergo Kṛcchra, one milch cow is a substitute, for Atikṛcchra two milch cows and for Kṛcchrātikṛcchra four.

GOMŪTRA-KṚCCHRA—The Pr. Sāra p. 187 quotes a verse about this: one should make a cow eat to satiety grains of wheat mixed with barley and then may collect the yava grains that are to be found in her dung and then drink the gruel of those yavas cooked in cow's urine.[307]

GOVRATA— Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 132) quoting the Mārkaṇḍeya describes this as follows: One should bathe with cow's urine, should subsist on cow-dung, should always stand among cows, should sit down on cowdung, should drink water only when cows have drunk water; one should not eat when they have not eaten, should stand up when they stand, should sit down when they sit down. This should be continued for a month.

CĀNDRĀYAṆA—The word is derived in this way. That rite, where there is action by means of increase and decrease (in the intake of food) in imitation of the course of the phases of the moon, is cāndrāyaṇa.[308] The word occurs in Pāṇ. V. 1. 72 (pārāyaṇa-turāyaṇa-cāndrāyaṇaṁ vartayati). From very ancient times Cāndrāyaṇa has been divided into two varieties, called Yavamadhya[309] (lit. being large in the middle like a grain of *yava*, and therefore tapering or thin at the ends) and Pipīlikāmadhya (lit. having a middle like that of an ant, that is, slender in the middle and large at the ends). Baud. Dh. S. III. 8. 33 names these two varieties. According to Jābāli[310] there are five

307. आ तृप्तेश्चारयित्वा गां गोधूमान्यवमिश्रितान्। तान् गोमयोत्थान् संगृह्य पिबेद्गोमूत्रयावकम्॥ q. by प्राय. सा. p. 187. This is quoted as from यमयाज्ञवल्क्य by महार्णव folio 185a (which reads पचेत् for पिबेत्.)

308. चन्द्रस्यायनमिवायनं चरणं यस्मिन् कर्मणि ह्रासवृद्धिभ्यां तच्चान्द्रायणम्। संज्ञायां दीर्घः। मिता. on या III. 323. These very words are quoted in प्राय. सार (p. 192), प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 50b) and other works. The word should be चन्द्रायण, but being a technical term the first syllable is lengthened.

309. तदेतच्चान्द्रायणं पिपीलिकामध्यं विपरीतं यवमध्यम्। बौ. ध. III. 8. 33. 'यववत् प्रान्तयोरणीयो मध्ये च स्थवीय इति' प्राय. सा. p. 192. पिपीलिकावन्मध्ये कृशिष्ठं भवतीति पिपीलिकामध्यमिति कथ्यते मिता. on या. III. 323.

310. पिपीलिकायवमध्यं च यतिचान्द्रायणं तथा। चान्द्रायणं तथा ज्ञेयं चतुर्थं सर्वतोमुखम्॥ पञ्चमं शिशुसंज्ञं च कृच्छ्रमुन्यकृतोद्भवम्। जाबालि q. by दीपकलिका on या. 325, प्राय. वि. p. 517.

varieties of Cāndrāyaṇa viz. *Yavamadhya, Pipīlikāmadhya, Yaticāndrāyaṇa, Sarvatomukha* and *Śiśucāndrāyaṇa*. These will be described later on. Yājñavalkya says (III. 326) that where no specific penance is prescribed in the smṛti texts, cāndrāyaṇa effects purification and cāndrāyaṇa may be undergone not as a penance but for the purpose of accumulating merit and that in the latter case (when performed for a year) the performer enjoys the happiness of going to the world of the moon after death.[311] Manu XI. 221 and Gaut. 27.18 state the same view about cāndrāyaṇa for accumulating merit. When the *vrata* of cāndrāyaṇa is performed for the sake of merit, there is no tonsure (vide Gaut. 27.3 '*vapanam vratam caret*' and Haradatta thereon). Gaut. 19.20 (= Vas. 22. 20) prescribes that Kṛcchra, Atikṛcchra and Cāndrāyaṇa are the same penance for all sins (collectively for grave sins, for lesser ones separately, according to Haradatta and others). Compare Manu V. 21 and XI. 215 (= Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5. 16). Manu XI. 27, Yāj. III. 323, Vas. 27.21, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5.18 and others define Cāndrāyaṇa (of the Yavamadhya type) as follows: On the first day of the bright half of a month only one morsel of food (*grāsa* or *piṇḍa*) is taken, on the second *tithi* two and so on; on the full moon (Paurṇamāsī) 15 morsels are taken; then on the first of the dark half 14 morsels, one being reduced on each succeeding day. So on the 14th of the dark half only one morsel is eaten and on the Amāvāsyā there is a complete fast. Here in the middle of the month of thirty days the largest number of morsels is taken (and so this is Yavamadhya) just as on the Paurṇamāsī day the moon becomes full and begins to wane from the next day. Here Paurṇamāsī is in the middle of the period of the observance as Viṣṇu Dh. S. 47.6 says. If one begins the *vrata* on the first *tithi* of the dark half, he reduces one morsel on the 1st i. e. takes 14 morsels on that day, 13 on the 2nd tithi of the dark half and so on. On the 14th of the dark half he eats one morsel and on the amāvāsyā he eats nothing. Then on the 1st of the bright half he takes one morsel and goes on increasing the intake till on the Paurṇamāsī he takes 15 morsels. The month is taken in this latter case to be Pūrṇimānta. Here in the middle of the observance there is no food taken and a large number of morsels is taken at the beginning and at the end. So this is called Pipīlikāmadhya. This latter is described by Vas. 23.45

311. अनादिष्टेषु पापेषु शुद्धिश्चान्द्रायणेन तु । धर्मार्थं यश्चरेदेतच्चन्द्रस्यैति सलोकताम् ॥ या. III. 326; संवत्सरं चाप्त्वा चन्द्रमसः सलोकतामाप्नोति । गौ. 27. 18.

and Manu XI. 216. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 47.5–6 say: Yasyāmamāvāsyā madhye bhavati sa pipīlikā-madhyaḥ yasya paurṇamāsī sa yavamadhyaḥ. If there are 14 or 16 tithis in any particular pakṣa (half of a month) then the number of *grāsas* must be regulated accordingly. There are other descriptions of cāndrāyaṇa. Vide Haradatta on Gaut. 27.12–15. The Kalpataru appears to have held (explaining two verses of Jābāla) that on the first of the dark half of a month 15 morsels were taken, then one morsel less was taken on each succeeding tithi; so that on amāvāsyā one morsel was eaten, then on the first of the bright half two morsels were eaten and one morsel was added every day so that on the 14th of the bright half fifteen morsels were taken and there was a complete fast on Paurṇamāsī. But this seems to be opposed to the very idea of increase and decrease of the intake of food on the analogy of the waxing and waning of the Moon and to several smṛti texts such as Vas. 23.45 and Parāśara X. 2. Therefore the Pr. Prakāśa (folio 58b) finds fault with it.[311a] Cāndrāyaṇa may be divided from another point of view into two varieties: (1) *MUKHYA* (in the primary sense, viz. following exactly the waxing and waning of the moon) and *GAUṆA* (having a secondary or metaphorical sense). The former is either *yavamadhya* or *pipīlikā-tanu-madhya*), while the latter is of four kinds, viz. sāmānya, ṛṣi-cāndrāyaṇa, śiśucāndrāyaṇa and yaticāndrāyaṇa. The last two will be described later. The Sāmānya (or sarvatomukha) consists in eating only 240 morsels of sacrificial food in a month of 30 days, distributing them according to one's choice (not necessarily in imitation of the phases of the moon) as stated by Manu XI.220, Baud. IV. 5.21, Yāj. III. 324 and the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 324), the Madana-pārijāta and other works. Here the penance, though it is not regulated by the phases of the moon, is called Cāndrāyaṇa for the purpose of prescribing the same procedure and observances in it as in the Cāndrāyaṇa which follows the phases of the moon. Here the Mīmāṃsā rule of Kuṇḍapāyinām-ayana applies.[312] From the words of Gautama

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311a. अत्र कल्पतरुव्याख्यानम्। एकैकं ह्रासयेद् ग्रासमिति कृष्णप्रतिपदि पञ्चदशग्रासानारभ्य एकैकापचयेनामावास्यायामेको ग्रासः। तदनन्तरं प्रतिपदि द्वौ ग्रासौ एवं वृद्धिक्रमेण चतुर्दश्यां पञ्चदशग्रासाः संपद्यन्ते पौर्णमास्यां चोपवास इति पिपीलिकातनुमध्यं चान्द्रायणम्। प्राय. वि. p. 519.

312. अथापरं क्रमः। दिने दिनेऽष्टौ ग्रासान् भुञ्जीत, अथवा नक्तं चतुरो दिवा चतुर इति। अथैकस्मिन्दिने चतुरोऽपरस्मिन् द्वादश तथैकरात्रमुपोष्यापरस्मिन् षोडश। चतुः दिन-ध्वयमुपोष्य तृतीयदिने द्वात्रिंशदित्याद्यनियमकारतया मध्ये स्वरूपयोगरूपया भुञ्जीतेति। अत्र तिर्यग्योगपा

(*Continued on the next page*)

27.12–15 it appears that he envisaged a cāndrāyaṇa of 32 days (pipīlikāmadhya) or 31 days, when he says that the performer should fast on the 14th of the bright half, eat fifteen morsels on the Full Moon day, then reduce it by one morsel, so that there is a total fast on the amāvāsyā and then on the first of the bright half one morsel is taken until on the full moon 15 morsels are taken. Thus from the 14th of the bright half (when there is a complete fast) to the full moon of the succeeding month there are in all 32 days and the penance is of the pipīlikā-madhya type.

As regards the size of the morsels, different views are expressed. Gaut. 27.10 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 47.2 prescribe that the size of a morsel shall be such as not to cause a distortion of the mouth (while swallowing it). Yāj. III. 323 allows that the morsels may be as large as the egg of a peahen, and Parāśara X.3[313] prescribes the size of a hen's egg and Saṅkha that of an undried *āmalaka* fruit (*myrobalan*). The Mit. explains that Gautama's words apply to boys and young people and that the other sizes confer an option according to the capacity (śakti) of the man undergoing penance. The procedure of cāndrāyaṇa is described in Gaut. 27.2–11, Baud. III.8, Manu XI.221–225, Vṛddha-gautama chap. 16 and other works. The one given by Gautama, being probably the oldest among Dharmaśāstra works, is here set out.

The general rules prescribed for the Kṛcchra penance in Gaut. 26.6–11 are applicable to Cāndrāyaṇa also. If it is performed as a penance the performer must tonsure his hair and observe a fast on the day preceding the Full Moon. He offers libations of water, oblations of clarified butter, consecrates the sacrificial food and worships the moon, reciting 'āpyāyasva' (Ṛg. I. 91. 17), 'san te payāṁsi' (Ṛg. I. 91. 18). He shall offer clarified butter, reciting the four (ṛks) beginning with 'yad devā devaheḍanam' (Vāj. S. 20.14 or Tai. Br. II. 6. 6.1). These

(*Continued from the last page*)

मासनियमो नास्ति उपक्रमस्तु शुक्लकृष्णप्रतिपदोरन्यतरत्र एव कर्तव्यः। मद. पा. p. 743; यत्र तु चत्वारिंशदधिकशतद्वयग्रासानां मासेन यथाकथंचिद्भक्षणं तत्र चान्द्रगत्यनुविधानाचरणाभावेन चान्द्रायणशब्दः कुण्डपायिनामयने अग्निहोत्रशब्दवत्तद्धर्मप्राप्त्यर्थो गौण इति। प्रा. प्रकाश folio 56b. Vide मद. पा. p. 743 for the maxim of the Agnihotra in Kuṇḍapāyināmayana and Jai. VII. 3. 1, where शबर says 'कुण्डपायिनामयने श्रूयते मासमग्निहोत्रं जुहोतीति। तत्रैतत्समधिगतं नैयमिकादग्निहोत्रात्कर्मान्तरमेतदिति। अधुना अग्निहोत्रशब्दश्चिन्त्यते।...नैयमिकस्याग्निहोत्रस्य ये धर्मास्तेऽस्मिन्ननेन नाम्नातिदिश्येरन्।'.

313. कुक्कुटाण्डप्रमाणं तु ग्रासं वै परिकल्पयेत्। पराशर. X.3; vide also प्राय. म. p.21.

four together with the preceding are seven oblations of clarified butter that have to be offered. At the end of the offering of clarified butter he shall offer pieces of sacred fuel while reciting the (eight) texts beginning with 'devakṛtasya' (Vāj. S. VIII. 13). Each mouthful must be consecrated by (mentally) reciting one of the [314] following words 'om bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ, tapaḥ truth, fame, prosperity, vigour, refreshment, strength, lustre, brightness, soul, dharma and śiva' [315]; or he may consecrate all of them at once saying 'adoration! svāhā'. The sacrificial food must be one of the following: boiled rice, food obtained by begging, ground barley, grain separated from the husk, barley gruel, vegetables, milk, sour milk, clarified butter, roots, fruits and water. Among these each succeeding one is preferable to that enumerated earlier.

JALA KṚCCHRA—See under Toyakṛcchra.

TAPTAKṚCCHRA—There is great divergence of views about this penance. Manu XI. 214, Vas. 21.21, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46. 11, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5.10, Śaṅkha-smṛti 18.4, Agnipurāṇa 171. 6–7, Atri verses 122–123, Parāśara IV. 7 speak of it as of 12 days' duration comprising four periods of three days each. In this one drinks hot water, hot milk, hot ghee for three days each and then for three days there is a complete fast when he inhales hot vapour or atmosphere (acc. to Manu XI. 214). Manu adds that the performer has to bathe only once (and not thrice as in some other penances) and that he should practise self-control. Yāj. III. 317 (= Devala 84) speaks of this as of four days' duration, viz. he takes hot milk, hot ghee and hot water for one day each and observes a total fast on the 4th day. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 317 calls this *mahātapta-kṛcchra* and also mentions a *taptakṛcchra* of two days, viz. on the first day the sinner takes all the three, viz. hot water, hot milk and hot ghee and observes a total fast on the 2nd day. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 50a) remarks that the authority for the two days' taptakṛcchra spoken

314. Haradatta says that on the days when the performer eats less than fifteen morsels, the counting is to be from the beginning and the later mentioned texts must be left out and that, while eating, the performer must employ the Prāṇāhuti mantras, viz. 'prāṇāya svāhā, apānāya svāhā' etc.

315. The words of the Mantras are 'ओं भूर्भुवः स्वस्तपः सत्यं यशः श्रीरूर्गिडौज-स्तेजो वर्चः पुरुषो धर्मः शिव इत्येतैर्ग्रासानुमन्त्रणं प्रतिमन्त्रं मनसा । नमः स्वाहेति वा सर्वान् । गौ. 27. 8–9; some MSS omit वर्चः .

of by the Mit. has to be found out. The Pr. Prakāśa refers to a tapta-kṛcchra for 21 days. It may be said, as done by the Pr. Prakāśa, that the penance of *tapta-kṛcchra* for twelve days is meant for great sins and that the one for four days is meant for lesser sins. The quantity of water, milk and ghee, that was to be taken is laid down by Parāśara [316] IV. 8, Atri 123–124 and Brahmapurāṇa (q. by Pr. V. p. 511) viz. that hot water, hot milk and hot ghee should be six *palas*, three *palas* and one *pala* respectively. The Brahmapurāṇa adds that water, milk and ghee are to be taken respectively in the evening, morning and noon.

TULĀPURUṢA KṚCCHRA—Jābāli speaks [317] of the duration of this penance as eight days; Śaṅkha (18.9–10) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.22 describe one of ten days where oil-cake, the foamy scum of cooked rice, butter-milk, water and barley meal are to be eaten, each respectively on one day, followed by a fast on the next day. Yāj. III. 322 (= Atri verses 129–130) describes one of 15 days where the above five ingredients are eaten for three days each. Yama on the other hand speaks of Tulāpuruṣa for 21 days, when the five things are separately eaten for three days (vide Mit. on Yāj. III. 322). Aparārka pp. 1239–1241, Par. M. II. part 2 pp. 184–189, Madanapārijāta pp. 718–727, Pr. Sāra pp. 179–181 set out at length the mode of the performance of Tulāpuruṣa as a penance. In this penance two images of the performer made of fragrant *uśīra* grass were to be prepared and placed in the pan of a balance a span high made either of gold or silver or sandalwood and were to be weighed against pebbles and placed in another pan and worship was to be offered to Mahādeva and Umā and many other subordinate deities such as Agni, Vāyu, the sun.

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316. षट्पलं तु पिबेदम्भस्त्रिपलं तु पयः पिबेत्। पलमेकं पिबेत्सर्पिस्तप्तकृच्छ्रं विधीयते॥ पराशर IV. 8 (B. S. series) vol. II part 1 p. 26. It may be noted that the Mit. on Yāj. III 317, the Pr. Sāra p. 136 read पराशर's verse as 'अपां पिबेत्तु त्रिपलं द्विपलं तु पयः पिबेत्। पलमेकं पिबेत्सर्पिस्त्रिरात्रं चोष्णमारुतम्॥' and that the Mit. explains 'त्रिरात्रमारुतस्य पूरणे उष्णोदकबाष्पं पिबेदित्यर्थः'। The मद. पा. pp. 735–736 contains both these verses and ascribes both to पराशर. According to Yāj. I. 363–64 a pala is equal to 4 or 5 suvarṇas and a suvarṇa is equal to 80 kṛṣṇalas (guñjas) in weight.

317. तत्र जाबालिः। पिण्याकं च यथाचामं तक्रं चोदकसक्तवः। त्रिरात्रमुपवासश्च तुलापुरुष उच्यते॥ q. by प्रा. सार p. 178, परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 183.

TOYA-KṚCCHRA—This is also called Varuṇa-kṛcchra by Yama (q. in Pr. Prakāśa, folio 48 a) and by Śaṅkha (q. in Pr. Sāra p. 182). Viṣṇu Dh. S. (46. 14) states [318] that subsisting on nothing but ground barley mixed with water for one month is called *Udakakṛcchra*. Since Varuṇa was regarded as the lord of waters even from the times of the Ṛgveda (e. g. in Ṛg. VII. 49. 3) and to mark the truth and falsehood among men, this Toya-kṛcchra was called Vāruṇa. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 47 b)[319] quotes Jābāla to the effect 'If a sinner remains immersed in water for a whole day and night without taking food and recites mantras (addressed to Varuṇa) he removes by the *jalakṛcchra* the sins which he may have committed for a year'. According to Yājñavalkya (q. in Pr. Sāra p. 187) this penance consists in observing a fast for a day and night standing up the whole day and passing the night without sleep in water and reciting the next day the sacred Gāyatrī mantra 1008 times. According to Śaṅkha (q. by Madana-pārijāta p. 737) this penance is constituted either by subsisting on lotus stalks grown in water or on *saktus* boiled in water.

DADHIKṚCCHRA—This is spoken of by the Pr. Prakāśa quoting from the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa as a penance in which the sinner subsists on curds alone for a month.[320]

DEVAKṚCCHRA—Yama quoted by Par. M. (II. part 2 pp. 191–192) describes this as follows [321]: One should partake

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318. उदकसक्तूनां मासाभ्यवहारेणोदककृच्छ्रः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46. 14; 'बिसान्युदकसिद्धानि मासमश्नीत संयतः । सक्तून्वा सोदकान्मासं कृच्छ्रो वारुण उच्यते ॥' शङ्ख q. by बालम्भट्टी on या. III. 318, प्रा. सार. pp. 186-87.

319. अनश्नञ्जलमध्यस्थस्त्वहोरात्रं जपन्बुधः । संवत्सरकृतं पापं जलकृच्छ्रे व्यपोहति ॥ जाबाल q. by प्रा. सार p. 187, प्रा. प्रकाश folio 47 b, where it is said जपश्च वारुणमन्त्राणाम्; as to योगियाज्ञवल्क्य 'वायुभक्षो दिवा तिष्ठेद्रात्रिं नीत्वाप्सु सूर्यदृक् । सहस्राष्टाधिकं जप्त्वा गायत्रीं जलसंज्ञकः ॥', vide द्वितीयेऽह्नि सूर्ये दृष्ट्वाष्टोत्तरसहस्रगायत्रीजपं कृत्वा पारणं कुर्यादिति । प्रा. सार p. 187. This is q. by प्रा. प्रकाश folio 47 b. The first half is या. III. 311.

320. विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । दध्ना क्षीरेण तक्रेण पिण्याकाचामकैस्तथा । शाकैर्मासं तु कार्याणि स्वनामानि विचक्षणैः ॥ प्रा. प्रकाश folio 48a.

321. यवागूं यावकं शाकं क्षीरं दधि घृतं तथा । त्र्यहं त्र्यहं तु प्राश्नीयाद्वायुभक्षस्त्र्यहं परम् । मरुद्भिर्वसुभी रुद्रैरादित्यैश्चरितं व्रतम् । व्रतस्यास्य प्रभावेन विरजस्का हि तेऽभवन् ॥ कृच्छ्रं देवकृतं नाम सर्वकल्मषनाशनम् । यम q. by परा. मा. II. part 2 pp. 191–192 and by प्रा. सार. pp. 183–184 (which omits the last verse मरुद्भिः). लौगाक्षिगृह्य VI. 3 reads 'यवागूं ...शाकं पयः सर्पिः कुशोदकम् । त्र्यहं...त्र्यहम् ॥'. देवपाल explains 'यवागूरपास्ततुषयवसम्पाद्या पेयमाया प्रसिद्धा यावकोऽपि तद्वत्स तु भक्तप्रायः कठिनः.'

of only rice gruel, barley gruel, vegetables, milk, curds, ghee each for a period of three days in succession and then should observe a complete fast for three days; this is called *Devakṛta* (performed by the gods) penance and destroys all sins. It was practised by the Maruts, the Vasus, Rudras, and Ādityas. By the power of this penance they became free from *rajas* (impurity). Thus this penance lasts for 21 days. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 48 b) refers to another variety of it and quotes a long prose passage on it, which is passed over here for want of space.

DHANADAKṚCCHRA—See under Vāyavya-kṛcchra. According to the Viṣṇudharmottara [322] (q. by Pr. Prakāśa) this penance consists in subsisting for a month on food just sufficient to fill the extended but hollowed palm, mixed with gold (i. e. in which gold is rubbed or boiled).

NITYOPAVĀSA KṚCCHRA—The Pr. Prakāśa (p. 48 a) states that this is constituted by a man eating only twice in the day (in the morning and evening) for six years and not drinking even water between the two meals. [323]

PAÑCAGAVYA—For the various details connected with *pañcagavya* prepared from cow's urine, dung, milk, curds and ghee, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 773–774. Pañcagavya is to be offered into fire with the mantras 'Irāvatī' (Ṛg. VII. 99.3), 'idam Viṣṇur' (Ṛg. I. 22. 17), 'mā nastoke' (Ṛg. I. 114. 8), 'Śam no devīr' (Ṛg. X. 9. 4) and then the remainder is to be drunk. It is to be drunk with the middle of a sprig of three Palāśa leaves or with a lotus leaf. Manu. XI. 165 (= Agnipurāṇa 169. 30) prescribes this drinking of pañcagavya as the penance for petty thefts. Similarly, Yāj. III. 263 prescribes that one guilty of killing a cow should drink *pañcagavya* for a month. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 263 quotes Viṣṇu to the effect that one who kills a cow should perform one of three penances, viz. drinking three *palas* of pañcagavya every day for one month or undergoing the penance of Parāka or Cāndrāyaṇa. [324] Though Viṣṇu 54. 7 and Atri (verse 300) state that a brāhmaṇa

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322. प्राजमसृतिमप्येकां कनकेन समन्विताम्। भुञ्जानस्य तथा मासं कृच्छ्रं धनददैवतम्॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर q. by प्रा. प्रकाश folio 48 b.

323. सायं प्रातश्च भुञ्जानो नरो यो नान्तरा पिबेत्। षड्भिर्वर्षैरिदं प्रोक्तं कृच्छ्रं नित्योपवासिता॥ प्रा. प्रकाश p. 48a.

324. गोघ्नस्य पञ्चगव्येन मासमेकं पलत्रयम्। प्रत्यहं स्यात्पराको वा चान्द्रायणमथापि वा॥ विष्णु q. by मिता. on या. III. 263 and परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 243 (which reads मासमेकं निरन्तरम्। प्राजापत्यं पराको वा).

drinking *surā* and a śūdra drinking pañcagavya both went to hell (Mahāraurava, according to Viṣṇu), yet Devala (verse 61) and Parāśara XI. 3 and 27 and medieval works like the Pr. M. (p. 13) and Śūdrakamalākara (p. 42) allowed śūdras to take pañcagavya without Vedic *mantras*. And women of all varṇas, being treated like śūdras for certain purposes, were also allowed optionally to do the same.

PATRAKṚCCHRA—Vide Parṇa-kūrca below.

PARĀKA—Manu XI. 215 (= Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5.16), Yāj. III. 320 (= Śaṅkha 18.5 = Atri 128), Agnipurāṇa 171, 10, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46. 18 and Bṛ.[325] prescribe that this penance is constituted by not taking any food for twelve days, while the performer controls his senses and remains vigilant, and that this penance removes all sins.

PARṆAKŪRCA—This is a more severe type of patrakṛcchra. Yāj. III. 316 (= Devala 83) and Śaṅkha-Likhita[326] define Parṇakṛcchra as one where the leaves of palāśa, udumbara, lotus, and bilva are boiled separately on each day in succession and the decoction of each is drunk on each day separately and then water in which *kuśas* have been dipped is drunk. Thus parṇakṛcchra is a penance of five days. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 316 quotes a verse of Yama to the effect that when a sinner fasts for three days and nights and thereafter he drinks together the decoctions of all the four and *kuśa* water on the same day then the penance is called parṇakūrca. The Par. M. (II. part 2 p. 181)[327] regards Parṇakūrca as a variety of Parṇakṛcchra. Vasiṣṭha, Jābāli and Atri (116–117) make Parṇakṛcchra a penance of six days by adding the leaves of Aśvattha to the five mentioned above. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46. 23 mentions another variety of Parṇakṛcchra for seven days.[328]

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325. जपहोमरतः कुर्याद् द्वादशाहमभोजनम्। पराक एष विख्यातः सर्वपापप्रणाशनः॥ बृह q. by प्राय. वि. p. 515.

326. शङ्खलिखितौ—पद्मबिल्वपलाशोदुम्बरकुशोदकान्येकैकमभ्यस्तानि पर्णकृच्छ्रः। मद. पा. p. 733, दीपकलिका on या. III. 317; while अपरार्क p. 1234 reads एकैकमभ्यस्तानि पर्णकृच्छ्रः समस्तान्येतानि त्रिरात्रेणोपयुक्तानि च पर्णकृच्छ्रः (० कूर्चः?) The मद. पा. p. 734 reads पर्णकूर्चः.

327. तथा वसिष्ठः। पद्मोदुम्बरपलाशबिल्वाश्वत्थकुशानामुदकं पीत्वा षड्रात्रेणत्र शुध्यति। प्रा. मक. p. 128.

328. कुशपलाशोदुम्बरपद्मशङ्खपुष्पीवटब्रह्मसुवर्चलानां पत्रैः क्वथितस्याम्भसः प्रत्येकं (प्रत्यहं?) पानेन पर्णकृच्छ्रः। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46. 23. बालम्भट्टी on या. III. 316 remarks on this 'इति विष्णुना सप्ताहसाध्य उक्तः'; मद. पा p. 733 explains 'शङ्खपुष्पी लताविशेषः। ब्रह्मसुवर्चला ब्राह्मीविशेषः'।

PARṆAKṚCCHRA—Vide Parṇakūrca above.

PĀDAKṚCCHRA—According to Yāj. III. 318 (= Devala 85) this is defined as a penance where a sinner takes food one day only once by day, only once by night, then once only (by day or night) but without asking for it from any one (a stranger, a servant or even his own wife) and observes a total fast for one day. Thus this penance lasts for four days. There was difference of view as to the number of mouthfuls to be eaten, Āpastamba (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 318) saying that the mouthfuls are respectively 22, 26 and 24 when food is taken only once in the evening or morning or without asking for it, while Parāśara states the number of mouthfuls to be 12, 15 or 24 respectively when food is taken only at night or in the morning or without asking for it. The Caturviṁśatimata (q. by Par. M. II part 2 p. 172) puts them as 12, 15 and 10 respectively.

PĀDONAKṚCCHRA—This lasts for nine days [329] only instead of the 12 days of the Prājāpatya and in it one eats by day only for three days, eats food once only for three days without asking for it from any one and observes a complete fast for three days (i. e. three days when food is eaten by night only are omitted here).

PUṢPAKṚCCHRA—According to the Agnipurāṇa 171. 12 and the Mit. on Yāj. III. 316 (quoting Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa) this penance is constituted by drinking for a month the decoction of flowers boiled in water. [330]

PRASṚTA-YĀVAKA or *PRASṚTIYĀVAKA*— Viṣṇu Dh. S. chap. 48 and Baud. Dh. S. III. 6 contain elaborate descriptions (which agree with each other in many respects almost *verbatim*) and so does Hārīta (q. by Par. M. II. part 2 pp. 192–194) who has many sūtras and verses in common with Viṣṇu and Baud. Prasṛti means the hand with all fingers stretched out, the palm being hollowed. The yavas taken out were as many as could be placed on the palm of the hand thus stretched

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329. सायं प्रातस्तथायाच्यं स्यात्पादोनं नक्तवर्जितम्। आपस्तम्बस्मृति I. 14, q. by मिता. on या. III. 318, प्राय. सार. p. 172, परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 173.

330. यथाह मार्कण्डेयः। फलैर्मासेन कथितः फलकृच्छ्रो मनीषिभिः। श्रीकृच्छ्रः श्रीफलैः प्रोक्तः पद्माक्षैरपरस्तथा। मासेनामलकैरेवं श्रीकृच्छ्रमपरं स्मृतम्। पत्रैर्मतः पत्रकृच्छ्रः पुष्पैस्तत्कृच्छ्र उच्यते। मूलकृच्छ्रः स्मृतो मूलैस्तोयकृच्छ्रो जलेन तु॥ मिता. on या. III. 316, मद. पा. p. 734. We should read क्वथितः for कथितः as मद. पा. does, which remarks 'शरीरयात्रामात्रप्रयुक्तफलानि मासं भक्षयेत् तत्र सर्वव्रतसाधारणेतिकर्तव्यतापि कर्तव्या। तानि च फलानि कानीत्याकाङ्क्षायामाह श्रीकृच्छ्रः०'.

out and hollowed. Some passages from Baud. who is probably the oldest of the three authors may be set out here.[331] "Now if a man feels his conscience heavy with bad actions committed by himself, let him boil for himself, when the stars have risen, a handful of barley and prepare gruel with that. Let him not perform (the Vaiśvadeva) offering with (a part of) that nor a *Bali*[332] offering. Let him consecrate the barley before it has been placed on fire, when it is being boiled and after it has been boiled with the following mantras 'thou art barley, the king of grains, thou art sacred to Varuṇa and mixed with honey, the sages have declared thee to be an expeller of all sins and a means of purification.' Then there are five verses more invoking the barley grains to purify the performer from all sins whether due to deeds, words, or thoughts, to destroy distress and evil fortune, to free him from the food of *gaṇas* (guilds or multitudes of men), harlots, śūdras, or food offered at śrāddhas by persons in impurity due to birth or death, food of a thief, food at navaśrāddha (i. e. on 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 11th days after death) or from dreadful mortal sins or from guilt against children and guilt due to serving in a royal court, from sin of stealing gold, sin of the violation of a *vrata* or sacrificing for an unworthy person and sin of speaking ill of brāhmaṇas. Then Baud. proceeds "while the barley is being boiled he should guard it and recite 'Adoration to Rudra, lord of created beings; pacified

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331. अथ कर्मभिरात्मकृतैर्गुरुमिवात्मानं मन्येतात्मार्थे प्रसृतयावकं श्रपयेदुदितेषु नक्षत्रेषु। न ततोऽग्नौ जुहुयात्। न चात्र बलिकर्म। अशृतं श्रप्यमाणं शृतं चाभिमन्त्रयेत। यवोसि धान्यराजोसि वारुणो मधुसंयुतः। निर्णोदः सर्वपापानां पवित्रमृषिभिः स्मृतम्॥...सर्वं पुनथ मे यवाः॥ इति। श्रप्यमाणे रक्षां कुर्यात्। नमो रुद्राय भूताधिपतये द्यौः शान्ता कृणुष्व पाजः प्रसितिं न पृथ्वीमित्येतेनानुवाकेन। ये देवाः पुरःसदोऽग्निनेत्रा रक्षोहण इति पञ्चभिः पर्यायैः। मानस्तोके ब्रह्मा देवानामिति द्वाभ्याम्। शृतं च लघ्वश्नीयात्प्रयतः पात्रे निषिच्य। ये देवा मनोजाता मनोयुजः सुदक्षा दक्षपितरस्ते नः पान्तु ते नोऽवन्तु तेभ्यो नमस्तेभ्यः स्वाहेति। आत्मनि जुहुयात् त्रिरात्रं मेधार्थी षड्रात्रं पीत्वा पापकृच्छुद्धो भवति। सप्तरात्रं पीत्वा भ्रूणहननं गुरुतल्पगमनं सुवर्णस्तैन्यं सुरापानमिति च पुनाति। एकादशरात्रं पीत्वा पूर्वपुरुषकृतमपि पापं निर्णुदति। अपि वा गोनिष्क्रान्तानां यवानामेकविंशतिरात्रं पीत्वा गणान्पश्यति गणाधिपतिं पश्यति विद्यां पश्यति विद्याधिपतिं पश्यतीत्याह भगवान् बौधायनः। बौ. ध. सू. III. 6. The verses eulogising yava (यवोसि) are Baud. III. 6. 5-10. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 48. 17-22 and Hārita (q. in Par. M. II. part, 2 p. 193) with some variations and omissions. As to the rest Hārita agrees closely with Baud. while Viṣṇu differs a good deal from Baud. as to the mantras. Viṣṇu has a verse referring to food licked by dogs and pigs and food defiled by leavings and the sin of disobeying parents, but omits two verses that occur in Baud. about *mahāpātakas*. Viṣṇu 48.6 prescribes Ṛg. IX. 96. 6 (ब्रह्मा देवानां) as the mantra to be recited at the time of guarding the grains that are being cooked.

332. For Vaiśvadeva and Bali, vide H. of Dh. II pp. 741-747.

is the sky'. He should recite the text beginning with 'Kṛṇuṣva pājaḥ' (Tai. S. I. 2. 14. 1), the five sentences beginning with 'Ye devā' (Tai. S. I. 8. 7. 1), the two texts 'mā nastoke' (Ṛg. I. 114. 8 and Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 2) and 'Brahmā devānām' (Ṛg. IX. 96.6, Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 2). "Then having sipped water he should eat a little of the boiled food after pouring it into another vessel. Let him offer it as a sacrifice to the soul reciting 'ye devā' (Tai. S. I. 2. 3. 1)."

Then Baud. prescribes: "one desirous of wisdom must perform this rite for three days and nights. A sinner who drinks it during six days becomes pure, he who drinks this during seven days becomes purified from the mahāpātakas, he who drinks during eleven days removes even the sins committed by his ancestors. But he who during 21 days drinks gruel of barley grains which have passed through a cow (i. e. cowdung) sees the *Gaṇas*, the lord of the *Gaṇas*, the goddess of learning and the lord of learning."

PRĀJĀPATYA—Vide under Kṛcchra above where it is shown that the word Kṛcchra without any qualifying epithet means Prājāpatya. Manu XI. 211, Yāj. III. 319, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46. 10, Atri 119–120, Śaṅkha 18. 3, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5. 6 mention the word Prājāpatya and define it. This Prājāpatya has several varieties. The first is that described by Manu XI. 211 and Vas. 21. 20 viz. four periods of three days each following one another in which there is respectively eating once only by day, once only by night, eating once only without asking for it and complete fast. The second is that described by Vas. 23. 43, where on the first day food is taken only by day, on the 2nd only at night, on the 3rd day food got without asking for it is taken and on the 4th a complete fast is observed and where the same process is repeated for two periods of four days each. The first [333] is called Prājāpatya by 'sthānavivṛddhi' and the 2nd is called 'Daṇḍakalita'. Further, both these are said to be made 'ānulomyena' (by the proper and straightforward order). If the sequence described above is reversed i. e. if for three days there is first a total fast, then subsisting for 3 days on food got without asking for it, then for three days eating at night only

333. अयमेव पादकृच्छ्रः यथाकथंचिद्दण्डकलितवदावृत्त्या स्वस्थानविवृद्ध्या वा, तत्राप्यानुलोम्येन प्रातिलोम्येन वा तथा वक्ष्यमाणजपादियुक्तं तद्रहितं वा त्रिरभ्यस्तः प्राजापत्योऽभिधीयते । मिता. on या. III. 319. The मद. पा. p. 710 explains 'तत्राद्यं पक्षमाह मनुः —त्र्यहं प्रातः...॥ अत्रैकभक्तादीनां स्वस्थान एवाभिवृद्धत्वात् स्वस्थानवृद्धिः'.

and for three days eating by day only, it is Prājāpatya by 'prātilomya'. Further it may be performed with recitation of Vedic texts or without (for women and śūdras).[334]

PHALAKṚCCHRA— Subsisting on fruits alone for a month. Vide the passage from Mārkaṇḍeya quoted above (n. 330). Śrīkṛcchra mentioned below will be also phalakṛcchra. The fruits of Bilva and of Āmalaka and lotus seeds were the only fruits to be employed and they were to be eaten only for bare subsistence.

BĀLAKṚCCHRA—See Śiśukṛcchra.

BṚHAD-YĀVAKA—The Pr. Pr. (folio 49 a) quoting Brahmapurāṇa describes it as follows:—One should feed cows on plenty of yavas anointed with clarified butter. Then he should mix water with the dung of those cows and take out the grains of barley which are voided by them after eating them. He should then dry them in the sun, should grind them on a clean stone and cook them mixed with sesame and anointed with ghee in cow's urine on a fire brought on an altar. He should place the boiled holy grains in a vessel of gold or in a cup made of *palāśa* leaves and present them to the gods and *manes* and he may eat them. He should carry this on for twelve, twenty-four or thirty-six years for the removal of all sins. This is prescribed as a penance for killing one's *guru*, brother, friend or a near relative &c.

BRAHMAKŪRCA—The Mit. [335] on Yājñavalkya III. 314 states that when a man fasts on one day and on the next day mixes up the ingredients of pañcagavya with Vedic *mantras* and drinks it with mantras it is called Brahmakūrca. According to Śaṅkha cow's urine is taken with the Gāyatrī (Ṛg. III. 62. 10), cowdung with the mantra 'Gandhadvārām' (Tai. Ā. X. 1), milk with 'ā pyāyasva' (Ṛg. I. 91.16), curds with 'dadhikrāvṇo' (Ṛg. IV. 39. 6), ghee with 'Tejosi' (Vāj. S. 22. 1) and Kuśa water with 'devasya tvā' (Vāj. S. 22. 1, Ait. Br. 37. 3 &c.). Jābāla [336]

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334. तस्मात्कृच्छ्रं समासाद्य सदा धर्मपथे स्थितम् । प्रायश्चित्तं प्रदातव्यं जपहोमविवर्जितम् ॥ अङ्गिरस् q. by the मिता. on या. III. 319 and महार्णव० folio 182 a.

335. यदा पुनः पूर्वेद्युरुपोष्यापरेद्युः समन्त्रकं संयुज्य समन्त्रकमेव पञ्चगव्यं पीयते तदा ब्रह्मकूर्च इत्याख्यायते । मिता. on या. III.314. Vide लघुशातातप 156–166 for ब्रह्मकूर्च, which is the penance for all sins where no specific penance is prescribed.

336. अहोरात्रोषितो भूत्वा पौर्णमास्यां विशेषतः । पञ्चगव्यं पिबेत् प्रातर्ब्रह्मकूर्चविधिः स्मृतः ॥ जाबाल q. by प्रा. वि. p. 515, प्रा. प्रकाश folio 50a and प्राय. म. p. 22.

prescribes that when a man observes a fast for the whole day and night on a day and particularly on a Full Moon day and then drinks pañcagavya the next morning this is called the rite of Brahmakūrca. Parāśara (XI. 27-28) appears to hold that *Pañcagavya* and *Brahmakūrca* are synonyms. The Madanapārijāta p. 729 and Pr. Sāra. p. 189 state that the Sāntapana described by Yāj. (III. 314) is styled Brahmakūrca.[337]

BRAHMAKṚCCHRA— Vide Hemādri's work on Prāyaścitta p. 964 quoting Devala and Mārkaṇḍeya. It is a penance for 12 days on each of which one has to drink in the noon Pañcagavya in a temple or cowpen after offering it with mantras in fire; one has to contemplate on Viṣṇu till the evening and should sleep near an idol and give up tāmbūla and unguents.

MAHĀTAPTAKṚCCHRA—Vide Taptakṛcchra.

MAHĀSĀNTAPANA—Sāntapana, according to Yāj. III. 314, Manu XI. 212 (=Baud. Dh. S.IV. 5.11=Śaṅkha 18.8=Bṛhad-Yama I. 13), Atri 117-118, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.20, lasts for two days; on the first the sinner drinks together cow's urine, dung, milk, curds, ghee and kuśa water and on the second day he fasts altogether. Mahāsāntapana penance consists, according to Laugākṣigṛhya VII. 3, Yāj. III. 315 (=Devala 82=Atri. 118-119), in drinking separately for six days in succession the six ingredients mentioned above and fasting on the next day (i. e. it lasts for 7 days). According to Śaṅkha 18.9, Baud.Dh. S.IV.5.17 and Jābāla[338] the Mahāsāntapana lasts for 21 days, each of the six ingredients referred to above being taken for three days and a fast being observed for three days. Yama speaks [339] of a mahāsāntapana for 15 days viz. when each of cow's urine, dung, milk, curds and ghee is taken as subsistence for three days consecutively.

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337. ततश्च योगीश्वराभिहितं सान्तपनमेव ब्रह्मकूर्च इत्युच्यते । स एव ब्रह्मकूर्चोपवास इति । प्रा. सार p. 189 ; vide also मद. पा. p. 729. The reference is to the verse 'यत्त्वगस्थिगतं पापं देहे तिष्ठति मानवे । ब्रह्मकूर्चोपवासस्तु दहत्यग्निरिवेन्धनम् ।' cited as पराशर's in प्रा. सार p. 189, while पराशर (XI. 37-38 reads) यत्त्व...देहिनाम् । ब्रह्मकूर्चो दहेत्सर्वं प्रदीप्ताग्निरिवेन्धनम् ॥

338. षण्णामेकैकमेतेषां त्रिरात्रमुपयोजयेत् । त्र्यहं चोपवसेदन्त्यं महासान्तपनं विदुः ॥ जाबाल q. by अपरार्क p. 1234, परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 31.

339. त्र्यहं पिबेत्तु गोमूत्रं त्र्यहं वै गोमयं पिबेत् । त्र्यहं दधि त्र्यहं क्षीरं त्र्यहं सर्पिस्ततः शुचिः ॥ महासान्तपनमेतत्सर्वपापप्रणाशनम् । यम. q. by मिता. on या. III. 315, प्रा. सार p. 191, परा. मा. II part 1 p. 31.

VĀYAVYA-KṚCCHRA—According to the Agnipurāṇa[348] and Viṣṇudharmottara this penance consists in subsisting for a month every day on food that will just fill the extended palm.

VṚDDHAKṚCCHRA—VṚDDHI-KṚCCHRA—This is a penance for eight days, according to Śaṅkha-Likhita[349] and Yama, in which one takes food only by day for two days, only by night for two days, without asking for food for two days and fasts for two days.

VYĀSAKṚCCHRA—This is the same as Maitra-kṛcchra,[350] for which see above p. 148.

ŚIŚUKṚCCHRA—also called Bālakṛcchra by Śaṅkha-Likhita and Pādakṛcchra by Devala and Prāyaścittamuktāvali (folio 10 a) and is the same as Laghu-kṛcchra.[351] It lasts for four days, eating once only in the day, eating once only by night, eating food got without asking for it only once on one day and fast on one day. Vide Vas. 23.43 (q. by Haradatta on Gaut. 26.5), Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 92. Yāj. III. 318.

ŚIŚU-CĀNDRĀYAṆA—Manu XI. 219, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5.19, Agnipurāṇa 171.5 state that when a brāhmaṇa eats (for a month) four mouthfuls in the morning and four after sun-set, that is Śiśu-cāndrāyaṇa (cāndrāyaṇa for boys, old men &c.).

ŚĪTAKṚCCHRA—This is the reverse of Taptakṛcchra, as here all the articles are to be taken when they are cold[351a] and not hot (as in Tapta-kṛcchra). Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.12, Agni-purāṇa 171. 7 and Mit. on Yāj. III. 317. According to Viṣṇu quoted by Pr. Sāra (p. 185) and Madana-pārijāta (p. 736) this is a penance for 10 days (and not for twelve days as the Mit. states), viz. cold water, cold milk and cold ghee are drunk three days each and there is a total fast for one day.

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348. मासं वायव्यकृच्छ्रं स्यात्पाणिपूरान्नभोजनात् । अग्निपु. 171. 14; वायव्यं कृच्छ्रमुक्तं तु पाणिपूरान्नभोजनम् । मासेनैकेन धर्मज्ञ सर्वकल्मषनाशनम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर q. by प्रा. प्रकाश folio 48 a.

349. तत्र शङ्खलिखितौ । प्रातः सायमयाचितमुपवास त्र्यहं त्र्यहमिति प्राजापत्यं द्व्यहं द्व्यहमिति वृद्धकृच्छ्रः, एकैकमिति बालकृच्छ्रः । प्राय. वि. p. 511. The प्राय. सार p. 177 quotes a verse of यम to the same effect.

350. The प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 56b) cites a verse of अङ्गिरस् which is कापिलायां...एष व्यासकृतः कृच्छ्रः श्वपाकमपि शोधयेत् ॥

351. लघुकृच्छ्रस्यैव शिशुकृच्छ्र इति नामान्तरम् । प्राय. म. p. 21.

351a. यदा तु शीतं क्षीरादि पीयते तदा शीतकृच्छ्रः । त्र्यहं शीतं पिबेत्तोयं त्र्यहं शीतं पयः पिबेत् । त्र्यहं शीतं घृतं पीत्वा वायुभक्षः परं त्र्यहम् ॥ इति यमस्मरणात् । मिता. on या. III. 317.

ŚRĪKṚCCHRA—According to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.16, Agnipurāṇa [352] 171.12 and Mit. on Yāj. III. 316 (quoting Mārkaṇḍeya) this is constituted by subsisting on Bilva fruit or lotus seeds or āmalaka fruit for a month. The Madanapārijāta (p. 737) quotes a verse of Śaṅkha to the same effect.

SĀNTAPANA—Vide Mahāsāntapana and Atisāntapana above. It is of five kinds, viz. the first for two days, the 2nd for seven days, the third for twelve (Atisāntapana), the 4th for 15 days and the fifth for 21 days.

SURACĀNDRĀYAṆA—The Agnipurāṇa defines it as one where somehow or other (and not in a rising or falling scale) a man partakes of 240 morsels of food in a month. Yāj. III. 324 speaks of it as a variety of Cāndrāyaṇa. Viṣṇu. Dh. S. (47. 9) calls it 'sāmānyacāndrāyaṇa'.[353]

SUVARṆA-KṚCCHRA—Vide Hemādri on Prāyaścitta pp. 969–972 quoting Devala and Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, in which a *varāha* or a half of it or quarter of it had to be donated. A Varāha was equal to nine *rūpakas* and a rūpaka was one māṣa of five *guñjas* (of silver it seems). For killing a brāhmaṇa secretly or for the guilt of incest one had to perform ten thousand or 40 thousand suvarṇa-kṛcchras and a lesser number for various other lapses.

SOMĀYANA—According to the Madanapārijāta pp. 744–746 (quoting Hārītadharmasūtra and Mārkaṇḍeya) and Pr. Prakāśa (folio 60b) the penance lasts for thirty days divided into five periods of 7, 7, 7, 6, 3 days, in which the milk of all the four udders of a cow, of three udders, of two udders and of one udder is respectively drunk and for the last three days there is a complete fast. There is another variety which lasts for 24 days from the 4th tithi of the dark half of a month to the 12th of the bright half of the next fort-night; the 24 days are divided into eight periods of three days each; in the first four

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352. बिल्वाभ्यवहारेण श्रीफलकृच्छ्रः पद्माक्षैर्वा । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46.16; फलैर्मासं फलं कृच्छ्रं बिल्वैः श्रीकृच्छ्र ईरितः । पद्माक्षैः स्यादामलकैः पुष्पकृच्छ्रं तु पुष्पकैः । अग्निपु. 171.12. Vide note 330 above for मार्कण्डेय.

353. यथा कथंचित्पिण्डानां चत्वारिंशच्छतद्वयम् । मासेन भक्षयेदेतत्सुरचान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥ अग्निपु. 171.5–6. या. III. 324 reads the 2nd half as मासेनैवोपभुञ्जीत चान्द्रायणमथापरम् ॥. The Mit. explains यथाकथंचित् as 'प्रतिदिनं मध्याह्नेऽष्टौ ग्रासान्, अथवा नक्तंदिनयोश्चतुरश्चतुरो वा, अथवैकस्मिंश्चतुरोऽपरस्मिन्द्वादश वा तथैकरात्रमुपोष्यापरस्मिन्षोडश वेत्यादिप्रकाराणामन्यतमेन शक्त्याद्यपेक्षया भुञ्जीत'. यथाकथंचित्षष्टिर्ग्रासानां त्रिंशतीं मासेनाश्नीयात्स सामान्यचान्द्रायणः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 47.9

periods of three days each the milk of a cow's four udders, three udders, two udders and one udder is respectively drunk and then in the next four periods of three days each the milk of one udder, two, three and four udders is respectively drunk. Vide also Prāyaścittendu-śekhara p. 12.

SAUMYAKṚCCRA—According to Yāj. III. 321 this penance lasts for six days, in the first five of which one subsists in succession upon oilcake alone, foamy scum of boiled rice alone, butter-milk alone, water alone and *saktus* (barley) alone and on the last day a total fast is observed. The Mit., Madanapārijāta p. 717, Pr. Sāra p. 178 and other digests state that one has to partake of the five ingredients in quantities just sufficient to keep body and soul together. Jābāla (quoted by the Mit., Par. M. II part 2 p. 183 and others) makes it a penance of four days' duration, in the first three of which one partakes successively of oilcake, *saktus* and butter-milk and observes a fast on the 4th day. Atri (128-129) also mentions it. The Pr. Prakāśa (quoting Brahmapurāṇa) speaks[354] of another variety of six days' duration, on the first of which there is a complete fast and on the last of which the sinner subsists on *saktus* alone and in the intervening four days he subsists on the thick gruel of barley cooked in cow's urine.

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354. प्रकारान्तरेण षडहः सौम्यकृच्छ्र उक्तो ब्रह्मपुराणे । प्रथमेऽहनि नाश्नीयात्सौम्यकृच्छ्रेऽपि सर्वदा । गोमूत्रयावकाहारः षष्ठे सक्तूंश्च तत्समान् ॥ इति । प्रा. प्रकाश. folio 46b.

CHAPTER VI

CONSEQUENCES OF NOT UNDERGOING PENANCES

If a sinner did not undergo a prāyaścitta, the Smṛtis, Purāṇas, medieval digests declared that he had to suffer dire and far-reaching consequences. Yāj. III. 221 declares that men addicted to sins, who feel no repentance and who (therefore) do not undergo the proper penances, fall into painful and horrible hells. Manu XII. 54 ff and Yāj. III. 206 ff provide that those guilty of grave (and other) sins after having passed numbers of years in hells and suffered the tortures of horrible hells are born again in this world because of (the remnants of their) evil actions in different forms such as lower animals, insects, trees and shrubs &c. Manu XI. 53 ordains that one should always perform penance in order to free oneself from sins, since those who have not destroyed their sins (by means of prāyaścittas) are born again endowed with disgraceful marks (such as having bad nails, black teeth &c.). Manu XI. 48 also emphasizes that wicked men suffer mal-formations owing to their wicked deeds committed in this very life or in a former life. The Viṣṇupurāṇa[355] echoes the words of Yāj. III. 221. The Viṣṇudharmottara declares[356] that those (sinners) who do not undergo penances nor are punished by the king fall into hell and are born also as lower animals and even after attaining human bodies they become marked (with bodily defects). Viṣṇu Dh. S. (44. 1-10) prescribes[357] that evil-doers, having experienced the horrors of hell pass into animal bodies and that those guilty of atipātakas, mahāpātakas, anupātakas, upapātakas, jāti-

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355. पापकृद्याति नरकं प्रायश्चित्तपराङ्मुखः। विष्णुपुराण IV. 5 21. q. by परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 209.

356. प्रायश्चित्तविहीना ये राजभिश्चाप्यवासिताः। नरकं प्रतिपद्यन्ते तिर्यग्योनिं तथैव च॥ मानुष्यमपि चासाद्य भवन्तीह तथाङ्किताः। विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 73. 4-5 q. by परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 210 and प्राय. वि. p. 120 (both of which read अदण्डिताः for अवासिताः of the printed ed.).

357. अथ पापात्मनां नरकेष्वनुभूतदुःखानां तिर्यग्योनयो भवन्ति। अतिपातकिनां पर्यायेण सर्वाः स्थावरयोनयः। महापातकिनां च कृमियोनयः। अनुपातकिनां पक्षियोनयः। उपपातकिनां जलजयोनयः। कृतजातिभ्रंशकराणां जलचरयोनयः। कृतसङ्करीकरणकर्मणां मृगयोनयः। कृतापात्रीकरणकर्मणां पशुयोनयः। कृतमलिनीकरणकर्मणां मनुष्येष्वस्पृश्ययोनयः। प्रकीर्णेषु प्रकीर्णा हिंस्राः क्रव्यादा भवन्ति। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 44. 1-10.

bhraṁśa-kara actions, saṅkarīkaraṇa, apātrīkaraṇa, malinīkaraṇa and miscellaneous sins, respectively enter the bodies of all plants, of worms (or insects), of birds, of aquatic animals, of animals roving in waters, of deer, of cattle, of untouchables among men, of miscellaneous and cruel carnivorous animals (like tigers). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 45.1 provides[358] that sinners, after having undergone the horrors of hells and after having passed through the bodies of lower animals, are born as human beings with certain marks (indicative of their sins). So the teaching of these and other authorities comes to this that sins when not expiated by penances or by State punishment, lead to hell, that then, owing to some remnants of the evil deeds, to birth as lower animals and then as decrepit or diseased human beings.

It is now necessary at this stage to enter upon a historical though brief account of the idea of Hell and of its opposite Heaven.[359] There are in the Ṛgveda hardly any clear or express references to Hell. In Ṛg. II. 29.6 the sage prays to the Viśve-Devas 'save me from the pit, from falling down into it' (trādhvam kartād-avapado yajatrāḥ). In Ṛg. IV. 5. 5 it is said [360] that those men who are bereft of *ṛta* and *satya*, being sinful, create a deep place for themselves. In Ṛg. VII. 104.3 the poet calls upon Indra and Soma to strike down [361] into bottomless darkness evil-doers; and in VII. 104.11 the poet prays that whatever enemy desires to harm the poet by day or night may be deprived of his body and progeny and may be hurled below the three earths. Indra is implored in Ṛg. X. 152.4 by the sage to send down into darkness whoever attacks him and his people. In Ṛg. IX. 73.8 Soma is said to throw down in a pit those who do not observe Soma's ordinances and who are disliked by him. From these passages what emerges is that the sages of the Ṛgveda had some faint glimmerings of (or belief in) the idea of a dark

358. अथ नरकाभिभूतदुःखानां तिर्यक्त्वमुत्तीर्णानां मनुष्येषु लक्षणानि भवन्ति। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 45.1.

359. Vide for 'Heaven' and 'Hell' in Vedic Literature 'Vedic Mythology' by Prof. A. A. Macdonell, pp. 167–170; 'The religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads' by Prof. Keith pp. 405–410, Journal of American Oriental Society, Vol. 13 pp. ciii ff, Vol. 61 pp. 76–80, Vol. 62 pp 150–156.

360. पापासः सन्तो अनृता असत्या इदं पदमजनता गभीरम्॥ ऋ. IV. 5. 5.

361. इन्द्रासोमा दुष्कृतो वव्रे अन्तरनारम्भणे तमसि प्र विध्यतम्। ऋ. VII. 104. 3; परः सो अस्तु तन्वा तना च तिस्रः पृथिवीरधो अस्तु विश्वाः। ऋ. VII. 104. 11; यो अस्माँ अभिदासत्यधरं गमया तमः। ऋ. X. 152. 4; विद्वान्त्स विश्वा भुवनाभि पश्यत्यवाजुष्टान् विध्यति कर्ते अव्रतान्। ऋ. IX. 73.8.

deep pit below the earth to which wicked persons were relegated by the gods. But there is no mention in the Ṛgveda of the tortures of Hell. It is in the Atharvaveda that we find the clearest references to Hell (Naraka). Sorcerers and demons dwell in a house below (the earth), according to A. V. II. 14. 3. Atharvaveda V. 30. 11 asks a man to come out from death, from the deep and black darkness. In Atharvaveda [362] V. 19. 3 it is asserted that those who spat in the face of a brāhmaṇa or who imposed a levy of money on him remain biting hair in the midst of a river of blood. Atharvaveda XII. 4. 36 mentions 'Nāraka-loka'. In the Vāj. S. XXX. 5 the *Vīrahan* [363] (i. e. one who gives up or extinguishes the consecrated Vedic fires) is relegated to *nāraka* (nārakāya vīrahaṇam). A *vīrahan* may also mean 'one who kills a valiant man' but that does not seem to be a proper sense in this passage of the Vāj. S. In the Śat. Br. XI. 6. 1. 4 we find a reference to torments of Hell, viz. men cutting up the limbs of others one by one for crimes committed. The Tai. Ā. I. 19 speaks of four *narakas* called Visarpin, Avisarpin, Viṣādin and Aviṣādin in the south-east, south-west, north west and north-east. From the Kaṭhopaniṣad it appears that at that time there was a belief that those foolish men who do not know the Reality and who only believe in the existence of the mundane world alone have to be born again and again and fall into the hands of Yama [364] (II. 5–6). The same Upaniṣad (V. 7) states that after the death (of the body) some enter the womb in accordance with their actions and knowledge to have an embodied existence, while others go into fixed matter (the form of trees and the like). But that Upaniṣad says nothing about the torments of Hell. They were therefore probably not believed to exist in those days, at least, to the same degree as in the days of the Epics and Purāṇas. The very words at the beginning of the Kaṭha Up. (I. 21 'devair-atrāpi vicikitsitam') indicate that there were even then various views about the fate of the departed. The Kausītaki Br. (XI. 3) propounds the remarkable proposition that

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362. ये ब्राह्मणं प्रत्यष्ठीवन्ये वास्मिञ् छुल्कमीषिरे । अस्नस्ते मध्ये कुल्यायाः केशान् खादन्त आसते ॥ अथर्व. V. 19. 3.

363. अधाहुर्नारकं लोकं निरुन्धानस्य याचिताम् । अथर्ववेद XII. 4. 36; वीरहा वा एष देवानां योऽग्निमुद्वासयते । तै. सं. II. 2. 5. 5.

364. न साम्परायः प्रतिभाति बालं प्रमाद्यन्तं वित्तमोहेन मूढम् । अयं लोको नास्ति पर इति मानी पुनः पुनर्वशमापद्यते मे ॥ कठोप० II. 6; vide n. 94 above for कठोप० V. 7.

just as men in this world eat the (flesh of) beasts, so in the next world the beasts eat men.[365]

As regards the opposite idea of *svarga* (Heaven) the matter is much clearer. In certain Ṛk verses there are said to be three heavens (e. g. Ṛg. I. 35. 6, VIII. 5. 8, VIII. 41. 9, IX. 113. 9). The generous donor or worshipper is said to occupy heaven and to mix among gods; and gods like Mitra and Varuṇa are implored to give the worshipper immortality[366] (Ṛg. I. 125, 5, V. 63. 2, X. 107. 2.). Life in heaven is full of joys and delights and the denizen of heaven has all his desires fulfilled (Ṛg. IX. 113. 10-11).[367] In Ṛg. IX. 113.8 the poet prays 'make me immortal (in heaven) where dwells king Vaivasvata, where the sun is confined (i. e. where it never sets) and where the divine waters flow'. A person who neither offers sacrifices to gods, nor worships, and observes ordinances other than those of Indra is thrown down from Heaven[368]. A sage exultingly addresses Soma 'we have drunk soma, we have become immortal, we have reached Light (Heaven) and we have known the gods; what will an enemy or harmful person do to us who have been mortals so far?'[369] The pious dead become united in Heaven with their *Iṣṭāpūrta* (merit due to sacrifices and charitable acts) and with their fore-fathers and become endowed with a refulgent body (Ṛg. X. 14.8). Those who practise *tapas* or those who perform sacrifices in which the fees run to thousands (of cows) reach Heaven (Ṛg. X. 154. 1-3)[370], and Soma, ghee and honey flow for them there. Heaven is said to be the abode of Yama and there resounds the sound of flutes and of songs.[371] The Atharvaveda, being more popular in

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365. तद्यथा ह वा अस्मिँल्लोके मनुष्याः पशूनश्नन्ति यथैभिर्भुञ्जत एवमेवामुष्मिँल्लोके पशवो मनुष्यानश्नन्त्येवमेभिर्भुञ्जते । कौषी. ब्रा. XI. 3.

366. नाकस्य पृष्ठे अधि तिष्ठति श्रितो यः पृणाति स ह देवेषु गच्छति । ऋ. I. 125. 5; उतो अस्मानमृतत्वे दधातन । ऋ. V. 55. 4 ; वृष्टिं वां राधो अमृतत्वमीमहे । ऋ. V. 63.2 ; उच्चा दिवि दक्षिणावन्तो अस्थुर्ये अश्वदाः सह ते सूर्येण । ऋ. X. 107. 2.

367. यत्रानन्दाश्च मोदाश्च मुदः प्रमुद आसते । कामस्य यत्राप्ताः कामास्तत्र माममृतं कृधीन्द्रायेन्दो परि स्रव । ऋ. IX. 113. 11.

368. अन्यव्रतममानुषमयज्वानमदेवयुम् । अव स्वः सखा दुधुवीत पर्वतः सुघ्नाय दस्युं पर्वतः ॥ ऋ. VIII. 70.11.

369. अपाम सोमममृता अभूमागन्म ज्योतिरविदाम देवान् । किं नूनमस्मान्कृणवदरातिः किमु धूर्तिरमृत मर्त्यस्य ॥ ऋ. VIII. 48. 3.

370. ये युध्यन्ते प्रधनेषु शूरासो ये तनूत्यजः । ये वा सहस्रदक्षिणास्तांश्चिदेवापि गच्छतात् ॥ ऋ. X. 154. 3.

371. इदं यमस्य सादनं देवमानं यदुच्यते । इयमस्य धम्यते नाळीरयं गीर्भिः परिष्कृतः ॥ ऋ. X. 135. 7.

character, contains much more information about Heaven. In Atharvaveda III. 29.3 it is said that a donor goes to Heaven where a weak man has not to render to the strong any contribution.[372] In Atharvaveda IV. 34.2, 5–6 it is stated that in the heavenly world there are bevies of women (for the denizens), that there the dwellers get many edible plants and flowers and that there are ponds of ghee, streams of milk and honey, wine flows like water and lotus lakes surround the denizens. In Heaven the meritorious enjoy delight, their bodies being free from disease[373]. Atharvaveda VI. 120.3 and other verses express a yearning to meet one's parents, wife and sons (vide Atharva XII. 3.17).[374] The Tai. S. is full of references to Heaven and so no quotation is cited here except one where it is said that he who offers the Adābhya cup in Jyotiṣṭoma goes to heaven while still living in this world.[375] The Tai. Br. appears to hold that those who offer sacrifices become shining stars in the firmament (I. 5. 2. 5–6)[375a]. The Śat. Br. (XI. 1. 8. 6) states 'that sacrificer who offers a sacrifice as this redemption is born in the next world (Heaven) with his body entire'.[376] Survival of the soul after death is emphatically asserted in the Tai. Br. III. 10. 11. These passages are enough to establish that the state of the pious after death and of heroes killed in battle was one of happiness in heaven, that there the food and material things (such as honey, ghee) that a person required in this world were also available in greater perfection and abundance. The remark of Macdonell 'Heaven is a glorified world of material joys as pictured by the imagination not of warriors but of priests' (Vedic Mythology p. 168) is not (in view of Ṛg. X. 154.3) quite accurate or justified. There is nothing to show

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372. स नाकमभ्यारोहति यत्र शुल्को न क्रियते अबलेन बलीयसे ॥ अथर्व. III. 29. 3.

373. नैषां शिश्नं प्र दहति जातवेदाः स्वर्गे लोके बहु स्त्रैणमेषाम् ॥ घृतह्रदा मधुकूलाः सुरोदकाः क्षीरेण पूर्णा उदकेन दध्ना । एतास्त्वा धारा उप यन्तु सर्वाः स्वर्गे लोके मधुमत्पिन्वमाना । उप त्वा तिष्ठन्तु पुष्करिणीः समन्ताः ॥ अथर्व. IV. 34.2 and 6.

374. यत्रा सुहार्दः सुकृतो मदन्ति विहाय रोगं तन्वः स्वायाः । अश्लोणा अङ्गैरह्रुताः स्वर्गे तत्र पश्येम पितरौ च पुत्रान् ॥ अथर्व. VI. 120. 3; स्वर्गं लोकमभि नो नयासि सं जायया सह पुत्रैः स्याम ॥ अथर्व. XII. 3.17.

375. किं तद्यज्ञे यजमानः कुरुते येन जीवन्सुवर्गं लोकमेतीति जीवग्रहो वा एष यददाभ्योऽनभिषुतस्य गृह्णाति जीवन्तमेवैनं सुवर्गं लोकं गमयति ॥ तै. सं. VI. 6.9.2.

375 a. 'यो वा इह यजते अमुं स लोकं नक्षते ... देवगृहा वै नक्षत्राणि' तै. ब्रा. I.5.2.5–6.

376. स ह सर्वतनूरेव यजमानोऽमुष्मिँल्लोके सम्भवति य एवं विद्वान् निष्कृत्या यजते । शतपथ. XI.1.8.6.

that the warriors of Vedic times did not believe what the priests believed. In later times (as in the Bhagavadgītā II. 37 'hato vā prāpsyasi svargam' or in the Raghuvaṁśa VII. 51) warriors killed in battle were supposed to go to heaven and were privileged to have the company of beautiful damsels. Heaven as a place or state of eternal bliss to which the spirits of the religious or meritorious people or warriors go, is an idea common to most ancient peoples and was probably based on the idea that the Earth was flat and the sky was a dome carrying various celestial objects. In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up. (IV. 3. 33) and Tai. Up. (II. 8) it is[377] stated that the joys of the world of gods are hundreds of times more delightful than those of the mortal world[378]. In the Kaṭhopaniṣad (I. 12) it is stated by Yama himself that in Heaven there is no fear and no old age, that the denizen of Heaven is beyond hunger, thirst and sorrow and is in the midst of all delights. The Kauṣītaki Br. Up. as quoted by Śaṅkarācārya on Vedāntasūtra I. 1.28 contains the statement that the abode of sinners is below this world or[379] the earth. The Chāndogya Up. in one place remarks[380] 'those whose conduct has been good will quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a brāhmaṇa or a kṣatriya or vaiśya. But those whose conduct has been evil will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog or a hog or a *cāṇḍāla*'.

We have here a complicated blending of two theories. The original theory of early Vedic times was that of Heaven and Hell which is also that of most religions. Later on when the doctrines of *karma* and *punarjanma* came to be universally believed in India the theory of Heaven and Hell came to be modified by holding that the pleasures of heaven and the torments of Hell both came to an end some time or other and the author of sins was born again as an animal or a tree or a human being suffering from diseases and defects.

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377. तस्येयं पृथिवी सर्वा वित्तस्य पूर्णा स्यात्। स एको मानुष आनन्दः। ते ये शतं मानुषा आनन्दाः स एको मनुष्यगन्धर्वाणामानन्दः।...ते ये शतं देवानामानन्दाः स एक इन्द्रस्यानन्दः। तै. उप. II.8.

378. स्वर्गे लोके न भयं किंचन नास्ति न तत्र त्वं न जरया बिभेति। उभे तीर्त्वाशनायापिपासे शोकातिगो मोदते स्वर्गलोके॥ कठोप. I.12.

379. एष उ एवासाधु कर्म कारयति तं यमेभ्यो लोकेभ्योऽधो निनीषते। कौ. ब्रा. उ III.9.

380. तद्य इह रमणीयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते रमणीयां योनिमापद्येरन्ब्राह्मणयोनिं वा क्षत्रिययोनिं वा वैश्ययोनिं वा। अथ य इह कपूयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते कपूयां योनिमापद्येरन् श्वयोनिं वा सूकरयोनिं वा चण्डालयोनिं वा। छान्दोग्योप. V. 10.7.

The fate of the departed soul after the death of the body will be touched upon in the section on Antyeṣṭi and Śrāddha, but in connection with the doctrine of Hell it is necessary to say something about Yama. In Ṛg. X. 58. 1 Yama is called Vaivasvata (son of Vivasvat, the Sun). Yama is at least an Indo-Iranian deity. Yama is eulogised in Ṛg. X. 14. He is called a king and is credited with the task of gathering together people (X. 14. 1); he is said to have been the first to make a way (to Heaven) which was followed by former ancestors of mankind (X. 14. 2 'Yamo no gātum prathamo viveda...yatra naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ pareyuḥ '). The soul when departing from this world is told that when he follows the paths of the ancient ancestors he would see the two kings Yama and Varuṇa. In Ṛg. X. 14. 13–15 the priests are asked to press Soma for Yama, to offer oblations to him and it is said that *yajña* reaches Yama, Agni being the messenger. In Ṛg. X. 135. 1 Yama is stated to drink in the company of gods, he is the lord of men. Yama owns two dogs each having four eyes who guard the way, who are the spies of Yama and who move among men and mark their doings. In Ṛg. X. 97. 16 the sage prays 'May the plants release me from the (effects of the) violation of oaths, from the violation of the ordinances of Varuṇa, from the fetters which Yama claps on the feet of sinners and from all sins against the gods.'[381] In Ṛg. X. 165. 4 Yama is identified with Mṛtyu (death) and the owl (an evil omen) or a *kapota* is said to be the *dūta* (harbinger) of Yama. Ṛg. I. 38. 5 (addressed to the Maruts) appears to crave for something which is opposed to what other references to Yama state 'May not the singer of your praises go by the path of Yama'.[382] Thus, though in the Ṛgveda, Yama is a god and mostly a beneficent ruler of men, there is an element of fear associated with him as the two prying dogs that guard the way to heaven and his being called Mṛtyu would suggest. The Atharvaveda refers to Yama in several places in the same strain as in the Ṛg. In A. V. 18. 3. 13 it is said [383] 'serve the king Yama with offering, who was the first to die among men, who was the first to depart from this world and who, the son of Vivasvat, is the gatherer of men'. In Tai. S. V. I. 8.2 and V 2. 3. 1 it is stated that Yama is the lord of all mortals and of

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381. मुञ्चन्तु मा शपथ्यादथो वरुण्यादुत। अथो यमस्य पड्वीशात् सर्वस्माद्देवकिल्बिषात्॥ ऋ. X. 97.16.

382. मा वो मृगो न यवसे जरिता भूदजोष्यः। पथा यमस्य गादुप॥ ऋ. I 38.5.

383. यो ममार प्रथमो मर्त्यानां यः प्रेयाय प्रथमो लोकमेतम्। वैवस्वतं सङ्गमनं जनानां यमं राजानं हविषा सपर्यत॥ अथर्व. 18.3.13.

the whole extent of the earth. In Tai. S. III. 3. 8. 3–4 it is declared [384] 'Yama is indeed Agni and this (earth and altar) is Yamī. When a sacrificer strews *Oṣadhis* on the Vedi it is indeed tantamount to taking up a debt from Yama. If he (the sacrificer) were to go from this world without burning them they (Yama's men) might take him to the next world with fetters round his neck.' In Ṛg. X. 14. 10[385] the *pitṛs* are said to enjoy delights in the company of Yama. In the Ait. Br. [385a] (XII. 3) Mṛtyu is credited with having fetters (*pāśas*) and wooden maces (sthāṇu) for catching erring men. It has already been seen how Yama is said to have within his powers again and again foolish men who believe in the existence of this world alone and deny the existence of the next. Thus, from being a beneficent ruler of the departed souls in the very early Vedic times, Yama came gradually to be looked upon as a dreadful punisher of men.[386] The Purāṇas contain graphic descriptions of Yama's abode and of his assistants, chief among whom is Citragupta. For example, the Varāhapurāṇa [386a] chap. 205 contains a dialogue between Yama and Citragupta, in which the latter recommends the fate that a dead person deserves for his actions. The Agnipurāṇa chap. 371. 12 states that a sinner falls into horrible hells that are declared by Citragupta at the order of Yama.

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384. अग्निर्वाव यम इयं यमी कुसीदं वा एतद्यमस्य यजमान आदत्ते यदोषधीभिर्वेदिं स्तृणाति यदनुपोष्य प्रयायाद् ग्रीवबद्धमेनममुष्मिँल्लोके नेनीयेरन्। तै. सं. III.3.8.3–4.

385. अथा पितॄन्सुविदत्राँ उपेहि यमेन ये सधमादं मदन्ति। ऋ. X. 14. 10.

385a. स सर्वान्पाशान्सर्वान् स्थाणून् मृत्योरतिमुच्य स्वस्त्येवोदमुच्यत। ऐ. ब्रा. XII.3.

386. Vide an article in the Journal of the Benares Hindu University, vol. IV pp. 19–46 on 'Yama and the Pitṛs' (where Vedic, Avestic and Norse evidence is led and a naturalistic explanation is given such as Yama being the light of dawn, pitṛs as 'rays of light' and saramā 'light of twilight'). Vide Dr. R. N. Dandekar in B. C. Law Presentation vol. I. pp. 194–209, where most of the theories of Western scholars about Yama are presented and examined. The naturalistic explanations have been in vogue from very ancient times, as the Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā VII.10 implies 'अहर्वावासीन्न रात्रिः सा यमी भ्रातरं मृतं नामृष्यत तां यद्यपृच्छन् यमि कर्हि ते भ्रातामृतेत्यद्येत्येवाब्रवीत्'.

386 a. अयं शुभस्त्वयं तिर्यगयं मोक्षं व्रजेत्पर: ॥...2 अयमायोधने शत्रुं हत्वा तु निधनं गतः। ब्राह्मणार्थे गवार्थे वा राष्ट्रार्थे निधनं गतः। शक्रस्य ग्राममरावत्यां निवेदयत मा चिरम्। verses 9–10 of chap. 205 of वराहपुराण; अन्यच्छरीरमादत्ते यातनीयं स्वकर्मभिः। भुंक्तेऽथ पापकृद्दुःखं सुखं धर्माय सत्कृतः॥ यमाज्ञप्तैः किङ्करैस्तु पात्यते नरकेषु च। अग्निपु. 203. 4–5; गृह्णाति तत्क्षणाद्योगे शरीरं चातिवाहिकम्। आकाशवायुतेजांसि विग्रहादूर्ध्वगामिनः॥ ...यम दृष्ट्वा यमोक्तेन चित्रगुप्तेन चेरितान्। प्राप्नोति नरकान्घोरान् धर्मी शुभपथैर्दिवम्॥ अग्निपु. 371. 9 and 12.

We must now turn to the ideas of Heaven and Hell contained in the post-Vedic Literature, sūtras, smṛtis, purāṇas and digests. The Nir. (I. 11) quotes[387] a quarter of a Vedic verse which means 'for fear that if we (women) acted crookedly (towards our husbands) we might fall into Hell.' The word Naraka is derived by it in two ways (*ni + araka*), viz. as meaning 'going below' (the earth) or (na + ra + ka) 'where there is not the slightest place for joy'. In another place, while deriving the word 'putra' (son) the Nir. (II. 11) declares that the son is called *putra* because he saves (the father) from the hell called *put*. The same derivation of the word putra is offered by Manu IX. 138 (= Ādiparva 229.14 = Viṣṇudharmasūtra 15.44). Gautama (13.7) promises[388] heaven to the witnesses in a cause if they speak the truth, but Hell (*naraka*) if they tell the opposite (of truth). After defining *patana* as loss of the capacity to perform the privileged acts of twice-born classes (such as Veda study &c.) and stating that by being guilty of sins a man does not in the next world reap the fruits of his good actions, Gautama states the striking view of other sages that *naraka* is nothing more than this loss of capacity and of the fruits of good acts, his own view however being that *naraka* is a particular place where a man has to dwell solely in distress and sorrow. It was the emphatic view of Gautama that men of the several *varṇas* and *āśramas* that are devoted to the actions prescribed as peculiar to each, enjoy after departing from this body, the fruits of their actions and then owing to some remainder of their total actions are born in bodies in appropriate circumstances as to the country, caste, family, appearance, length of life, learning, conduct, wealth, happiness and intelligence, while those who act contrariwise

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387. अथापि न इरेव इत् इत्यनेन संप्रयुज्यते परिभये नेज्जिह्मायन्त्यो नरकं पताम इति। नरकं न्यरकं नीचैर्गमनं नास्मिन्रमणं स्थानमल्पमप्यस्तीति वा। निरुक्त I. 11. Some editions give the whole verse हविर्भिरेके स्वरितः सचन्ते सुन्वन्त एके सवनेषु सोमान्। शचीर्मदन्त उत दक्षिणाभिर्नेo. This is a खिल verse after Rg X. 106.1. विश्वरूप on या. III. 217 quotes नेज्जिo, and explains 'जिह्मायन्त्यः कौटिल्येन प्रवृत्ताः कामकारप्रवृत्ता इति यावत्। अतश्चाकामकृते नैव नरकप्राप्तिः'; पुन्नः पुरु त्रायते निपरणाद्वा पुत् नरकं ततस्त्रायत इति वा। निरुक्त II. 11.

388. स्वर्गः सत्यवचने विपर्यये नरकः। गौ. 13.7. द्विजातिकर्मभ्यो हानिः पतनम् तथा परत्र चासिद्धिः। तमेके नरकम्। गौ. 21. 4-6, on the last of which हरदत्त remarks 'स्थाने तु विशिष्टे देशे दुःखैकतानस्य वासो नरक इति'; vide also अपरार्क p. 1045 for the view of Gautama.

pass into all sorts of births and are ruined[389]. Āp. Dh. S. holds that a man becomes fit for Naraka if he follows activities solely dictated by sensual pleasures.[390] In another place Āp. Dh. S. affirms that *Naraka* is indeed one's lot when one transgresses one's *dharma*. It also states that rewards without end are denominated *svargya*. The Vedāntasūtra III. 1.13 makes it[391] clear that after enjoying the fruits of one's actions in the abode of Yama (*Saṁyamana*) evil-doers ascend to this mortal world. In Vedāntasūtra III. 1.15 the *narakas*[392] are said to be seven. Pāṇini VI. 2.38 teaches the accent of *mahāraurava*. In the Kāśikā com. on Pāṇini III. 2.88 a vedic verse is cited according to which one who kills his mother enters the 7th *naraka*. The Viṣṇupurāṇa I. 6.41 names seven hells, Tāmisra, Andhatāmisra, Mahāraurava, Raurava, Asipatravana, Kālasūtra and Avīci and (in II. 6. 2-5) names 26 *narakas*. Śaṅkha-Likhita as quoted by the Madanapārijāta pp. 694-695 mentions in detail the torments that evil-doers undergo in the hells called Kumbhīpāka, Raurava, Mahāraurava &c. Manu IV. 88-90, Yāj. III. 222-224, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 43. 2-22, Agnipurāṇa 371. 20-22, Nārada (*prakīrṇaka* 44) enumerate 21 *narakas*. The names are almost the same in all these works, the variations being due mostly to the scribes having read certain letters differently. The 21 names are generally significant and may be set out from Manu as follows: Tāmisra (darkness), Andhatāmisra (blinding darkness), Mahāraurava, Raurava (abounding in paths with heated surfaces, according to Pr. V. p. 15), Kālasūtra (like the thread on the wheel with which the potter cuts off a raw earthen pot in two), Mahānaraka, Sañjīvana (where one is made to revive and is again killed), Mahāvīci (where one is submerged in surging waves), Tapana (as burning hot as fire), Sampratāpana (same as Kumbhīpāka, according to Pr. V. p. 15), Saṅghāta (making many stay in a small place like the legendary Black-

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389. वर्णाश्रमाः स्वस्वधर्मनिष्ठाः प्रेत्य कर्मफलमनुभूय ततः शेषेण विशिष्टदेशजातिकुलरूपायुःश्रुतवृत्तवित्तसुखमेधसो जन्म प्रतिपद्यन्ते। विष्वञ्चो विपरीता नश्यन्ति। गौ. XI. 29-30, q. by शङ्कर in his भाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 1.8

390. तदनुवर्तमानो नरकाय राध्यति। आप. ध. सू. I.4.12.12; हृष्टो दर्पति दृप्तो धर्ममतिक्रामति धर्मातिक्रमे खलु पुनर्नरकः। आप. ध. सू. I.4.13.4; ततः परमनन्त्यं फलं स्वर्ग्यशब्दं श्रूयते। आप. ध. सू. II.9.23.12.

391. संयमने त्वनुभूयेतरेषामारोहावरोहौ तद्गतिदर्शनात्। वेदान्तसूत्र III.1.13. शङ्कर in his भाष्य relies on Kaṭhopaniṣad II. 6 and Ṛg. X.14.1 (both quoted above) in support.

392. अपि च सप्त। वेदान्तसूत्र III.1.15; अपि च सप्त नरकाः रौरवप्रमुखा दुष्कृतफलोपभोगभूमित्वेन स्मर्यन्ते पौराणिकैः। शाङ्करभाष्य.

hole of Calcutta), Kākola (where one is preyed on by crows), Kuḍmala (where one is bound with ropes into a bundle, which looks like a closed bud), Pūtimṛttika (where the clay has a putrid smell), Lohaśaṅku (piercing one with iron nails), Ṛjīṣa (where boiled flour is thrown about), Panthāḥ (where one is made to walk constantly to and fro), Śālmali (where one is struck with thorns like those of the silk-cotton tree), Nadī (i. e. where one is carried away by a river such as the Vaitaraṇī), Asipatravana (where one is cut up by a forest of sword blades), Lohadāraka (which cuts up limbs with iron). Manu (XII. 75-76) again mentions the Tāmisra, Asipatravana and Kumbhīpāka narakas and Manu III. 249 Kālasūtra. Kullūka (on Manu. IV. 88-90), Pr. V. (p. 16), the Dīpakalikā (on Yāj. III. 222-224) and other commentaries say that the conditions in the hells may be read in the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa and other works. Vide Agnipurāṇa 203 and 371 (where Hells are said to be 144), Brahmapurāṇa, chap. 22 (which names 25 narakas and states what sinners fall into which of them), chap. 214 (verses 14-17 of which speak of 22 narakas and verses 51-103 contain harrowing descriptions of the horrible torments of hell), chap. 215. 83. ff. (for names and descriptions of several narakas).[393]

Brahma-vaivarta (prakṛtikhaṇḍa chap. 29 which names 86 *narakakuṇḍas*[394] and chap. 33), Nāradapurāṇa, pūrvārdha 15.1-20 (for narakas and torments), Padmapurāṇa (Uttara, chap. 227 for 140 narakas and Pātālakhaṇḍa chap. 48 for several narakas), Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (Brahmaparva, chap. 192.11-27 for torments of Hell and Uttaraparva Chap. 5-6 for sins and narakas). The Bhāgavatapurāṇa V.26.6 states that there are 28 narakas, though according to some there are 21. Vide also Viṣṇupurāṇa

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393. Yāj. and Viṣṇu read 'avīci' for mahāvīci. Yāj. reads Samprapātana (throwing down in a pit) for Sampratāpana and adds Kumbhīpāka separately, which latter means 'heating after placing inside a jar'. The printed Manusmṛti reads 'Pratimūrtikam', which is a misreading of some mss. Some Mss read 'Lohacāraka' which may mean 'being made to walk over red hot iron' or 'being fettered with irons' (Pr. V. p. 16). All the names are explained by Pr. V. (pp. 15-16) and by some of the commentators of Manu. According to Jamadagni quoted in Pr. V p. 16 Vaitaraṇī is a river in the nether regions which is full of foul smell and blood, which has hot water, is very rapid and has on the crest of its waves bones and hair. Saṅkha-Likhita (q. by Madanapārijāta p. 695) describes Vaitaraṇī as 'taptodakā' (having hot water).

394. नरकाणां च कुण्डानि सन्ति नानाविधानि च। नानापुराणभेदेन नामभेदानि तानि च।...षडशीतिश्च कुण्डानि संयमन्यां वसन्ति च। ब्रह्मवैवर्त, प्रकृतिखण्ड 29. 4-6.

V. 6.2–5, Skandapurāṇa I, chap. 39 and VI. 226–227. In the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (chap. 12) we have a description of several narakas like the Raurava, Mahāraurava, Asipatravana &c. and chap. 14 (verses 39–94) mentions the punishments meted out to perpetrators of various sins. In the Mahābhārata also narakas and the torments thereof are frequently referred to. For example, Śāntiparva 321. 32 speaks of Vaitaraṇī and Asipatravana, Anuśāsana (23.60–82) speaks of the actions that lead to hell (each verse having the refrain *te vai niraya-gāminah*) Anuśāsana 145.10–13. Svargārohaṇika-parva (2.16–26) describes the several horrible sights and torments of such hells as 'Asipatravana' (named in verse 23) and Kūṭaśālmali (named in Svargārohaṇika 3.4). The Vṛddha-Hārīta-smṛti (IX. 167–171) mentions almost the same 21 narakas as the Manusmṛti does. The craze for multiplying narakas went so far that the Brahmapurāṇa, the Viṣṇudharmottara[395], the Garuḍa-purāṇa and others declared that there were thousands, lakhs and crores of narakas.

The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (46. 23–29) provides that those guilty of atipātakas, anupātakas, saṅkarīkaraṇa, who have not undergone prāyaścittas suffer respectively for one Kalpa,[395a] for one Manvantara, for four Yugas, for a thousand years in the 21 narakas in rotation and the other sinners for many years. Yama quoted by the Madanapārijāta p. 696 says that those guilty of Mahāpātakas stay in Hell with face downwards for a *yuga* and Yama has numerous other verses stating what sinners undergo which horrors of Hell.

Buddhists appear to have borrowed the doctrine about hells from Brahmanical writers. Vide Dr. B. C. Law's monograph on 'Heaven and Hell in Buddhist perspective' (1925), pages 111–113, which refer to eight Mahānirayas and there are other lesser Hells. The eight Mahānirayas are Sañjīva, Kālasutta, Saṅghāta, Roruva, Mahāroruva, Tapa, Mahātapa and Avīci. It will be noticed how those names agree closely with Manu's list

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395. खड्गशूलनिपातैश्च भिद्यन्ते पापकारिणः। नरकाणां सहस्रेषु लक्षकोटिशतेषु च स्वकर्मोपार्जितैर्दोषैः पीड्यन्ते यमकिङ्करैः। ब्रह्मपुराण 215. 82–83 ; अष्टाविंशतिकोट्यः स्युर्घोराणि नरकाणि वै। महापातकिनश्चात्र सर्वे स्युर्नरकाग्निषु॥ आचन्द्रतारकं यावत्पीड्यन्ते विविधैर्वधैः। अतिपातकिनश्चान्ये निरयार्बुदकोटिषु। विष्णुधर्मोत्तर q. in स्मृतिच. (प्रा.) p. 859; गरुडपुराण (प्रेतखण्ड) chap 3. 3 नरकाणां सहस्राणि वर्तन्ते विनताङ्गज।.

395a. For Kalpa, Manvantara and Yuga, vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 890–891.

of hells. For the gruesome details of Hell and torments therein in ancient Jain works, vide Uttarādhyayana-sūtra (S.B.E. vol. 45 pp. 93–97) and Sūtrakṛtāṅga I. 5 (S. B. E. vol. 45 pp. 279–286). Similarly, for the ideas of Heaven and Hell in Zoroastrianism, vide Mr. S. N. Kanga's 'Heaven and Hell and their location in Zoroastrianism and in the Vedas' (1933).

The Buddhists held their penitential meetings (Pātimokkha), for which see S. B. E. vol. XIII. pp. 1–69 and for the 92 *pācittiya* (Prāyaścittīya) rules, vide pp. 32–55 of the same volume.

There are very glowing descriptions of Heaven (*svarga*) in the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and other works. We have already seen how Heaven was supposed to be a place of delights in the Ṛgveda and even in the Upaniṣads like Kaṭha (I. 12–13 and 18 'śokātigo modate svargaloke'). Ṛg. X. 107.2 affirms that those who give (large) *dakṣiṇā* stand high in the Heavens (as stars), those that donate horses go in the company of the Sun and those that donate gold become immortal. An[396] echo of this is found in Vanaparva 186.9. The Kauṣ. Up. 1.3 speaks of several worlds (*lokas*) of the gods such as those of Agni, Vāyu, Varuṇa, Āditya, Indra, Prajāpati, Brahmā and a similar gradation of higher worlds is described in Bṛ. Up. III.6 (such as Devaloka, Indraloka, Prajāpatiloka, Brahmaloka). The Bṛ. Up. I.5. 16 speaks of manuṣyaloka, pitṛloka and devaloka and holds that devaloka is the best of all worlds.[397] Kauṣ. Up. 1. 4 implies that in the heavenly world divine nymphs, garlands, collyrium, fragrant powder, garments wait upon the fortunate denizens. Śaṅkara on Vedānta-sūtra (IV. 3.4) says that the word 'loka' means 'a place for enjoying the fruits of one's actions' (*bhogāyatana*) and that Hiraṇyagarbha is the *adhyakṣa* of *Brahmaloka* (on Vedānta-sūtra IV. 3.10). In the Vanaparva (54. 17–19) it is stated that svarga is the place for those who die in battle. How *svarga* is like and what the pleasures of heaven are is described in Vanaparva, chap. 186.6–7, viz. that there are extensive lakes full of golden lotus flowers and fish and devoid of mud, that on the banks of those lakes dwell the meritorious honoured by Apsarases who apply fragrant cosmetics to their

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396. परं लोकं गोप्रदास्त्वाप्नुवन्ति दत्त्वानडुहं सूर्यलोकं व्रजन्ति। वासो दत्त्वा चान्द्रमसं तु लोकं दत्त्वा हिरण्यममरत्वमेति। वनपर्व 186.9.

397. त्रयो वाव लोका मनुष्यलोकः पितृलोको देवलोक इति सोऽयं मनुष्यलोकः पुत्रेणैव जय्यो नान्येन कर्मणा कर्मणा पितृलोको विद्यया देवलोको देवलोको वै लोकानां श्रेष्ठः। बृह. उप. 1.5.16.

bodies, wear ornaments and have brilliant golden complexions. Similar pleasures enjoyed in the Nandana park are promised in Brahmapurāṇa, 225. 5–6. Vanaparva (chap. 261 verses 28–29) says that there is one great draw-back in going to heaven, viz. that there one simply enjoys the rewards of one's good actions, no new merit is accumulated there, one simply subsists on the accumulated principal or store of merit and that when that store is exhausted one has to fall down, the only good point about this being that one is born a man and that too in such a way that he enjoys[398] happiness. Anuśāsana (23. 84–102) sets out numerous actions whereby a man attains heaven (each verse having the refrain '*te narāḥ svarga-gāminaḥ*'). Similarly, in Brahmapurāṇa 224. 9–14, 18–25 and 30–37 we have the same refrain. Vide also Anuśāsana chapters 144 (verses 5–15, 19–26, 31–39) and 145. Śānti (99. 4–5) states that svarga is full of those fallen in battle, there are Gandharva damsels there for the brave (and there is hell for the coward) and that svarga yields all desires that one may entertain. The Śāntiparva (192. 8 and 21) states that svarga was in the North, that (Śānti 191. 13, 193. 27) there was neither hunger nor thirst nor weariness nor old age nor sin (in Heaven), that good men (Śānti 271. 24) are seen as stars (or become stars). In the Matsyapurāṇa (276. 17) it is[399] stated that he who performs Brahmāṇḍadāna (one of the 16 *mahādānas*) reaches the world of Viṣṇu and delights in the company of Apsarases. The Brahmapurāṇa (225. 6–7) assures us that a generous donor goes to heaven where he enjoys the best pleasures in the company of Apsarases and in the heavenly garden called Nandana and when he falls down from heaven he is born as a mortal in a rich and noble family. Vide also Garuḍapurāṇa II. 3.86–89. It is not necessary to multiply passages. There are two matters to be noted in connection with Heaven and its pleasures. One is the calculating or bargaining spirit which the smṛtis and purāṇas display viz. make this or that gift and then there is so much delight to be enjoyed in heaven, a sort of profit and loss account; and the second is that the highest

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398. कृतस्य कर्मणस्तत्र भुज्यते यत्फलं दिवि। न चान्यत् क्रियते कर्म मूलच्छेदेन भुज्यते॥ सोऽत्र दोषो मम मतस्तस्यान्ते पतनं च यत्। सुखव्याप्तमनस्कानां पतनं यच्च मुद्गल॥ अयं त्वन्यो गुणः श्रेष्ठः च्युतानां स्वर्गतो मुने। शुभानुशययोगेन मनुष्येषूपजायते। तत्रापि स महाभागः सुखभागभिजायते। वनपर्व 261.28–29 and 33.

399. इत्थं च एतदखिलं पुरुषोऽत्र कुर्याद् ब्रह्माण्डदानमधिगम्य महद्विमानम्। निर्धूतकल्मषविशुद्धतनुर्मुरारेरानन्दकृत्पदमुपैति सहाप्सरोभिः॥ मत्स्यपु. 276.17 q. by अपरार्क p. 323.

pleasures of Heaven have a time limit, i. e. they are to come to an end one day and the meritorious have to be born again in mortal bodies. The doctrine was gradually evolved that there is no final release from the cycle of births and deaths by the performance of meritorious deeds alone.

It is not necessary to set out at length the gruesome torments of Hell described in great detail in several smṛtis and purāṇas. By way of a sample, the following description taken from a Dharmaśāstra work (viz. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 43.32–45) will be quite enough. "Sinners guilty of having committed (one or more of the nine kinds of) sins have to endure terrible sufferings when they have left this life and reached the path of Yama. Being dragged hither and thither by the fierce servants of Yama they are led (to hell) by them with frightening gestures. (In Hell) they are devoured by dogs, jackals, crows, herons, cranes and other birds eating raw flesh, by snakes and scorpions that have fire in their mouths (i. e. that emit stinging poison). They are scorched by fire, pierced by thorns, divided into parts by saws and oppressed by thirst. They are afflicted with hunger and by terrible hordes of tigers and they faint away at every step on account of the stinking smell of pus and blood. Desiring to secure the food and drink of others they are beaten by the servants (of Yama) whose faces are similar to those of such horrible animals as crows, herons and cranes. In some places they are boiled in oil, in others they are pounded with pestles or ground down in iron or stone vessels. In some places they (have to) eat what is vomitted or pus or blood or excrements, and hideous meat smelling like pus. In one place they have to stay in terrible darkness, and are devoured by horrible worms having flames in their mouths. In some places they are overwhelmed by cold or have to pass through the midst of unclean things and in other places the departed devour each other, thus becoming most horrible. In some places they are beaten on account of their former deeds and are suspended in other places (from trees &c.) or are struck with heaps of arrows or are cut into pieces. In other places they have to tread upon thorns and they are encircled by the hoods of serpents, they are tormented with machines and are dragged by their knees. Their backs, heads and necks are fractured, they become terrible (to look at), their throats being reduced to the size fit for a cave shelter and they become unable to bear torments. Sinners are being tormented in this way and having suffered intense

pain undergo various further sufferings in their passage through animal bodies (in which they are thereafter born)."

That *naraka* is a place below the earth is frequently stated in the Purāṇas. For example, in the Garuḍa and Brahmāṇḍa purāṇas all Hells such as Raurava are stated to be situated below the earth. Vide Viṣṇupurāṇa II. 6. 1 also. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa states that Hells are below the earth and above water to the south of the three worlds and hang without support, in which dwell the troups of pitṛs called *Agniṣvātta* and others.[400] The Agnipurāṇa (371. 13-14) avers that the 28 groups of narakas are below the earth and even below the 7th Pātāla.

We come across Vedic passages such as these 'This sacrificer who is possessed of the utensils of *yajña* directly reaches Heaven' (Śat. Br. XII. 5. 2. 8.)[401], 'one who desires Heaven should offer the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice', 'one desirous of attaining heaven should perform the Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice'. What is meant by *svarga* or *naraka* has given rise to hot discussions from very ancient times. The popular view as reflected even in the Vedas, the smṛtis and purāṇas was that svarga was a *place* above the earth and *naraka* was a place of actual torments below the earth. Even ancient astronomical works located *svarga* thousands of *yojanas* above the earth. Parāśara,[402] an astronomer and a predecessor of Varāha-mihira quoted by Utpala on Bṛ. Saṁ. I. 11, stated 'Bhū (the earth) is 67080 crores of *yojanas* and it is the expanse of the earth; beyond it there is impenetrable darkness, in the midst of which there is the golden

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400. भूमेरधस्तात्ते सर्वे रौरवाद्याः प्रकीर्तिताः । गरुड (प्रेतखण्ड) 3. 55, ब्रह्माण्ड, उपसंहारपाद chap. 2.52 ; ततश्च नरकान् विप्र भुवोऽधः सलिलस्य च । पापिनो येषु पात्यन्ते तान् शृणुष्व महामुने ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 22. 6. 1. राजोवाच । नरका नाम भगवन् किं देशविशेषा अथवा बहिस्त्रिलोक्या आहोस्विदन्तराल इति । ऋषिरुवाच । अन्तराल एव त्रिजगत्यास्तु दिशि दक्षिणस्यामधस्ताद्भूमेरुपरिष्टाच्च जलाद्यस्यामग्निष्वात्तादयः पितृगणाः...निवसन्ति । भागवतपुराण V. 26. 3-4.

401. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 985 note of 2233 for enumeration of the ten yajñāyudhas from Tai. S. I 6. 8. 2-3 and Śat. Br. I. 1. 1. 22.

स एष यज्ञायुधी यजमानोऽञ्जसा स्वर्गं लोकं याति। शतपथब्रा. XII. 5. 2.8 quoted by शबर on जै. I. 1. 5 in the पूर्वपक्ष ; 'दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां स्वर्गकामो यजेत' q. by शबर on जै. II. 1. 1.

402. सप्तषष्टिसहस्राण्यशीतियोजनकोट्यो भूर्यत्पृथिवीमण्डलं परस्माद्गम्यं तमः । तन्मध्ये हिरण्मयो मेरुश्चतुरशीतियोजनसहस्रोच्छ्रितो षोडश चाधस्तात् । त्रिगुणाविस्तारायामो यं स्वर्गमाचक्षते तन्मध्येनार्कचन्द्रौ ज्योतिश्चक्रं च पर्येति । पराशर q. by उत्पल on बृ. सं. I. 11.

mountain Meru, 84000 *yojanas* high and sixteen below and thrice as much in length and width, which is called svarga. But it would be far from the truth to say that all eminent writers were agreed on the actual existence of svarga and naraka as *places.* It has already been shown how several centuries before Christ Gautama refer• to the view of some predecessors of his that naraka is *not a place*, but simply means the loss of the capacity to perform the peculiar actions of one's *varṇa.* There were others who argued in the same strain. Śabara (on Jai. IV. 3. 27–28) quotes a Vedic passage where the view of the sage appears to be that sacrifices yield the reward promised by śruti in the next life and where Kumārila [403] in his brief comment propounds the view that the injunctive passage (*vidhi*) of the Veda only promises a reward but does not state that it follows immediately in this life, that svarga which means unsurpassed joy, can happen only in another life. On Jaimini VI. 1. 1. Śabara first puts forward the *prima facie* view that *svarga* [404] imports in popular language such things (dravya) as fine silken clothes, sandalwood paste, young damsels only 16 years old and that the word *svarga* is also popularly applied to a particular *place* where there is neither heat nor cold, neither hunger nor thirst, neither distress nor fatigue and where only those that have done meritorious deeds can reach and not others. Śabara refutes this view and holds that the primary meaning of the word *svarga* is joy [405] or delight and not a thing (*dravya*) which brings joy.

There is a well-known and oft quoted verse which defines *svarga* as follows: [406] that happiness which is not mixed up with

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403. फलं भवतीत्येतावति विधिशब्दोऽस्ति। न त्वनन्तरत्वे। तस्मादनियमः। स्वर्गस्तु जन्मान्तर एव। स हि निरतिशया प्रीतिः कर्मानुरूपा चेति न शक्येह जन्मन्यनुभवितुम्। यतोऽस्मिँल्लोके क्षणेक्षणे सुखदुःखे अनुभवन्ति। ... देहान्तरं तु निरतिशयप्रीत्यनुभवनायान्यथानुपपत्त्या कल्प्यते। तत्रामृतस्य न भवतीत्यतो जन्मान्तरे स्वर्गः। टुप्टीका on जै. IV.3.27–28.

404. सर्वेषामेव शब्दानामर्थज्ञाने लौकिकः प्रयोगोऽभ्युपायः। तस्मिंश्च लौकिके प्रयोगे द्रव्यवचनः स्वर्गशब्दो लक्ष्यते। कौशेयानि सूक्ष्माणि वासांसि स्वर्गः, चन्दनानि स्वर्गः, षोडशवर्षाः स्त्रियः स्वर्ग इति। यद्यत् प्रीतिमद् द्रव्यं तत्तत्स्वर्गशब्देनोच्यते। ...ननु स्वर्गशब्दो लोके प्रसिद्धो विशिष्टे देशे यस्मिन्नोष्णं न शीतं न क्षुद् न तृष्णा नारतिर्न ग्लानिः पुण्यकृत एव प्रेत्य तत्र गच्छन्ति नान्ये। शबर on जै. VI.1.1.

405. तत एतत्तावद्वर्णयन्ति। प्रीतिः स्वर्ग इति। कुतः। एवमुक्तं भवता प्रीतिविशिष्टे द्रव्ये स्वर्गशब्दो वर्तत इति। यद्येवं पूर्वं तर्हि प्रीतौ वर्तितुमर्हति। तां हि स न व्यभिचरति। व्यभिचरति पुनर्द्रव्यम्। शबर on जै. VI.1.2. On जै.VI.1.1 the टुप्टीका remarks 'एकस्य (सिद्धान्तवादिनः) प्रीतिः स्वर्गशब्दवाच्या, अपरस्य (पूर्वपक्षवादिनः) प्रीतिमद्द्रव्यम्। विशिष्टो देशो उभयोरप्यवाच्यः। किं कारणं, तस्याप्रत्यक्षत्वेन व्यवहाराभावः। तेन व्यवहाराभावात्प्रयोगाभावः।'.

406. यन्न दुःखेन संभिन्नं न च ग्रस्तमनन्तरम्। अभिलाषोपनीतं च तत्सुखं स्वःपदास्पदम्॥

pain, which is not immediately afterwards overwhelmed (by pain) and which is present whenever desired, is denoted by the word *svaḥ* (or svarga). The Prakaraṇa-pañcikā of Śālikanātha,[406a] one of the early works of the Prabhākara Mīmāṁsā school, affirms that in such sentences as 'one desirous of heaven should perform the Jyotiṣṭoma' the rite is simply commended by Vedic passages, which are no more than *arthavādas*, as a means of securing long-enduring happiness which is free from the taint of all kinds of sorrow and which is present at the mere desire of the enjoyer. The Śāntiparva expressly states 'The wise do not regard the other world as directly seen by anyone; one has to entertain faith (in the existence of the other world) because otherwise one may run counter to the Vedas.'[407] The Brahmapurāṇa and the Viṣṇupurāṇa speak in the same strain as Śabara that *svarga* is what causes happiness to the mind, that naraka is the opposite of it and that meritorious deeds and wicked deeds are designated as svarga and naraka respectively and that svarga and naraka are really states of the mind characterised by happiness and pain respectively.[408]

One need not wonder at the crude ideas of *naraka* and *svarga* entertained by most ancient Indian writers and works. The same ideas were prevalent among peoples of all religions all the world over. For example, The Egyptians whose dynastic history covers a period of about 5000 years had very remarkable beliefs about Heaven and Hell which were illustrated with pictorical representations copiously (as no other nation had ever done), although the oldest Books of the Dead are without illustrations of any sort (vide E. A. W. Budge's 'Egyptian Heaven and Hell', 1905 p. XI and 2). Sheol was the name the Hebrews gave to the gloomy abode of the dead in the lowest parts of the earth and it was a land of darkness, which was appointed as the house for all living (Job 10. 21-22 and 30. 23). The Greek Hades closely resembles the Hebrew Sheol in its chief characteristics. In the New Testament also Hell is a land of everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels and it is a place where the wicked go into everlasting torment

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406 a ज्योतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेतेत्येवमादिसमाम्नायं सकलदुःखसम्भेदरहिताभिलाषोपनीतदीर्घतरसुखसाधनत्वेनार्थवादैः स्तूयमानं कर्म दृश्यते । प्रकरणपञ्चिका (p. 102).

407. न दृष्टपूर्वं प्रत्यक्षं परलोकं विदुर्बुधाः । आगमांस्त्वनतिक्रम्य श्रद्धातव्यं बुभूषता ॥ शान्ति. 28.42.

408. मनःप्रीतिकरः स्वर्गो नरकस्तद्विपर्ययः । नरकस्वर्गसंज्ञे वै पापपुण्ये द्विजोत्तमाः ॥ ब्रह्मपु. 22.44, विष्णुपु. II.6.46; मनसः परिणामोऽयं सुखदुःखादिलक्षणः । ब्रह्मपु. 22.47.

and punishment, while the righteous attain life eternal (Matthew 25. 41 and 46, Luke 16.23). The words of the New Testament are plain enough that Heaven was supposed to be a *place* above the earth and the clouds and that Hell was a place below the earth full of darkness and torments. Vide Luke 23. 43, Ephesians I. 3 and 20, II. Cor. 12. 4, Rev. 2. 7; and Luke 12.5 and 16.23; II. Peter 2.4 and Rev. 6.8, 20. 13–14. Bloomfield in his 'Religion of the Veda' p. 252 remarks 'In later Hindu times Hell is filled out with the usual gruesome stage-setting in the style of Dante's Inferno or the wall painting in the *campo santo* at Pisa'. Even men of genius like Shakespeare and most Christian theologians[409] down even to modern times believed in a literal interpretation of passages from the Bible which speak of Heaven and Hell as places. It is only recently that many Christians have begun to hold that the language of the Bible about Heaven and Hell is purely symbolical in character[410].

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409. Vide William James in 'Varieties of religious experience' p. 264, where he says that the fear of the old-fashioned Hell fire was employed by Christianity to extract from it fruits for repentance and conversion value and Pringle-Pattison in 'Idea of Immortality' pp. 15–19. Vide for the Quranic ideas of Hell, SBE, vol IX p. 317 'Hell is a reward for the outrageous to tarry therein for ages. They shall not taste therein cool nor drink but only boiling water and pus'. Vide also SBE. vol. VI p. 247 (Hell contains seven divisions), vol. VI p. 165 (for the misbeliever is the torment of hell fire), vol. XIV p. 317 and p. 340 (for boiling water, pus and fire). In the Quran Heaven was supposed to consist of seven divisions viz Garden of Eternity, Abode of peace, Abode of rest, Garden of Eden, Garden of Resort, Garden of pleasure, the Garden of the most High, the Garden of Paradise.

410. The Report on the 'Doctrine of the Church of England' published in 1938 by a Commission consisting of some of the highest dignitaries of the English Church makes interesting reading, though to a non-christian the language appears rather full of circumlocution and far from clear and definite. On p. 206 the Report states "The drama of the Last Things as set forth in the medieval 'Doom' pictures rests on a tradition which makes use of a more or less literal conception of heaven and hell as specific 'places', of which a picture was formed by drawing upon traditional material, more especially the imagery of the Book of Revelation, which is itself largely drawn from Jewish and other pre-christian sources..........A quasi-literal interpretation of the imagery has in fact generally prevailed among Christians and has been wide-spread even in educated circles almost down to the present day.' On p. 219 the above Report remarks "As the essence of Hell is exclusion from the fellowship of God, so the essence of Heaven is that fellowship. It is not a selfish happiness offered in reward for

(*Continued on the next page*)

The Smṛtis had evolved the doctrine, as stated above, that if a sinner did not undergo prāyaścitta, he had to suffer torments in hell, thereafter he became born as some insect or lower animal or a tree on account of some remnants of his sins and that he was born as a human being afflicted with certain diseases or with defects.[411] These last two consequences are described under the title *karmavipāka* (the fruition of evil deeds). Śātātapa (I. 1-5) asserts that men guilty of grave

(*Continued from the last page*)

self suppression at an earlier time; it is fellowship with God who is love...... This is *infinite bliss* to the soul which is purged of self-interest. Heaven is also a fellowship of finite spirits." It will be patent how modern European minds have begun to think of Heaven and Hell in terms analogous to those in which some of the best minds of India thought of them centuries before and after the Christian era. In spite of the glowing pictures of the pleasures of Heaven and terrifying descriptions of the torments of Hell detailed in many of the sacred and popular works in Sanskrit and other Indian languages people have gone on committing all sorts of sins. The ancient machinery of Heavens and Hells must be deemed to have largely failed of its purpose in these days. Large masses of men appear to be slipping into an abyss of despair, misery, hardness of heart, wanton brutality and lawlessness. The lurid accounts of bombings and night raids on big cities, the reports of the bloody battles for six years in the World War No. 2, the harrowing tales of tortures in such prisoners' camps as at Belsen, the phenomenal rise in the prices of all necessities of life (food, clothing and shelter), frequent strikes and struggles between the employed and the industrialists, growing indiscipline, arson, plunder and bestial treatment of human beings on the ground of race or religion have produced hardness of heart and debased large masses of Indian people. It is a very difficult question for our leaders how to revive among the common people of India, (whom Westerners dubbed mild Hindus) the old characteristics of tolerance, peacefulness, goodwill and respect for human life and property, how to build up a new fabric of society, a new civilization and culture on the ancient Upaniṣadic foundations of the pursuit of Reality, brotherhood of man, the unity of all life, and love of mankind even without pressing into service the ancient and medieval literal conceptions of Heaven and Hell.

411. प्रायश्चित्तविहीनानां महापातकिनां नृणाम्। नरकान्ते भवेज्जन्म चिह्नाङ्कितशरीरिणाम्॥ प्रतिजन्म भवेत्तेषां चिह्नं तत्पापसूचकम्। प्रायश्चित्ते कृते याति पश्चात्तापवतां पुनः॥ महापातकजं चिह्नं सप्त जन्मानि जायते। उपपापोद्भवं पञ्च त्रीणि पापसमुद्भवम्॥ दुष्कर्मजा नृणां रोगा यान्ति चोपक्रमैः शमम्। जाप्यैः सुरार्चनैर्होमैर्दानैस्तेषां शमो भवेत्॥ शातातप I. 1-4. The verses 5-10 (about the diseases) and the following verses about the gift of cows, bulls, land and gold are quoted in the महार्णवकर्मविपाक of मान्धातृ (folio 4a and 4b) as from शातातपीयकर्मविपाक. The प्राय. वि. p. 106 remarks 'पूर्वजन्मकृतयोः सुवर्णापहारसुरापानपापयोर्नरकोपभोगक्षपितयोरपि सुवर्णचौरः कौनख्यं सुरापः श्यावदन्तताम् (मनु ११.४९)-इत्यनुमितयोः किंचित्सावशिष्टत्वादल्पप्रायश्चित्तमाह वसिष्ठः (20.6)।'

sins that have not undergone prāyaścitta are, after undergoing the torments of Hell, born with bodies marked with certain condemned signs. One guilty of grave sins bears such signs for seven births, one guilty of *upapātaka* for five births and one guilty of *pāpa* for three births. These marks indicative of their having committed a particular sin are observed in each life and only disappear after they repent and perform prāyaścitta. Similarly, the diseases arising from sinful deeds subside by adopting the remedies of the recitation of Vedic texts, worship of gods, homas and gifts.' Verses 6–10 specify the diseases that arise in consequence of sins such as leprosy, tuberculosis, gonorrhœa, dysentery, kidney trouble, stone in the bladder, cough, fistula &c. A man may commit sins of three kinds viz. by the body, in words and mentally (Manu XII. 3). Really speaking, it is the mind that is the spring of all actions (Manu XII. 4), but for the sake of convenience, this threefold division is made. Coveting another's wealth by unfair means, desiring that evil should befall another and persistence in false ideas (such as the one that there is no soul, but that the body is the soul)–these three are mental sins (Manu XII. 5). Harshness of speech, falsehood, backbiting and irrelevant prattling—these four are vocal sins (*ibid* XII. 6). Appropriating to oneself another's wealth without his consent, injury to sentient beings against the injunctions of śāstra, sexual intercourse with another's wife—these three are bodily sins (*ibid* XII. 7). Manu provides that bodily sins reduce a man to the state of a fixed object (tree &c.), vocal sins reduce him to the state of birds and beasts and mental sins to the lowest castes (Cāṇḍāla and the like). Hārīta (q. by Par. M.)[412] speaks of 18 evil actions that lead to hell, of which six are mental, four vocal and the rest are bodily sins. Manu XII. 54–59 and 62–68, Yāj. III. 131, 135–136, 207–208 and 213–215, Viṣṇu Dh. S. Chap. 44, Atri. Chap. 4.5–14, 17–44 (in prose) state into what animals, trees and creepers sinners are born after undergoing hell torments. The statements of Yāj. being concise are set out here. 'This soul enters into hundreds of bodies in this *saṁsāra*, viz. as one of the lowest castes, bird or fixed object (tree &c.) on account of his lapses springing from the mind, speech and body (Yāj. III. 131); a man who

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412. सर्वाभक्ष्यभक्षणमभोज्यभोजनमपेयपानमगम्यागमनमयाज्ययाजनमसत्प्रतिग्रहणं परदाराभिगमनं द्रव्यापहरणं प्राणिहिंसा चेति शारीराणि । पारुष्यमनृतं विवादः श्रुतिविक्रयश्चेति वाचिकानि । परोपतापनं पराभिद्रोहः क्रोधो लोभो मोहोऽहङ्कारश्चेति मानसानि । सर्वेतान्यष्टादश नैरयाणि कर्माणि... । हारीत q. by परा. मा. II part 2 pp. 212–213.

tells lies, who is a back-biter, whose speech is harsh and who babbles what is irrelevant is reduced to being a bird or a beast (*ibid* III. 135); one who is addicted to misappropriating another's wealth and to sexual intercourse with another's wife, who injures another against *śāstric* rules is born as a fixed object; the murderer of a brāhmaṇa becomes born in the body of a beast (deer &c.), a dog, a pig or a camel; the drinker of *surā* is born as an ass, a *pulkasa* (one born from śūdra woman of a *niṣāda*), or a *veṇa* (one born of an Ambaṣṭha woman from a vaidehaka); the thief of gold reaches the state of a worm, an insect (an ant &c.) or a moth and one guilty of incest becomes grass, a bush or a creeper (Yāj. III. 207–208). On stealing leafy vegetables one is born as a peacock, on stealing perfumes one is born a *chuchundarī* (musk-rat); the thief of corn, of a vehicle, fruits, water, milk, domestic utensils (like pestle), honey, flesh, a cow, fire, cloth, juice (of sugarcane or the like) and salt is born respectively as a mouse, a camel, a monkey, a plava (duck), a crow, a sparrow, bee, vulture, *godhā* (iguāna), crane, a man suffering from white leprosy, a dog, *cīrī* (cricket bird). The Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 217 verses 37–110) contains a long disquisition on the different kinds of animal births that sinners of various kinds have to undergo. Vide also Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa) 2.60–88, Agni 371.30–32 (which latter states that the murderer of a brāhmaṇa is born as a beast or deer or a dog, hog, or camel, the drinker of wine as an ass or pukkasa or mleccha, the thief of gold as a worm or pest or moth, one guilty of incest as grass or a bush).

It was believed in very ancient times that diseases were the consequences of sins[413]. In the Atharvaveda VIII. 7.3 plants are said to have destroyed from each limb the disease due to sin[414]. Manu XI. 49–52, Vas. 20.44, Yāj. III. 209–211, Viṣṇu Dh. S. Chap. 45, Śātātapa I. 3–11 and II. 1, 30, 32, 47, Gautama-smṛti in verse chap. 20 and Gautama (in prose q. by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 216) or Vṛddha-Gautama (according to Smṛtimuktāphala

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413. This belief is not confined to India In the Gospel of St. John (9.1–3) when a man blind from birth came before Jesus the disciples asked him 'who did sin, this man or his parents that he was born blind'. Jesus is said to have rejected that idea and performed a miracle by restoring to him his sight after applying to the man's eyes clay mixed with the spittle of Jesus and washing his eyes in a pool.

414. आपो अग्रं दिव्या ओषधयः। तास्ते यक्ष्ममेनस्यमङ्गादङ्गादनीनशन्॥ अथर्व. VIII.7.3.

p. 861), Yama (q. by Pr. M. p.9), Śaṅkha (q. by the Mitākṣarā on Yāj. III. 216), Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 99–100 state the diseases and bodily defects from which sinners suffer after they are born as men. As a sample Yāj. III. 209–211 may be cited here; the murderer of a brāhmaṇa suffers from Tuberculosis, a drinker of *surā* has black teeth, the thief of brāhmaṇa's gold has diseased nails, one guilty of incest suffers from leprosy; the thief of food suffers from dyspepsia, one who stealthily learns without permission (or one guilty of plagiarism) is born dumb, one who mixes up inferior corn with superior corn is born with excessive limbs (with six fingers &c.), a backbiter is born with pus in the nose; a thief of oil is born as *tilapāyī* and one who falsely reports faults in others has a foetid breath. Yāj. III. 217 states that after reaping the consequences of their (evil) deeds (by falling into Hell and) by reaching the state of lower animals, sinners are born as human beings of a low order, poor and with condemned marks on the body; even medical works like the Carakasaṁhitā held the belief that diseases were the consequences of actions done in past lives (vide Sūtrasthāna, Chap. I. 116),

The smṛtis are not in complete agreement about the diseases or bodily defects that sinners of various grades suffer. For example, though Vas. 20.44 and Śaṅkha (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 216) state that the murderer of a brāhmaṇa suffers from leprosy, Manu XI. 49, Yāj. III. 209, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 45. 3, Agni. 371. 32 aver that he suffers from phthisis. For want of space the long lists of the births as lower animals and the diseases and deformities from which sinners suffer contained in Śaṅkha, Hārīta, Gautama, Yama and the Purāṇas quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 216, the Par. M. II. part 2 pp. 230–240, 242–272, Madanapārijāta pp. 701–702, the Mahārṇava-karmavipāka are passed over here.

Āp. Dh. S. (II. 1. 2. 6–7) states that a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya or vaiśya sinner guilty of brāhmaṇa murder, after undergoing the torments of Hell is born again respectively as a Cāṇḍāla, Paulkasa and Vaiṇa and that other sinners who have become outcasts by their sins are born on account of these as certain animals (like pigs). Similarly, Manu XII. 61 provides that one who from greed steals precious stones, pearls, corals and jewels of various kinds is born as a goldsmith.

Although the word *Karman* is ordinarily employed to denote good as well as evil actions still in the section on penances the word 'Karman' prominently presents to the mind the idea of evil deeds. Hence *Karmavipāka* means the ripening (or fruition) of evil actions or sins. This fruition takes three forms, as stated in the Yogasūtra[415] II. 13, viz. *jāti* (birth as a worm or animal &c.), *āyuḥ* (life i. e. living for a short period such as five or ten years) and *bhoga* (experiencing the torments of Hell &c.). The word Karmavipāka appears to have been known to Yāj. III. 131 (vipākaḥ karmaṇām pretya keṣām cid-iha jāyate) and it occurs frequently in the Purāṇas (e. g. in Brahma-purāṇa 224. 41, 225. 43 and 59, Matsya 115. 14 &c.). The Pr. Sāra pp. 219-231 contains probably the longest treatment of Karmavipāka. The doctrine of Karmavipāka was well known to the Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna, who in his Ratnāvali refers to it[416]. The Buddhist Avadānaśatakas also refer to the doctrine of Karmavipāka. Vide also Suttanipāta (S. B. E. vol 10 part 2) p. 38 and S. B. E. vol. 21 p. 130 (Saddharma-puṇḍarīka). In some medical works also such as the Hāritasaṁhitā it is said that the murderer of a brāhmaṇa suffers from white leprosy and the killer of a cow from black leprosy ; a regicide suffers from phthisis, and the destroyer of a park from dysentery &c.[417]. In the Vivāgasuyam (Vipākaśrutam), which is the 11th *aṅga* of the Jaina-āgama and an edition of which was brought out by Dr. P. L. Vaidya (in 1933) we have stories of persons who suffered from evil diseases owing to their committing evil deeds in former lives and other stories of the fruits of good deeds.

The doctrine based upon the implications of Manu XII[418]. 3, 9 and 54 and Yāj. III. 206 was that it is human beings alone (and not lower animals like tigers &c.) that have to experi-

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415. सति मूले तद्विपाको जात्यायुर्भोगाः । योगसूत्र II.13. The ब्रह्मपुराण 217.40 illustrates both *jāti* and *āyuḥ* viz. 'पतितं याजयित्वा तु कृमियोनौ प्रजायते । तत्र जीवति वर्षाणि दश पञ्च च भो द्विजाः ॥'

416. Vide JRAS for 1934 p. 307 at p. 311 for the views of नागार्जुन on कर्मविपाक. Verse 14 is: हिंसया जायतेऽल्पायुर्बह्वाबाधो विहिंसया । चौर्येण भोगव्यसनी सशत्रुः पारदारिकः ॥.

417. Vide Journal Asiatique (Paris) for 1934, pp. 125-139 for the text of the हारीतसंहिता. 'ब्रह्मघ्नो जायते पाण्डुः कुष्ठी गोवधकारकः । राजघ्नो राजयक्ष्मी स्यादारामघ्नोऽतिसारवान् ॥ स्वाम्यङ्गनाभिगमने मेहरोगा भवन्ति हि । गुरुजायाप्रसङ्गेन मूत्ररोगोऽश्मरीगदः ॥ स्वकुलजाप्रसङ्गेन जायते च भगन्दरः । शूली परोपतापी च पैशुन्याच्छ्वासकासिनः ॥ verses 12-14 at p. 134.

418. कर्मजा गतयो नृणामुत्तमाधममध्यमाः ॥ मनु XII. 3; शरीरजैः कर्मदोषैर्याति स्थावरतां नरः । मनु XII. 9.

ence in Heaven and Hell the consequences of their deeds. The Viṣṇudharmottara explicitly states so[419].

The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 216), the Smṛtyarthasāra, Par. M., Pr. Sāra and other works state that the disquisition on Karmavipāka[420] is merely an *arthavāda*, that it is not to be taken literally, but is meant to induce sinners to undergo such prāyaścittas as Prājāpatya which entail great worry and trouble and which no one might willingly undertake. The Mit. points out that the description of the diseases (like pthisis) is not intended for requiring those who suffer from them to undergo the penances for twelve years or the like nor for inducing people to avoid contact with such persons, that śiṣṭas do not avoid contact with those who have bad nails, that in the case of such persons the disease or defect is the last result of what little sin remained attached to them and that by the very fact of their having the disease or defect mentioned in the texts they become free from the last remnants of their sins and therefore they do not stand in need of any further penance and as their sin is finally removed by suffering the disease or defect their fitness for being allowed to mix among people is established.

The teaching of the works on Karmavipāka, though dismal and terrifying, comes to this that no soul need be without hope provided it is prepared to wait and undergo torments for its misdeeds, that it need not be appalled by the numerous existences foreshadowed in those works and that the soul may in its long passage and evolution be ultimately able to discover its true greatness and realize eternal peace and perfection.

Manu XII. 69 (almost the same as Viṣṇu Dh. S. 44.45 and Garuḍapurāṇa II. 2. 89) states that women guilty of the sin of theft become the wives of men who are guilty of the same offences.

VĀMANAPURĀṆA, chap. 12 is called *Karmavipāka* and Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa chap. 15 treats of the same subject. The

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419. मनुष्याः प्रतिपद्यन्ते स्वर्गं नरकमेव वा। नैवान्ये प्राणिनः केचित्सर्वे ते फलभोगिनः॥ शुभानामशुभानां च कर्मणां भृगुनन्दन। सञ्चयः क्रियते लोके मनुष्यैरेव केवलम्॥ तस्मात् मनुष्यस्तु मृतो यमलोकं प्रपद्यते। नान्यः प्राणी महाभाग फलयोनौ व्यवस्थितः॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर-पुराण II, 102. 4-6 q. by परा. मा. II. part 2 pp. 208-209, प्रा. सार p. 215 (after affirming मनुष्याणामेव शुभाशुभकर्मफलोपभोगः।).

420. इदानीन्तनपापिनां प्रायश्चित्तोन्मुखत्वार्थं पूर्वजन्मकर्मविपाका वर्णिताः। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 100; न ह्ययं विपाको विधातुं प्रतिषेद्धुं वा शक्यतेऽननुष्ठेयत्वादवर्जनीयत्वाच्च। अत एतस्मिन्विधिप्रतिषेधपरे शास्त्रे तद्विकल्पनमयुक्तम्। नायं दोषः। प्रायश्चित्तार्थवादत्वेन तदुपयोगात्...अत्र च [illegible] प्रायश्चित्तस्य क्लेशात्मकत्वादनागतः प्रवृत्तिर्न सम्भवतीति तत्र प्रवृत्तिसिद्धये प्ररोचना कर्तव्या। परा. मा. II. part 2 pp. 206-207.

Varāhapurāṇa (chap. 203, 21 ff.) expatiates at length upon the topic how sinners endure torments in Hell for innumerable years, how after their evil deeds have been almost wiped out they become human beings suffering from various diseases or deformities.

In the Mahārṇava-karmavipāka of Māndhātṛ it is stated that there are two means of destroying the consequences of (evil) actions, viz. kṛcchra (penances) and the reversal (or remedies) against diseases[421]. The latter consists in making golden images of the sun (as the superintending deity of good health) and of the deity of a disease and offering worship to both these in a *maṇḍapa* on a raised *vedikā* (platform). The work expatiates at length on the Vedic verses employed according to Āśvalāyana and the Taittirīya Śākhā for *ghoṣa-śānti* (propitiatory ceremonies with loud recitation of Vedic mantras); the worship of the sun with Vedic mantras and of the planets, the offerings of *āhutis*, the Rudraikādaśinī, Mahārudra (11 times as many as the preceding) and Atirudra, repeating the thousand names of Viṣṇu, Vināyaka-śānti (as laid down by Yāj. I. 271–294), Navagraha-yajña in which it assigns each planet to some country and some gotra[422]. It also prescribes how for the removal of particular diseases particular *dānas* may be given (such as *Kadalīdāna* i. e. manufacturing a kadalī plant from one *pala* of gold and donating it). It deals with the gifts of the images of all diseases supposed to be incurable and quotes Śātātapa II. 47–48 in connection with the removal of rājayakṣmā (phthisis). It deals at length with fevers and other diseases and bodily defects such as greenish or cat-like eyes, deafness &c. But the detailed treatment of all these matters is passed over here from considerations of space, and also for the reason that these prescriptions are now either hardly believed in by people or hardly ever performed.

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421. अथ कर्मक्षयोपायौ कृच्छ्रव्याधिविपर्ययौ। तत्राथ व्याधिविपर्ययेण [illegible] व्याधिप्रतिकृतिदानं वक्ष्यत इति। ...प्रतिमा द्विप्रकारा अधिदेवता देवतात्मिका च। आरोग्ये देवता [illegible] प्रायेण सूर्यः सर्वेषां रोगाणामधिदैवतं-आरोग्यं भास्करादिच्छेद् इति [illegible] स्मृतिः। तत्र व्याधिप्रतिमा [illegible] देवता भवति। महार्णव folios 33b and 34a; रोगप्रतिमादाने सर्वत्र सूर्य एवाधिदेवता व्याधिदेवता च भिन्ना [illegible]। [illegible] देवता भवन्तीति। *ibid.* folio 44a.

422. 'ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः कलिङ्गदेशोद्भव [illegible] [illegible]। ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः, [illegible]। ओं...स्वः मगधदेशोद्भव आत्रेयसगोत्र [illegible]...। महार्णव, folio 157 b.

SECTION II

ANTYEṢṬI (rites after death), ŚUDDHI (purification from impurity due to death, birth and other causes)

CHAPTER VII

ESCHATOLOGY

What happens after death to a human being (which is the subject matter of Eschatology) has been a great mystery that has intrigued and baffled mankind in all ages and was a question of vital importance among almost all ancient peoples such as the Indians, Egyptians, Chaldeans, Greeks and Persians. The word Eschatology is derived from a Greek term meaning 'last things' and is applied to the study of opinions that men have held from time to time concerning the future, including such matters as the state of man after life on this earth and the end of the world. It exercises a great fascination over most people and speculation on it can be carried on endlessly. Every religion has its own eschatology. There are two aspects of Eschatology; one is concerned with the destiny of the individual after death, immortality of the soul, sin and punishment, the meaning and content of 'Heaven' and 'Hell'; the other aspect of eschatology has relation to the whole universe, its creation, destination and renovation, and the ultimate end of all things. The first aspect and matters relevant to it from the ancient Indian point of view will be dealt with in this section and the second aspect of Eschatology is reserved for treatment in a later section. In ancient works far more emphasis was laid on the first than on the second, while modern men with a more or less scientific outlook and attitude are inclined to think more of the second aspect.

Death has been generally looked upon with feelings of awe and terror, though there were men (often philosophically minded) who looked upon it as a blessing and as a release of the spirit from the shackles imposed upon the latter by the body. The terror of death was in many cases due not so much to the pain

caused at the time of death but rather to the mystery that surrounds what happens after death and to the thoughts about what the survivors would have to undergo. It is said by C. E. Vulliamy in his work 'Immortal man' (p. 2): 'although the idea of that life (ghostly life) ranges from the most dismal and horrible fantasies to the most sublime imaginations, the fundamental thought is always the same, the body dies but not the spirit'. There were several attitudes adopted by primitive as well as civilized people towards death. In the Kaṭhopaniṣad we read (I. 1.20) 'When a man dies there is a doubt, some saying that there is survival after the death of the body and some denying any survival' and Naciketas requests the dreaded God Yama to solve this doubt. There are several beliefs[422a] even among those who hold that there is survival after death. Some say that there is a world of the dead to which whatever survives goes after death. Others believe that the surviving part goes to Heaven or Hell according as the man has been virtuous or sinful in his life on earth. Others believe in transmigration and re-incarnation. Several of the great writers in ancient Greece believed in this last doctrine, as Pindar (in second Olympian Ode), Plato (in Phaedrus and Timaeus) and Herodotus (II. 123) indicate.

The Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 214 verses 34–39) sets out the persons to whom death is happy and easy and not a source of misery and sorrow. A few may be mentioned here.–'He who did not tell lies, he who did not prove false to affection or friendship, who is an *āstika* (a believer in God and the life to come), who is devoted to the worship of gods and the honouring of brāhmaṇas, he who does not bear malice to anyone–these have a happy death.' Similarly, the Anuśāsanaparva of the Mahābhārata (chap. 104. 11–12, chap. 144. 49–60) states at length the causes of premature death and of long life. Some of them may be translated here. 'Those who are atheists, do not perform the acts (or sacrifices) proper for them, violate the (dictates of) elders and of śāstras, who do not know what *dharma* is and are evil-doers are short-lived. Those who have no character, who always break all rules of conduct, who have promiscuous sexual intercourse become short-lived and go to Hell. One who is not irritable by temper, speaks the truth, does not cause injury to beings, who bears no malice to any one and who is not crooked—these live for a hundred years' (104. 11–12 and 14).

422a. Compare C. E. Vulliamy's 'Immortal man' (p. 11).

Several works specify the signs indicative of the approach of death. The Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata (chap. 318. 9-17), Devala quoted in the Mokṣakāṇḍa of the Kalpataru (pp. 248-250, about 20 verses), the Vāyupurāṇa (chap. 19 verses 1-32), the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 43. 1-33 (chap. 40 verses 1-33, Venkaṭeśvara Press ed.), Liṅgapurāṇa (pūrvārdha chap. 91) and other Purāṇas contain long lists of the signs of approaching death. It is impossible for want of space to set out in detail these signs. But the gist of a few verses is mentioned by way of sample. The Śāntiparva (chap. 318) states that a man who is not able to see the star of Arundhatī which he could formerly see, nor the pole-star nor the full moon, nor his own reflection in another man's eye has only one year to live; he has only a span of six months of life left to him who sees the orb of the moon with a hole in it; a man has only seven days left of life who sees a hole pierced in the orb of the Sun, who smells the odour of a corpse when fragrant substances are near; when the nose and ears bend down, when his teeth and eyes become discoloured, when there is loss of consciousness, and loss of bodily heat, when smoke emerges from the crown of the head, when the left eye begins to ooze moisture all of a sudden– these are indications of the immediate approach of death. Devala states indications that prognosticate life for only one year, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2 months, one month, half a month, 12 days, 4 days, 3 days, 2 days and winds up by saying that one who cannot hear the humming sound in his ear (when closed with fingers) or cannot see the light in the eye is going to die immediately. The Vāyupurāṇa (19.28) and Liṅgapurāṇa 91.30 regard the last two as the worst indications of approaching death[423]. The Liṅgapurāṇa (pūrvabhāga chap. 91.24) states that he who cannot see his own reflection in another's eye will not live. There is an interesting paper by Dr. R.G. Harshe in the Munshi Diamond Jubilee volume (pp. 246-268) where the learned writer gives the text of two mss. on the prognostications derived from dreams e. g. if a man sees an ass in a dream he is sure to die, or if he sees an old maid then it is an indication of danger, disease and death (p. 251) or if he sees a trident death is indicated (p. 254).

423. द्वे चात्र परमेऽरिष्टे एतद्रूपं परं भवेत्। घोषं न शृणुयात्कर्णे ज्योतिर्नेत्रे न पश्यति॥ वायुपुराण 19.27; नष्टं वा श्रवणं यस्य विद्यान्मृत्युमुपस्थितम्। लिङ्गपुराण (पूर्वभाग 91.19).

When a man is sinking and is almost on the point of death it was and even now is the practice in many parts of India to take the dying man down from the bedstead and place him on a bed spread on the earth[424]. For example, the Kauśika-sūtra (80.3) prescribes[425]: When the man is losing all strength, he (the son or other attending relative) spreads *kuśas* on the grass growing in the shed and takes him down (from the bed-stead) with the *mantra* 'syonāsmai bhava' (mayst thou be good to this man, Oh Earth). The Baud. P. S. III. 1.18 says that sand should be spread on the ground in the sacrificial shed when it is feared that the sacrificer is dying and *darbha* grass should be strewn on the sand with the sharp ends turned to the south and the dying man should be placed thereon and one (son or the like) should repeat in his right ear the *anuvāka* beginning with 'āyuṣaḥ prāṇam santanu'. The Gobhilasmṛti III. 22 and later works like the Pitṛdayitā provide the same procedure.

Medieval digests like the Śuddhiprakāśa (pp. 151-152) state that when a person is moribund, has half closed his eyes and is taken down on the ground (from a bed-stead), his son or other relative should make him give one or more of ten gifts viz. of cows,[426] land, sesame, gold, clarified butter, clothes, grain, jaggery, silver, salt. These gifts are superior even to a śrāddha performed at Gayā or to even hundreds of Aśvamedhas. The

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424. In Europe a very widespread custom is to take a dying man out of bed and to lay him on the earth or on straw. Vide Prof. Edgerton's very exhaustive article on 'the Hour of Death' in Annals of the Bhandarkar O.R. Institute, vol. VIII pp. 219-249.

425. दुर्बलीभवन्तं शालातृणेषु दर्भानास्तीर्य स्योनास्मै भवेत्यवरोहयति । [illegible] कौशिक 80.3-5. अथर्व० 18.2-19. is 'स्योनास्मै भव पृथिव्यनृक्षरा निवेशनी । यच्छास्मै शर्म सप्रथाः ॥'. ऋ. I.22.15 and वाज. सं. 36.13 are almost the same, reading स्योना पृथिवि भवानृक्षरा° and स्योना पृथिवि नो भव° respectively; vide निरुक्त 9.32 for explanation of this verse. The पितृदयिता (p. 74) states यदा कण्ठस्थानगतजीवो विह्वलो देही भवति तदा बहिर्गोमयेनोपलिप्तायां भूमौ कुशान्दक्षिणाग्रानास्तीर्य तदुपरि दक्षिणशिरसं स्थापयित्वा सुवर्णरजतगोभूमितिलपात्राणि दापयेत् ; गोभिलस्मृति III. 22 'दुर्बलं स्नापयित्वा तु शुद्धचैलाभिसंवृतम् । दक्षिणशिरसं भूमौ बर्हिष्मत्यां निवेशयेत् ॥'

426. दानानि च आतुरकार्यं आह । उत्क्रान्तिवैतरण्यौ च दश दानानि चैव हि । [illegible] कृत्वा तं भूमौ अवतार्यैव दापयेत् ।...दश दानानि च तेनैवोक्तानि । गोभूतिलहिरण्याज्यवासोधान्य-गुडानि च । रौप्यं लवणमित्याहुर्दश दानान्यनुक्रमात् ॥ शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 152; for a similar verse about ten dānas vide गरुडपु. (प्रेतखण्ड) 4.4. An Inscription of Vikramāditya, a chieftain under the Kalachuri king Saṅkama (published in E. I. vol. XIX pp 230) records the gifts of land, coins, house and gold on the occasion of the prāyaścitta in honour of his deceased father.

saṅkalpa (verbal declaration of the gift) is made in the words 'I shall make ten gifts for the attainment of heaven (*abhyudaya*), or for the removal of all sins'. After the ten *dānas*, a cow with a calf should be donated if possible[427] (this cow being called *utkrānti-dhenu* 'a cow donated in view of death') and then another cow called Vaitaraṇī with gold (or two pieces of cloth &c) should be donated. The Antyeṣṭipaddhati and the Śuddhiprakāśa (pp. 152–153) set out all the mantras (not vedic) that are to be recited at the time of making the several gifts, which (mantras) are passed over here for want of space. The Antyeṣṭipaddhati, the Antyakarmadīpaka and other works prescribe that when a person is near death, his son or other relative should make him perform Vratodyāpana, sarvaprāyaścitta and the gift of ten *dānas* or if the dying man is unable to do these himself, the son or the other relative should perform these and give the merit thereof to the dying man. A person often resolves upon observing certain *vratas*, but fails to carry out all the details of those vratas to the end. The Vratodyāpana for the dying man is meant to cure all such unfinished vratas. The A. K. D. (pp. 3–4) has a long note about the performance of *vratodyāpana*. Briefly it comes to this. The son or other relative having brought about the purity of the dying man's body by a bath or by sprinkling it with holy water (*mārjana*) or by making him drink Ganges water, having himself taken a bath and performed his daily duties (of *sandhyā*), having lighted a lamp, having bowed to Ganeśa and prayed to god Viṣṇu, having placed before him the materials of worship and having repeated the usual saṅkalpa (see note[428]), he should honour a brāhmaṇa

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427. अन्तकालेऽथवा देया गौः सवत्सा तु पूर्ववत्। तदभावे तु गौरेव नरकोद्धारणाय वै। तदा यदि न शक्नोति दातुं वैतरणीं तु गाम्। शक्तोऽशक्तोऽपि वा रुग्णः तदा दद्याद् ... व्यास. q. by शुद्धितत्त्व p. 300, शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 153, अ. क. दी. p. 7. पूर्ववत् means स्वर्णशृङ्गादिना. The गरुडपुराण (प्रेत०) 4.6 says 'नदीं वैतरणीं तर्तुं दद्याद्वैतरणीं च गाम्। ... सा वै वैतरणी स्मृता॥'. The idea was that at the door of यम there was a river called वैतरणी, full of blood and sharp weapons and that there those who donated a cow at the time of death cross that terrible river by holding the cow's tail; vide स्कन्दपु. VI. 226.32–35 for वैतरणी and verse 34 is 'मृत्युकाले प्रयच्छन्ति ये धेनुं ब्राह्मणाय वै॥ तस्याः पुच्छं समाश्रित्य ते तरन्ति च तां शुभ॥'. The दानमयूख of लक्ष्मीपति prescribes two *mantras* at the time of donating the वैतरणी cow, one of which is: [illegible]

428. अद्य पृथिव्यां जम्बूद्वीपे भरतखण्डे आर्यावर्तैकदेशे विष्णोराज्ञया प्रवर्तमानस्य ब्रह्मणो द्वितीयपरार्धे...अमुकतिथौ अमुकगोत्रः...अमुकशर्माहं ममात्मनः (मम पित्रादेः)

(Continued on the next page)

already invited and should give to him the gold (or silver) set apart for the purpose and the brāhmaṇa should pronounce the words "May all vratas be fulfilled! May there be the attainment of the fruits of *udyāpana* (accomplishment of vrata)". In the sarvaprāyaścitta the son approaches 4 or 3 learned men or one man knowing *adhyātma* (metaphysics) and offers the substitutes (of gold &c.) for sins that involve penances for 6, 3 or 1½ years or makes a declaration and performs the prāyaścitta, after the days of impurity.

The sarvaprāyaścitta was to be performed by the dying man or by his son or other relative who was to shave himself, take a bath, drink *pañcagavya*, honour a brāhmaṇa with sandal paste and other things; after having honoured the cow or the money to be paid in lieu of it, and after referring to the several kinds of sins that one may be guilty of (vide note [429]) he is to make a gift of a cow (with a calf) to the brāhmaṇa or in lieu of it, of some money. After sarvaprāyaścitta come the ten *dānas* stated above. In the dānas the Kāmastuti [430] as studied by the followers of each veda was to be recited. The Garuḍapurāṇa (II. 4. 7–9) further prescribes other dānas called mahā-dānas viz., of sesame, iron, gold, cotton, salt, seven kinds of corn, land and cows when a man is dying and also other gifts called padadānas such as of umbrella, sandals, ring, water-jar, seat, food. The Garuḍapurāṇa (II. 4. 37) further provides that if a man about to die takes sannyāsa according to the rules laid

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(Continued from the last page)

व्रतग्रहणदिवसादारभ्य अद्य यावत्फलाभिलाषादिगृहीतानां निष्कामतया गृहीतानां च अमुकामुकव्रतानामकृतोद्यापनदोषपरिहारार्थं श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणोक्तसद्व्रतजन्यसाङ्गफलप्राप्त्यर्थं विष्ण्वादीनां तत्तद्देवानां प्रीतये इदं सुवर्णमग्निदैवतं (तदभावे इदं रजतं चन्द्रदैवतं) अमुकगोत्रायामुकशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय दास्ये ओं तत्सत् न मम इति सङ्कल्प्य etc. अ. क. दी. p. 4.

429. देशकालौ संकीर्त्य मम (मत्पित्रादेर्वा) ज्ञाताज्ञातकामाकामसकृदसकृत्कृतकायिकवाचिकमानसिकसांसर्गिकस्पृष्टास्पृष्टभुक्ताभुक्तपीतापीतसकलपातकातिपातकोपपातकलघुपातकसङ्करीकरणमलिनीकरणापात्रीकरणजातिभ्रंशकरप्रकीर्णकादिनानाविधपातकानां निरासेन देहावसानकाले देहशुद्धिद्वारा श्रीपरमेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थमिमां सर्वप्रायश्चित्तप्रत्याम्नायभूतां यथाशक्त्यलंकृतां सवत्सां गां रुद्रदैवताममुकगोत्रायामुकशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय तुभ्यमहं संप्रददे ओं तत्सत् न मम। अ. क. दी p. 5. अन्त्येष्टि of नारायण has also the words ज्ञाताज्ञात...पातकानां निरासार्थं.

430. क इदं कस्मा अदात्कामः कामायादात्। कामो दाता कामः प्रतिग्रहीता। कामः समुद्रमाविवेश। कामेन त्वा प्रतिगृह्णामि कामैतत्ते। अथर्ववेद III. 29.7, तै. ब्रा. II. 2.5.9 (where this Kāmastuti is explained) and Tai. Ā. III. 10. This कामस्तुति occurs in many ceremonies (such as marriage, adoption etc.). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1069, and आश्व. श्रौ. V. 13.15 (which reads कामं समुद्रमाविश) and आप. श्रौ. 14.11.2.

down for what is called *āturasannyāsa* he never returns to the cycle of births and deaths.

From ancient times it was a firmly held belief that the thoughts that a dying man entertains at the time of death determine what will happen to his spirit after physical death (this is expressed in the well-known words 'ante matiḥ sā gatiḥ'), that therefore a man should, when death approaches, give up all thoughts of mundane affairs and all earthly attachments, should think of his favourite deity (Hari or Śiva), should inaudibly recite such *mantras* as 'om namo Vāsudevāya'. Several texts insist on making the dying man listen to holy Vedic texts. The Gautamapitṛ-medhasūtra (I. 1-8) prescribes that one should at the time when one's father, mother, brother, teacher or a brāhmaṇa friend is on his death-bed make the dying man hear the first and last verses of the Veda and certain *sāmans* and should mutter in the dying man's right ear (one sāman). The Ṛgvidhāna provides that one should repeat at the time of death the *sūkta* beginning with 'trātāram' [431] (?)

The Hir. P. S. I. 1 provides that when it is thought that the *āhitāgni* is going to die, he (the son or the like) should mutter in the dying man's ear (if he is a knower of Brahma) the two *anuvākas* of the Tai. Up. II. 1 (beginning with 'brahmavidāpnoti param') and III. 1 (beginning with 'Bhṛgurvai vāruṇiḥ'). The A. K. D. (p 18) says [432] that if the dying man is unable to engage in *japa* he should revolve in his mind the benign form of Viṣṇu or Śiva and should listen to the thousand names (of Viṣṇu or Śiva), the Bhagavadgītā, the Bhāgavata, Bhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, the Upaniṣads like Īśāvāsya and hymns to Soma.

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431. त्रातारमिति सूक्तं तु अन्तकाले सदा पठेत्। जप्त्वा चैव परं स्थानममृतत्वाय कल्पते। ऋग्विधान q. in शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 154. The *अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति of नारायणभट्ट* (Nir. edition, *pothi* size p. 163 b) reads नानानमिति ... स्थानममृतत्वं स गच्छतीति ऋग्विधानवचनात्॥. The Ṛgvidhāna edited by Jagadish Shastri reads (III.19-20) नानानमिति सूक्तानि अन्तकाले जपेत्सकृत्।. नानानं is the first verse of Ṛg. IX.112. It is likely that the editor of शुद्धिप्रकाश misreads नानानमिति as त्रातारमिति, since त्रातारम् is not a sūkta (hymn) but only one stanza in a hymn.

432. जपेऽसमर्थश्चेद् हृदये चतुर्भुजं शङ्खचक्रगदापद्मधरं पीताम्बरकिरीटकेयूरकौस्तुभ-वनमालाधरं रमणीयरूपं विष्णुं त्रिशूलडमरुधरं चन्द्रचूडं त्रिनेत्रं गङ्गाधरं शिवं वा भावयन् सहस्रनामगीताभागवतभारतरामायणेशावास्याद्युपनिषदः पावमानादीनि सूक्तानि च यथासम्भवं शृणुयात्। अ. क. दी. *p. 18. For विष्णुसहस्रनाम vide अनुशासनपर्व 149.14-120* and अनुशासन 17.31-153 for 1008 names of शिव; vide also शान्तिपर्व 285.74 ff.

The germs of this idea are found even in the Upaniṣads. The Chāndogya Up. (in the famous Śāṇḍilya-vidyā, III. 14. 1) remarks 'All this is Brahman. A man should meditate on that (all this) as beginning, ending and subsisting in it (Brahman). Now man is a creature of his will. According to whatever is his will (or thought) in this world, so will he become after departing from this world.'[433] The Praśna Up. III. 10 contains a similar idea. It is here asserted that it is thought power or the will that raises the soul higher and higher, and that the human mind should try to realize the idea that behind all physical transformations the Universe is one and is informed by one all-pervading Essence. Similarly, the Bhagavadgītā puts this idea in a much more clear way. 'The man, who remembering me alone in his last moments, departs from this life, comes to me; there is no doubt about this' (8. 5). But in order to guard against the possible inference that it is only the thoughts at the approach of death that matter whatever the past life led by a dying man may have been, the next verse emphasizes that a man's spirit is engrossed by the thoughts that he has entertained throughout life and that a man can think of spiritual matters or about God at the time of death only if he has been thinking about such matters or about God throughout his life. That verse (8.6) is 'whichever form (or thing) a man remembers when he leaves the body at death, to that alone he goes, having been always (throughout his life) engrossed in meditating over it."

Some of the digests, on the authority of several Purāṇas, prescribe that the dying man should be taken, if possible, near a holy place (*tīrtha*) such as the Ganges. For example, the Śuddhitattva[434] (p. 299) quotes a passage from the Kūrmapurāṇa to this effect: 'a man attains *mokṣa* (final release from *saṁsāra*) by dying in the waters of the Ganges, on land or in water at

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433. सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म तज्जलानिति शान्त उपासीताथ खलु क्रतुमयः पुरुषो यथाक्रतुरस्मिँल्लोके पुरुषो भवति तथेतः प्रेत्य भवति स क्रतुं कुर्वीत। छा. उप. III. 14.1. अन्तकाले च मामेव स्मरन्मुक्त्वा कलेवरम्। यः प्रयाति स मद्भावं याति नास्त्यत्र संशयः॥ यं यं वापि स्मरन्भावं त्यजत्यन्ते कलेवरम्। तं तमेवैति कौन्तेय सदा तद्भावभावितः॥ भगवद्गीता 8.5–6; vide शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. I. 2.1 for the explanation of तज्जलान् and on वे. सू. IV. 1.12 for quoting the छा. उप. and भगवद्गीता 8. 5–6.

434. कूर्मपुराणम्। गङ्गायां च जले मोक्षो वाराणस्यां जले स्थले। जले स्थले चान्तरिक्षे गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे॥ तथा (स्कान्दे)। तीराद्गव्यूतिमात्रं तु परितः क्षेत्रमुच्यते। अत्र दानं जपो होमो गङ्गायां नात्र संशयः। अत्रस्थास्त्रिदिवं यान्ति ये मृता न पुनर्भवाः। शुद्धितत्त्व pp. 299, 300, शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 155, गव्यूति is equal to two क्रोशs.

Vārāṇasī (Benares) and at the confluence of the Ganges with the sea either on land, in water or in the air.' Another passage to the same effect is quoted from the Skanda-purāṇa and it is further said in the same Purāṇa that for one *gavyūti* from the banks of the Ganges is a *kṣetra* (holy place): 'gifts, *japa* (muttering of sacred texts), *homa* performed within this extent is equal to doing the same on the Ganges itself; those who die within this *kṣetra* go to heaven and are not born again.' In the Pujāratnākara [435] it is said: 'Hari is present wherever there is the Śālagrāma stone; one dying near a Śālagrāma stone reaches the highest abode of Viṣṇu'. It was said that a person (even a non-Aryan) dying within one krośa of a Śālagrāma reaches Vaikuṇṭha (world of Viṣṇu). Similarly, one dying in a garden of *tulasī* (Basil) plants or with Tulasī leaf placed in his mouth at the time of death attains *mokṣa* even if guilty of crores of sins. These are popular notions held even up to this day among common people, not thoroughly affected by modern ideas.

There are also dicta about the time when it is best to die. The Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata states: 'he who dies after the sun has gone to the northern direction (i. e. when the apparent motion of the sun towards the north begins) and on any auspicious *nakṣatra* and *muhūrta* is really one who has a store of merit (with him)' [436]. This is based on the ideas of death in *Uttarāyaṇa* and *Dakṣiṇāyana* found in the Upaniṣads. For example, the Chāndogya Up. (IV. 15. 5-6) states 'Now (if one who knows this dies) whether people perform obsequies for him or not he goes to light (*arcis*), from light to day, from day to the bright half of the moon, from thence to the six months during which the sun goes to the north, from the months to the year, from the year to the sun, from the sun to the moon, from the moon to

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435. पूजारत्नाकरे। शालग्रामशिला यत्र तत्र संनिहितो हरिः। तत्सांनिधौ त्यजेत् प्राणान् याति विष्णोः परं पदम्॥ लिङ्गपुराणे। शालग्रामसमीपे तु क्रोशमात्रं समन्ततः। कीकटेपि मृतो याति वैकुण्ठभवनं नरः॥ वैष्णवामृते व्यासः। तुलसीकानने जन्तोर्यदि मृत्युर्भवेत् क्वचित्। स निर्भर्त्स्य नरं पापी लीलयैव हरिं विशेत्॥ प्रयाणकाले यस्यास्ये दीयते तुलसीदलम्। निर्वाणं याति पक्षीन्द्र पापकोटियुतोपि सः॥ शुद्धितत्त्व p. 299, शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 155. कीकट is the country of Magadha, which was regarded as a land beyond the pale of Aryanism in the Ṛgveda (III. 53.14). Vide Nir VI 32 where the country of कीकट is said to be अनार्यनिवास. The शुद्धिप्रकाश reads कीटकोऽपि (even a worm) for कीकटेपि, which is better, but might be an emendation.

436. आपन्ने तूत्तरां काष्ठां सूर्ये यो निधनं व्रजेत्। नक्षत्रे च मुहूर्ते च पुण्ये राजन् स पुण्यकृत्॥ शान्तिपर्व 298.23 q. by the मोक्षकाण्ड of कल्पतरु p. 254.

lightning. There is a person who is not human that leads them to Brahman. This is the path of the Devas, the path that leads to Brahman. Those who proceed on that path do not return to the life of man, yes, *they do not return*'. There is a similar passage in Chāndogya Up. V. 10. 1–2 where it is said that even householders who know the doctrine of the five fires (*Pañcāgni-vidyā*) and those who in the forest follow the path of faith and austerities (i. e. *vānaprasthas* and *parivrājakas* who do not yet know Highest Brahman) go by the path called Devayāna, while (V. 10. 3–7) those, who, living in a village, practise sacrifices, works of public utility and alms, go to smoke, from smoke to night, from night to the dark half of the moon, from thence to the six months when the sun goes to the south, from thence to the worlds of the fathers, from thence to ether (*ākāśa*) and to the moon, where they consume their works and return again the way they came. The Chān. Up. (V. 10. 8) refers to a third place where small creatures (like flies, worms &c.) are continually going and returning. The Bṛ. Up. (VI. 2. 15–16) contains similar passages about Devaloka, Pitṛloka and the third world of worms, birds and creeping beings. The Bhagavadgītā, basing itself on these Upaniṣad passages, puts the matter succinctly (in 8. 23–25) as follows:—'I shall state the times at which devotees departing from this world go, never to return or to return. The fire, the flame, the day, the bright fortnight, the six months of the northern (apparent) motion of the sun; departing from the world in these those who know the Brahman go to Brahman. Smoke, night, the dark fortnight, the six months of the southern (apparent) motion of the sun; dying in these the devotee goes to the lunar light and returns. These two paths, bright and dark, are deemed to be eternal in this world. By the one a man goes never to return, by the other he comes back'. The Vedāntasūtra (IV. 3. 4–6) explains that the words 'light' 'day' and others are not to be taken in their literal sense (i. e. as signposts or stages on the paths) but they are to be understood as referring to superintending deities that help the spirits and lead them on the path to the worlds of the Devas or of Pitṛs (i. e. they are *ātivāhikas* and *abhimānidevatās*). Śaṅkara on Vedāntasūtra IV. 2. 20 (ataścāyanepi dakṣiṇe) explains that the waiting for the day of Uttarāyaṇa on the part of Bhīṣma (narrated in the Mahābhārata) is only meant as a eulogy of the path called 'arcirādi', that one who has realized Brahma, even if he dies in dakṣiṇāyana, does secure the fruits of his knowledge (viz.

aching Brahma), that Bhīṣma waited for the beginning of *tarāyaṇa* to abide by popular ideas and practices and to show at he possessed the power to depart from the world at his ill owing to the boon conferred on him by his father. The ājñavalkya-smṛti refers to the path (devayāna) [437] that leads Devaloka (in III. 193–194, where it reads 'mānasaḥ' for mānavaḥ' of the Ch. Up.) and the Pitṛyāṇa (in III. 195–196). spite of the interpretations of the Vedāntasūtra (and ṅkara) the popular belief that death in Uttarāyaṇa is best rsisted and still persists. For example, the Baud. P.S.(II.7. 21) marks '(the sages) provide that death during the northern ith of the sun, in the bright half of a month, during the iy and at the end of a Śrauta sacrifice is best[438].' The G. P. (II. 7.1–2) remarks: 'It is desirable to avoid dying in the dark alf of a month or at night and the following *sūtras* provide for ie offering of certain oblations if the death occurs in the dark alf or at night.

FUNERAL RITES (antyeṣṭi) are a *saṁskāra*. Antyeṣṭi one of the 16 (or more) saṁskāras of a twice-born person

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437. The words 'devayāna' and 'pitṛyāṇa' are a legacy from the hoary ist. Even in the Ṛg. there are frequent references to them. In Ṛg III. 1.5 the Aśvins are addressed a prayer 'may you come here (to this sacrifice) the paths leading to the abode of the gods' (eha yātam pathibhirdeva-inaiḥ). Ṛg. VII. 38.8 also has a similar idea 'may you, being gratified, by the devayāna paths' (tṛptā yātam pathibhir-devayānaiḥ). In Ṛg. VII. 5.2 (*addressed to Uṣas*) the sage *Vasiṣṭha exclaims that he has seen the* evayāna paths when the dawn shone in the East (pra me panthā devayānā Irśran). Agni is asked to make the devayāna paths easily accessible and carry the offerings in a pleased mood (Ṛg. X.51.5, sugān pathaḥ kṛṇuhi evayānān vaha havyāni sumanasyamānaḥ). Ṛg. X.98.11 describes Agni knowing the *devayāna* paths according to the seasons and a prayer is ffered to him to place Aulāna (son of Śantanu) in heaven among the gods idvān patha ṛtuśo devayānān-apyaulānam divi deveṣu dhehi). In Ṛg. .18.1 it is stated that the path of Death is different from devayāna (param ṛtyo anu parehi panthām yaste sva itaro devayānāt). In Ṛg. X. 2.7 Agni said to know the pitṛyāṇa path (panthāmanu pra vidvān pitṛyāṇam). In ie Tai. Br. II.6.3.5 it is said 'I have heard of two paths of the Fathers; have heard about the paths of the gods and mortals' (dve sruti aśṛṇavam itṛṇām aham devānām-uta martyānām). The Śat. Br. I.9.3.2 remarks 'this the path called Devayāna or Pitṛyāṇa.' In the Bṛ. Up. I.5.16 *it is said* here are indeed three worlds, viz. the world of men, the world of *pitṛs* nd the world of gods'.

438. उदगयने आपूर्यमाणपक्षे दिवा कर्मणो अन्ते मरणमित्युपदिशन्ति ॥ बौ. पि. सू. I. 7.21 (ed. by Dr. Shamasastri, Mysore).

performed with Vedic mantras according to Manu II. 16, Yāj. I. 10, Jātūkarṇya[439]. These saṁskāras were formerly performed for women also (Āśv. gṛ. I. 15.12, I. 16.6, I. 17–11, Manu II. 66) but without Vedic mantras (except in marriage) and for śūdras also (Manu X. 127, Yāj. I. 10) but without Vedic mantras. The Baud. P. S. III. 1.4 states that there are two saṁskāras of every human being and they are like a debt i. e. they must be performed, just as a debt must be discharged viz. the saṁskāra on birth and the one on death (mṛtasaṁskāra). Funeral rites and rites after death varied according as the deceased was an āhitāgni (one who had consecrated the śrauta fires) or one who had only kindled the smārta fire, or one who had neither the śrauta fires nor the smārta fire, or a woman, a child, an ascetic (*parivrājaka*), or one dying in a distant land or one dying by accident or committing suicide &c. The śrauta and gṛhya-sūtras differ among themselves in many details even on the same topic and the procedure becomes more elaborate in medieval and later times. It would be impossible to state all the differences on each topic in this section. A separate volume would have to be written for the purpose of setting out all the variations and additions from ancient times to modern times, to discuss why and how they arose or were made, to compare the various sūtras and to compare these again with the purāṇas and medieval digests, and to appraise their worth or usefulness. All that can be attempted here is to give the bare outlines of the procedure in different sūtras, smṛtis and digests by way of sample in a chronological order. The Nirṇayasindhu (p. 569) expressly says that the last rites differ in each Śākhā, though certain things are common to all.[439a] Chronological conclusions have been drawn about the relative ages of the sūtras (as Dr. Caland does), of the smṛtis, purāṇas and nibandhas from the presence or absence of this or that detail or the elaboration of this or that ritual. But with all respect to the industrious scholars of the West such conclusions are often tentative or misleading and are purely subjective in many cases and are often due to ignorance or loss of ancient works.

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439. निषेकादिश्मशानान्तो मन्त्रैर्यस्योदितो विधिः । तस्य शास्त्रेऽधिकारोऽस्मिञ्ज्ञेयो नान्यस्य कस्यचित् ॥ मनु II. 16; ब्रह्मक्षत्रियविट्शूद्रा वर्णास्त्वाद्यास्त्रयो द्विजाः । निषेकाद्याः श्मशानान्तास्तेषां वै मन्त्रतः क्रियाः ॥ या. I. 10; आधानपुंससीमन्तजातनामान्नचौलकाः । मौञ्जी व्रतानि गोदानं समावर्तविवाहकाः ॥ अन्त्यं चैतानि कर्माणि प्रोच्यन्ते षोडशैव तु ॥ जातूकर्ण्य q. in संस्कारप्रकाश p. 135 and अन्त्यकर्मदीपक p. 1.

439 a. प्रतिशाखं भिन्नेऽप्यन्त्यकर्मणि साधारणं किंचिदुच्यते । निर्णय० p. 569.

Before setting out the rites of cremation contained in the Śrauta sūtras, Gṛhya sūtras and later works, it would be best to give here a translation of the five hymns from the Ṛg. (X. 14–18)[440]. The verses in these hymns are employed by most of the sūtras and are used even now in the cremation rites and most of them occur in the other Vedic Saṁhitās. Varying interpretations have been given of some of these stanzas by Indian and Western commentators and critics. Only a few of these have been mentioned in the notes. Besides some stanzas are employed for different details of the cremation rites by the different sūtras. All such differences cannot be set out for want of space. The five hymns are so placed that they follow the order of the stages in which the funeral ritual proceeded in fact and is performed even now to a great extent. Vide Appendix for the text of the Ṛgveda hymns without accents.[441]

X. 14. 1 (O! sacrificer!) worship with an offering Yama, king (of pitṛs), son of Vivasvat, the gatherer of men (that are dead), who sought out the way for many (men who do meritorious acts) and who passed along great (non-terrestrial) heights[442]. 2. Yama was the first to know (find out) the path for us men; that is a pasture (abode) that cannot be taken away (by anybody), that is (an abode) where our ancient

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440. The work of Bertram S. Puckle on 'Funeral customs' (London, 1926) is a very interesting and instructive one. It describes at great length funeral customs in various parts of England, France and other countries in Europe and among Jews and also in other parts of the world. Many of the customs and beliefs that he records bear a close resemblance to customs and beliefs in ancient and modern India, such, as, for example, the alighting of a raven or other black feathered bird on a cottage where a man is very ill as a death warning (p 17), washing and anointing of dead bodies before burial (pp. 34, 36), the hiring of professional women for wailing and shrieking for the dead (p. 67), condemning burial at night (p. 77), the cutting of the hair as a sign of mourning (p. 91), placing meat and drink on the grave for the spirit of the departed (pp. 99–100), refusal of burial in the churchyard by the Church for unbaptised children, suicides, lunatics, and those excommunicated (p. 143).

441. Vide Appendix.

442. X.14.1. This verse is explained in Nir. X 20. 'Pareyivāṁsam' may also be taken with 'panthām'. The meaning of 'pravataḥ' is rather uncertain. The Tai. Ā. VI.1.1, Śat. Śr. 28.1.20, Baud. P. S. (I.2), Vaik. Śr. S. 20.22 (p. 311) read 'pareyuvāṁsam'.

ancestors went, each knowing his own way thereto[443]. 3. Mātali (Indra's charioteer or Indra himself) with the (pitṛs) called *kavya*, Yama with the Aṅgirases and Bṛhaspati with the Ṛkvans become prosperous (or increase in strength); whom (the pitṛs) the gods support and who support the gods; some of them (the gods, Indra and others) are delighted by *svāhā* (by offerings given after uttering that word) and others (pitṛs) are delighted by *svadhā*[444]. 4. O! Yama! Being of one mind with the pitṛs called Aṅgirases come to this (sacrifice) and sit down on the seat (of kuśas). May the *mantras* recited by the wise (priests) bring you (here). May you (O king) delight yourself with this offering! 5. O Yama! (come with the adorable) Aṅgirases and Vairūpas and delight (or exhilarate) yourself. I invoke Vivasvat, your father; (May he delight himself) after sitting on the kuśa grass (spread) in this sacrifice.[445] 6. The Aṅgirases, the Navagvas,[446] the Atharvans, the Bhṛgus are our pitṛs and love soma (drink). May we secure the good will of those adorable ones! May we be in their gracious favour also! 7. Hasten, hasten[447] by the ancient paths (to that place) where

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443. It is quite possible to understand 'eva jajñānāḥ' as meaning 'being thus born' (like ourselves), 'eva' being taken adverbially and 'jajñānāḥ' from 'jan' (to be born). Compare A. V. 18.3.13 यो ममार प्रथमो मर्त्यानां यः प्रेयाय प्रथमो लोकमेतम्।. The Parsi scriptures also speak of Yama (Yima) as the first mortal and as the son of Vivanghat. Vide Vendidad, Far ard II. 1. p. 11. (SBE. vol. IV).

444. Kāvyas, Aṅgirases and Ṛkvans are different classes of Pitṛs. In Ṛg. VII.10.4 the Ṛkvans (singers) are associated with Bṛhaspati. In other places they are associated with Viṣṇu, Aja-Ekapāt and Soma also. The exclamation svāhā is uttered when making an offering to Gods and svadhā when making an offering to pitṛs.

445. 'Niṣadya' is really a gerund and not a finite verb. We have to supply some verb like 'mādyatām' understood from the preceding half. Vairūpas are a subdivision of the Aṅgiras group.

446. Navagvas seem to be a subdivision of Aṅgirases, just as 'daśagvas' are, as in Ṛg. III.39.5; IV.51.4; V.29.12; X.62.6. The late Mr. Tilak in his 'Arctic home in the Vedas' (pp. 162–169) gave a somewhat far-fetched interpretation of these two words which can hardly be accepted as satisfactory in the presence of words like 'atithigva' (Ṛg. I.53.8, I.30.7, II.14.7, IV.26.3, VIII.68.17), 'abhiyugvan' (Ṛg VI.45.15), 'etagva' (Ṛg. VIII.70.7). This verse is explained in Nir. XI.19.

447. This and the following three stanzas are addressed to the departed man. For the meaning and history of the word Iṣṭāpūrta, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 843–845. It means 'the cumulative spiritual result or merit due to the performance of sacrifices and charitable acts'.

our forefathers that went before us passed. May you (the departed) see the two kings Yama and god Varuṇa rejoicing as they will. 8. (O departed one!) be united in the highest heaven with the pitṛs, with Yama and with your *iṣṭāpūrta*; leaving here blamable acts (sins), come back to your home! Being endowed with bright lustre, be united with a (new)[448] body! 9. (Ye evil spirits!) Go away, depart, move aside from this place (the cemetery); the pitṛs made (or assigned) for him (the departed person) this abode. Yama gives to him (this) resting place characterized by waters, days and nights. 10. (O departed!) proceeding by a good path, hurry on past the two dappled dogs (of Yama), offspring of Saramā, each having four eyes. Thus approach the pitṛs who will recognize[449] you and who enjoy delight in the company of Yama. 11. O king Yama! Give him (the departed one) in charge of those two dogs of yours, who are guards, having four eyes each, who guard the path (to pitṛ-loka) and who watch men. May you bestow on him happiness and health! 12. The two messengers of Yama, that have wide nostrils, that are very strong, that are satisfied with difficulty, move among the people. May those two (messengers) restore to us to-day auspicious life in order that we may see the Sun![450] 13. Extract Soma juice for Yama (O priests!), offer oblation to Yama.[451] Sacrifice, in which Agni is messenger (carrier) to the gods and which is well prepared reaches Yama. 14. (O priests) offer oblation sprinkled with ghee to Yama and then start. May he keep us (tied) to the worship of gods,[452] so that we may live a long life! 15. Offer to king Yama an oblation which is extremely sweet. Here is salutation to the sages who were born before us and who made the path for us.

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448. This appears to postulate the acquisition of a new ethereal body for the departed enabling him to enjoy the pleasures of pitṛloka.

449. 'Suvidatrān'—who will know or recognize you. The Nir. VI.14 explains 'suvidatrāḥ kalyāṇavidyāḥ'.

450. The life implored for here is that of the persons related to the deceased who are left behind on the earth. 'Asutṛpa' according to Sāyaṇa and Oldenberg means 'who steal away the lives of men'. This is a good meaning in view of what is stated in the last *pāda* of the verse. In translating as done above the word is taken as 'a + su + tṛpa', while Sāyaṇa takes it as 'asu + tṛpa'.

451. This and the following two verses are addressed to the priests.

452. 'Sa no deveṣvāyamad'—For the translation of these words given above, compare Ṛg. IX. 44.5.

16. The one great (Bṛhat-sāman) passes in three sacrifices (called Jyotir-gaur-āyuḥ) to the six wide expanses[453]. Triṣṭubh, Gāyatrī and the metres are all centered in Yama.

X. 15. 1. May the Soma—loving[454] pitṛs, whether of the lower, middling or higher grade, come forward, those pitṛs that attained life (an eternal life or a life of spirit) being kind-hearted and knowing *ṛta* (the rule of right)! May those pitṛs protect us when invoked! 2. Today may this be our salutation to the pitṛs who went (died) before (the birth of this departed one) or who went after (the birth of the departed[455]), also (those pitṛs) that are seated in this world or those who have places among the powerful people. 3. I have known the pitṛs as those who will recognize (me, their descendant) and I have known the stride of Viṣṇu and the child (viz. Agni), the pitṛs who sit on kuśa grass and partake of food and Soma offering at their will, repeatedly come here.[456] 4. O pitṛs, that occupy kuśa grass ! (come) down towards us with your protection; we have prepared for you these offerings; accept them. May you come with very blissful protection and then may grant us happiness that is free from trouble (or evil)![457] 5. May the Soma-loving pitṛs invited by us to the dear treasures (offerings) placed on the kuśa grass come! May they hear (our prayers) here! May they speak

453. This is rather a very obscure stanza. The A. V. reads 'pavate' for 'patati'. 'Trikadruka' occurs frequently in connection with Soma (as in Ṛg. II.22.1; VIII.92.21). Sāyaṇa explains that for the performance of Trikadruka sacrifices Yama gives protection and that he comes to the six wide ones for supervising over what was done or not done. The six are mentioned in Śat. Br. I.5.1.22 as fire, earth, water, wind, day and night. The six wide ones are referred to in Ṛg. VI.47 3. The conception is rather vague. The meaning probably is that in the Trikadruka sacrifices the Bṛhatsāma is sung and it reverberates throughout the universe (symbolized as the six wide ones) and that all the verses recited in the several metres do the same.

454. X. 15. 1. This and the following seven stanzas were employed as mantras in offering oblations to pitṛs in the rite performed on the day previous to the day (8th tithi) of Aṣṭakā-śrāddha; vide Āśv. gṛ. II. 4.6.

455. X 15. 2. 'Pūrvāsaḥ' and 'uparāsaḥ' may simply mean 'ancient and modern'. 'Pārthive rajasi'—here probably means 'the regions contiguous to or just above the earth.'

456. X. 15. 3. 'Napātam' is difficult to construe : probably it refers to Agni who is often addressed as 'ūrjo napāt' (Ṛg. I. 58.8, II. 6.2, VI.48.2).

457. X. 15.4. 'Sam yoḥ' is explained by the Nir. IV. 21 as शमनं च रोगाणां यावनं च भयानाम् and रपः in अरपः as meaning पाप.

in favour of us and may they protect us! 6. O Fathers! May you all, bending your knee and sitting to the right side (of the offering) commend our sacrifice; whatever fault we may commit in reference to you through our being (erring) men, do not injure us for the sake of that. 7. O Fathers! sitting in front of (in the lap of) brilliant (flames) may you bestow wealth on (me) the mortal sacrificer! May you give wealth to the sons (of the deceased mortal) and may you impart vigour (to them)! 8. May Yama desiring offerings and enjoying the company of our ancient and rich pitṛs, who came to (or valued) Soma drinks one after another, who were glorious and in whose company Yama (the king of pitṛs) found great delight, partake of (eat) the offerings (given by us) according to his liking[458]. 9. O Agni! come down towards us with the pitṛs that were thirsting and gaping (to reach the world of the gods), that knew about sacrifice and that were authors of *stomas* by means of prayers (that they offered), that know us well, that are unfailing (in responding to our call), that partake of the *kavya* offering and that sit round the heated milk. 10. O Agni! come with the pitṛs earlier and later (in time) that are unfailing, that partake of the offerings (presented to them), that drink the offerings, that are seated in the same chariot with Indra and the gods, that make obeisances to the gods in their thousands, that sit round the hot milk. 11. O pitṛs called Agniṣvātta[459], that are good guides! Come (to this rite) and sit down each on his proper seat. Eat (partake of) the pure offerings (offered) on the sacred kuśa grass and then bestow wealth (or prosperity) together with all heroic sons. 12. O Agni Jātavedas! when praised (by us) you, having made the oblations savoury, have carried them and presented (them to the pitṛs). May they eat them as is their wont (or as they are offered with the word svadhā)! O God! May you eat (partake of) the pure offerings! 13. O Jātavedas! you know how many (pitṛs) are there, viz. those who are here (near us), those who are not here, those whom we know and those whom we do not know (because they are remote ancestors). Be gracious to accept as is your habit this

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458. X. 15. 8.—अनूहिरे is perfect of either वह् with अनु or of ऊह् with अनु. वसिष्ठाः may be taken as meaning 'Vasiṣṭha, his descendants and others' and as the worshippers of Pitṛs or simply means 'rich or dressed in rich clothes.'

459. X. 15. 11. अग्निष्वात्त = अग्नि + स्वात्त (from स्वद्) means 'tasted or licked by Agni'.

sacrifice which is well prepared. 14. (O Agni) Resplendent (or self-ruling) along with those (pitṛs) who (whose bodies) were burnt by fire and also whose bodies were not burnt and who enjoy delight (on account of offerings made) with *svadhā* (or as is their wont) in the midst of the heavens. May you arrange a body as (the deceased) desires that will inspire him to a (new) life (in heaven)!

X. 16. 1. O Agni! Do not burn out this (departed person?), do not singe him all round, do not throw here and there (parts of) of his skin or his body; O Jātavedas (fire)! when you burn him completely, may you send him (the deceased) on to the pitṛs! 2. O Jātavedas! When you thoroughly burn this (departed person), then may you hand him over to the pitṛs! When he (the dead person) follows this (path) that leads on to a (new) life, may he become one that carries out the wishes of the gods[460]! 3. May your eye (of the deceased) go to the Sun, your breath to the wind, may you go to Heaven and earth by your merit or you may go to the waters if you find pleasure there (or if that be your lot)! May you rest (stand) with all your limbs in the herbs! 4. O Jātavedas! May you burn by your heat the goat that is your share! May your flame, may your bright light burn that goat;[461] carry this (departed) to the world of those who do good deeds by means of your beneficent bodies (flames). 5. O Agni! discharge again towards the pitṛs (this deceased) who being offered on to you moves about (or wanders) as is his habit. O Jātavedas! may he take on (a new) life and increase his offerings and be united with a new (ethereal) body.[462] 6. (O dead man!) May Agni who consumes all make free from blemish that limb of yours which the dark bird (crow) has pierced or an ant or a snake or a wild beast struck at and may Soma that entered into the brāhmaṇas do the same[463].

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460. X. 16. 2. The words असुनीतिमेता have in view the words असुनीतिमेतां यथावशं तन्वं कल्पयस्व in X 15.14 above.

461. X. 16. 4. अजो भागः—This refers to the goat that was optionally carried with the dead body. Vide note 486 below and Ṛg. X. 16.7 where the cow is mentioned as being burnt with the dead body.

462. X. 16. 5. For the meaning of शेवम्, compare Ṛg. VII. 4.7 (न शेवो अग्ने अन्यजातमस्ति).

463. X. 16. 6—For सोम...आविवेश, compare 'सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजा' शतपथब्रा. V. 4.2.3 and 'स यदि सोमं ब्राह्मणानां भक्षः' ऐ. ब्रा.' 35.3. In X.16.7 the idea seems to be that when the corpse is covered with the parts of a slau_htered animal the corpse may not be burnt too quickly.

7. (O deceased) put on (yourself) with cows an armour (i. e. against fire flames) of Agni (i. e. with the skin of the cow) and surround yourself with the thick fat (of the cow), so that (Agni) that overwhelms with his lustre, that takes delight (in destroying things), that is bold and seeks to burn completely may not scatter (all your parts). 8. O Agni! do not destroy this cup that is dear to the gods and the Soma-loving (pitṛs). In this cup from which the gods drink, the immortal gods take delight[464]. 9. I send far away the fire that eats raw flesh: may Agni that carries evil (or sins) go (to regions) where Yama reigns! The other Agni (Jātavedas), knowing everything, may take even here the offering to the gods. 10. I, observing the other Agni (Jātavedas) for the purpose of offering a sacrifice to the pitṛs, leave aside the fire that devours raw flesh and that entered your house; may he (the other fire) urge on to the highest world the *gharma* (heated milk or sacrifice[465]). 11. May that fire which carries the *kravya*[466] offerings offer them to the pitṛs that prosper according to *ṛta*! May he offer the oblations to the gods and pitṛs! 12. (O Agni!) we who love you have established you and have kindled you. May you loving (the pitṛs) bring here the pitṛs that love us in order that they may partake of the offering! 13. O Agni! May you extinguish (with water) that spot which you burnt (at the) time of cremation! May Kiyāmbu (plant) arise here and may dūrvā creeper spreading its tendrils grow here! 14. O Śītikā (cool plant), O herb full of cooling effect, O Hlādikā (freshening herb) causing delight, may you be well associated with a she frog! May you gladden this fire!

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464. X. 16. 8. This mantra is repeated as invocation when the *praṇītā* water is carried forward in the cup. As stated below all sacrificial implements are placed on the body of the deceased āhitāgni and burnt. But the sage prays that the cup may not be completely destroyed, since it may have to be used in the other world by the departed spirit.

465. X. 16. 10. This verse is rather involved. If the words of this verse and the next are literally construed it would seem that the *kravyād* fire was employed for pitṛyajña. It is possible to hold that *kravyād* fire was considered as something evil and to be kept distinct from the ordinary or sacrificial fire.

466. X. 16.11 Sāyaṇa explains on the assumption that the word *is* kavyavāhana in this, while the Saṁhitā and the padapāṭha have kravyavāhana. The Vāj. S. 19.65 and Tai. S. II. 6.12.5 read 'kavyavāhanaḥ'. Here apparently at least the flesh-eating fire is admitted not only in the rites for the pitṛs but also in the rites for gods.

X. 17. The verses of this hymn, except 3–6, have hardly any bearing on funeral rites. Therefore only those four verses are translated here. The first two verses refer to the marriage of Vivasvat with the daughter of Tvaṣṭṛ and to the legend of the birth of Yama and Yamī from Vivasvat. Both are explained at length in Nir. XII. 10–11. Verses[467] 7–9 which contain prayers to Sarasvatī are almost the same as A. V. 18. 1. 41–43 and are employed by the Kauśika-sūtra (81.39) in the cremation rite along with A. V. 7.68. 1–2 and 18. 3. 25.

3. May the all-knowing Pūṣan, who does not allow cattle to perish and who protects the world, discharge (despatch) you from this (world to the next) ! May he (Pūṣan) hand you over to these pitṛs and may Agni hand you over to the gods that know you well ! 4. May Pūṣan, who is the life of the Universe and who is himself life, protect you ! May he who is ahead of you guard you on the way (to heaven) ! May god Savitṛ place you in that place where the doers of good deeds went and dwell. 5. Pūṣan knows all these quarters in order ; may he take us by (a path) most free from danger ! He is the bestower of happiness, full of refulgence, he has all heroes with him ; may he (Pūṣan) the wise one go in front of us without committing a mistake ! 6. Pūṣan exists (stands) in the fore-front of the paths (leading to the world of pitṛs), of the paths leading to heaven and of the paths on the earth. He stands facing both the worlds that are very dear (to all) and he, the knowing one, travels towards and away from both.

X. 18. 1. O Death ! Move aside along another path that is your own and different from the Devayāna path. I address you who have eyes and ears. Do not injure our children, do not harm our heroic sons. 2. (O relatives)[468] that are sacrificers ! Since you have come obliterating the foot-prints of Death and firmly establishing long life for yourselves, prospering with progeny and wealth, may you be pure and holy ! 3. These living (relatives) have turned back separated from the dead ; this day our invocation (sacrifice to) of the gods became auspicious. We then went forward for dancing, for

467. Sarasvatī is a sacred river and also imagined as a deity. Ṛg. VI. 61 and VII. 95 are two hymns addressed to Sarasvatī. Probably waters of rivers were used at the time of cremation and they are all identified with and held as sacred as Sarasvatī.

468. X. 18.2. This verse is addressed to the relatives when they turn homeward after cremation.

laughter (with our children) firmly establishing our long life. 4. I place (here) this barrier (stone) for the (protection of) the living (relatives, son and the like) so that none of them may go this goal (that the departed went). May they live for a hundred prosperous autumns! May they keep off Death by means of the mountain[469] (the stone). 5. O Dhātṛ! Arrange the lives of these (the survivors) in the same way as the days come one after another in proper order, as the seasons follow each other in a proper order, as a younger one does not abandon an elder (relative)[470]. 6. May you (the survivors) accepting old age attain (long) life, striving in order (of age) whatever your numbers may be; may Tvaṣṭṛ of noble birth and gracious give you here (in this world) a long life to live![471] 7. Let these women whose husbands are worthy and are living enter the house with ghee (applied) as collyrium (to their eyes). Let these wives first step into house, tearless, without any affliction,[472] and well adorned. 8. O wife (of the dead)! Raise yourself up towards the world of the living (your sons and other relatives); you lie down near one (your husband)

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469. X. 18.4. Paridhis are encircling sticks of sacrificial wood such as palāśa, khadira placed round the fire. This verse is employed by Āśv. gṛ. IV. 6.9 in the śāntikarma performed after the collection of bones. Here the fire is surrounded on three sides by the wooden sticks and a stone is placed on the north of the fire with the last quarter as stated by Āśv. gṛ. IV. 6. 10 अन्तर्मृत्युं दधतां पर्वतेनेत्यश्मानमुत्तरतोऽग्नेः कृत्वा...यथाहान्यनुपूर्वं भवन्तीत्यमात्यानीक्षेत।. अमात्य here means all members of the family, men and women, except the performer of the rite.

470. X. 18.5 यथा न पूर्वमपरो &c. Probably this refers to the funeral procession arranged according to ages, as Āśv. gṛ. IV. 2.9 states expressly 'अन्वञ्चोऽमात्या अधोनिवीताः प्रवृत्तशिखा ज्येष्ठप्रथमाः कनिष्ठजघन्याः'. The बौ. पि. सू. I. 21.4 remarks 'अथैनाननुपूर्वं कल्पयति यथाहान्यनुपूर्वं भवन्तीति or the idea may be that each generation should die in the order it was born and that a son should not die before his father.

471. X. 18.6. This may be symbolic of the fact that the members of the family of the deceased are made to stand on the hide of an ox spread to the west of the fire. Vide Āśv. gṛ. IV. 6.8 'अथाग्निमुपसमाधाय पश्चादस्यानडुहं चर्मास्तीर्य...तस्मिन्नमात्यानारोहयेदारोहतायुर्जरसं वृणाना इति.'

472. X. 18. 7. This verse was employed in the procedure of widow burning (*satī* or sahamaraṇa or anugamana) by medieval and later writers. Some of them read 'agneḥ' or 'agne' for 'agre'. But even without this change Aparārka (p. 111) and others rely for the practice of *satī* on this verse. For a discussion on this verse and the next, the different readings in the old texts, the different theories built upon these and the practice of widow-burning, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 617–619 and pp. 625–635.

who is now lifeless; come! You have kept true to this your wifehood of the husband who held your hand (formerly in marriage) and who loved you passionately [473]. 9. (1) Take the bow from the hand of the departed (kṣatriya) in order that there may be in us martial vigour, brilliance and strength [474]. May thou (the departed) there and may we here be endowed with heroic sons and conquer here all competing and aggressive enemies! 10. (O departed) approach this mother Earth which is spread wide and is pleasant. May this young one (the Earth) as soft as (wool) to you who have bestowed gifts save you from the lap of Death. [475] 11. O Earth! heave yourself up, do not crush it, be of easy approach and of easy resort to him, and O Earth! cover him (the dead person represented by his bones) just as a mother would cover her son with the fringe (of her garment). [476] 12. Let the Earth heave itself up and remain firm. Let the

473. X. 18.8. This verse is somewhat misplaced. It should occur earlier in X.14. The last quarter is rather difficult to construe. In the Tai. Ā. VI. 1 there is a similar verse 'इयं नारी पतिलोकं वृणाना निपद्यत उप त्वा मर्त्य प्रेतम्। विश्वं पुराणमनुपालयन्ती तस्यै प्रजां द्रविणं चेह धेहि'॥. The Tai. Ā. VI 1 also has the verse उदीर्ष्व नार्यभि॰ and as printed reads 'सम्बभूव', but सायण explains आभिमुख्येन सम्यक् प्राप्नुहि (i. e. he explains सम्बभूथ). The बौ. पि. सू. 1.8.1-2 reads संबभूव and says about Ṛg. X. 18.8 and Tai. Ā verse अथास्य भार्यामुपसंवेशयति। इयं नारि...धेहीति। तां प्रतिहितः सव्ये पाणावभिपद्योत्थापयति उदीर्ष्व...बभूवेति।

474. X. 18.9 अस्मे is used with all cases as shown by the Nir. VI.7. Here it may be equal to अस्मभ्यं or अस्मासु. This verse also should occur earlier along with verse 8 above. In Śāṅ. Sr. 16.13.13 both 8 and 9 are called utthāpinī (verses) 'उदीर्ष्व नार्युदीर्ष्वातः पतिवत्युदीर्ष्वातो विश्वावसोऽश्मन्वतीत्युत्थापिन्यः'. The com. remarks 'आभिर्होताध्वर्यो महिषीमुत्थापयन्ति'. उदीर्ष्वातः पतिवती is Ṛg. X. 85.21, उदीर्ष्वातो विश्वावसो is Ṛg. X.85.22 and अश्मन्वती: is Ṛg. X. 53.8. These are recited in अश्वमेध at the time of making the crowned queen get up from near the dead horse. Compare H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1235. The तै. आ. VI. 1 reads three verses respectively applicable to ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय or वैश्य departed person as 'सुवर्णं हस्ताददाना॰, धनुर्हस्तादा॰, मणिं हस्तादाददाना' and बौ. पि. सू. I 8.3-5 cites them and remarks 'अथास्य सुवर्णेन हस्तौ निमृजते स्वर्णं हस्ता॰ इति ब्राह्मणस्य, धनुर्हस्ता॰ इति क्षत्रियस्य' &c.

475. X. 18. 10. Vide the passage from Āśv. Sr. S. where this and the following three verses are stated to be among the 24 verses to be recited on the death of a *dīkṣita*. The Āśv. gṛ. 4.5.5 employs this as a *mantra* to be recited at the time of depositing in a pit the jar containing the burnt bones of the dead. The बृहद्देवता (VII. 17-18) says that X. 18. 10-13 are employed in the rite of collecting the bones.

476. X. 18. 11. This verse is employed by the Āśv. gṛ. 4.5.6 for becital at the time of scattering dust over the jar containing the charred ones.

lars in their thousands stand up supporting this house. May se homes (the clods of earth) drop him nourishment! May y become here for all days the shelter [477] for him (the departed resented by bones)! 13. I prop up the earth around you for r sake. May I placing this lump of clay receive no harm! y the pitṛs support (make steady) this post! [478] May Yama vide here seats (or resting places) for you. 14. (The gods) re placed me in the day that will come back (tomorrow) like feather of an arrow; (therefore) I restrain backwards (stop) speech as a person restrains a horse with a bridle. [479]

It should be noted that the word 'pitṛ-yajña' actually occurs Ṛg. X. 16. 10. What does it mean? It has to be remembered t the hymns Ṛg. X. 15–18 refer to rites immediately on death of a single person. They are not concerned with rites formed for deceased male ancestors long after their deaths. anxiety (in X. 15–18) seems to be to make the ancient pitṛs led Barhiṣadaḥ and Agniṣvāttāḥ in Ṛg. X. 15. 3–4, 11) ourably disposed to the recently departed spirit. *Havis* crificial food such as boiled rice) was offered to the ancient s (Ṛg. X. 15. 11) who were supposed to have partaken of the d offered (X. 15. 12). The purpose of these Ṛgvedic hymns is irely different from the purpose of the mantras in Tai. S. I. (which refer to the pitṛyajña performed in Sākamedha). a matter of fact three of the mantras in Tai. S. I. 8. 5 do ur in Ṛg. X. 57. 3–5 and are employed in the piṇḍa-pitṛyajña. re is hardly any reason to suppose that the pitṛyajña in . X. 15. 10 is more ancient than the piṇḍapitṛyajña. It uite possible that both referring as they do to different tters were coeval.

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477. X. 18. 12. This is recited after the bones are covered with icles of dust. It is probable that the particles were poetically described osts.

478. X. 18. 13. It looks very likely that a wooden post was employed support for the urn that was deposited under ground.

479. X. 18. 14. This verse is rather obscure and various interpreta- s have been proposed by German scholars (Roth, Grassmann, Ludwig, lner and Oldenberg) and others like Whitney and Hopkins. The trans- n is only tentative, but it probably brings out the sense in the context h better than many other interpretations. The idea probably is that the ker wants to disconnect himself from the dead just as a feather may me *loosened from an arrow that is shot and therefore he states that he* ts to stop addressing the dead and close up all connection with the dead. Bṛhaddevatā (VII. 18–19) remarks on this verse 'प्रतीचीने यथाहानि रपेतराणि ह । अहःसु पितरो बभुरित्याशास्तेऽन्यथाशिषः' ॥

It would be interesting to see how the ceremonies on the death of an *āhitāgni* are described in the śrauta and gṛhya sūtras. The Āśv. Śr. S. VI. 10 describes what is to be done in case one that has undergone a *dīkṣā* (initiation) for a Soma sacrifice or a sattra dies before the sacrifice is finished. It states "When the *dīkṣita* is dead, they take out the body by the *tīrtha*,[480] place it on the spot where it was intended that *avabhṛtha* (bath at the end of a soma or sattra sacrifice) was to be taken and deck the body with the decorations that ordinarily are placed on a dead body. They cut the hair (on the head) of the corpse, the hair on the lips, the hair on the body and also pare the nails. They apply paste of *Nalada* (Indian spikenard) to the corpse and throw on it a garland of *naladas*. Some (having cut open the entrails) take out the fecal matter from them and fill them with pṛṣadājya (when clarified butter is mixed with curds it is so called). They cut off a portion as wide as the foot of the corpse from a new (unworn) garment and cover the dead body with it in such a way that the fringe is towards the west (the head being placed towards the east) and the feet of the corpse are exposed to view. The portion cut off from the piece of cloth is taken by the sons and the like. The deceased man's *śrauta* fires are placed on the churning sticks (the two *araṇis*), the dead body is taken outside the *vedi* (fire altar) towards its south, fire is produced by attrition and then the body is burnt therewith. After returning from the cremation, they should finish the work of the day. On the next morning, the recitation of the śāstras, the singing of the stotras and the saṁstavas (reciting hymns in chorus) should be without repetition and the uttering of the *him* sound. On the same day before taking up the *grahas* (cups), the priests come out by the tīrtha, go round the place of cremation with the right hand turned away (from the place) and sit round it in the following manner viz. the hotṛ priest sits to the west (of the place of cremation), the adhvaryu to the north, and the sāma priests to the west of the adhvaryu (and the brahmā priest to the south). Then the sāma priests sing in a low voice the verse beginning with 'āyam gauḥ pṛśnirakramīt.' When the singing is finished the hotṛ walks round the place of cremation thrice with his left

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480. तीर्थ *means the path to the sacrificial ground between the* चात्वाल *and* उत्कर (vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 984). For स्तोत्रिय that occurs a little lower down, vide *H. of Dh. vol. II p. 1186.*

turned towards the place of cremation and without uttering the syllable 'om' recites immediately after the song of the sāma priests the stotriya in a low voice and also the following verses attributed to Yama and Yāmyāyanas (as seers or authors) viz. Ṛg. X. 14. 7–8, 10–11, X. 16. 1–6, X. 17. 3–6, X. 18. 10–13, X. 154. 1–5. They should finish with Ṛg. X. 14.12, then collect the charred bones in a jar, take the jar by the way of the tīrtha and place it on the seat that was occupied by the deceased sacrificer.[481]

The Śāṅkhāyana Śr. S. (IV. 14–15) deals at great length with the death of an *āhitāgni* and the rites that follow. Kāt. Śr.

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481. संस्थिते तीर्थेन निहृत्यावभृथे प्रेतालङ्कारान् कुर्वन्ति। केशश्मश्रुलोमनखानि वापयन्ति। नलदेनानुलिम्पन्ति। नलदमालां प्रतिमुञ्चन्ति। निष्पुरीषमेके कृत्वा पृषदाज्यं पूरयन्ति। अहतस्य वाससः पाशतः पादमात्रमवच्छिद्य प्रोर्णुवन्ति प्रत्यग्दशेनाभिःपादम्। अवच्छेदमस्य पुत्रा अमा कुर्वीरन् अग्नीनस्य समारोप्य दक्षिणतो बहिर्वेदि दहेयुः।...प्रत्येत्याहः समापयेयुः। प्रातरन्यान् समनभिहिङ्कृतानि शस्त्रानुषङ्गनाभिष्टवनसंस्तवानि। पुरा ग्रहग्रहणात् तीर्थेन निष्क्रम्य त्रिः प्रसव्यमायतनं परीत्य पर्युपविशन्ति। पश्चाद्धोता। उत्तरोऽध्वर्युः। तस्य पश्चाच्छन्दोगाः। आयं गौः पृश्निरक्रमीदित्युपांशु स्तुवते। स्तुते होता प्रसव्यमायतनं परिव्रजन्स्तोत्रियमनुद्रवेदपशुवन्। यामीश्च। प्रेहि प्रेहि पथिभिः पूर्व्येभिरिति पञ्चानां तृतीयामुद्धरेत्। मैनमग्ने विदहो माभिशोच इति षट्। पूषा त्वेतश्च्यावयतु प्र विद्वानिति चतस्र उपसर्प मातरं भूमिमेतामिति चतस्रः सोम एकेभ्यः। उरुणसा उदुम्बलाविति च समाप्य संचित्य तीर्थेन प्रपाद्य यथासनमासादयेयुः। आश्व. श्रौ. 10.

The Śat. Br. (XII, 5. 2.5) *refers to the practice* of cleansing the deceased of all foul matter, but does not approve of it. It recommends 'having washed him out inside he anoints with ghee and thus makes the body sacrificially pure.' आयं गौः पृश्निरक्रमीत्—is the first verse of the hymn Ṛg. X. 189. 1–3 which are also S. V. No. 630–632 (Āraṇyakāṇḍa) and 1376–78 (Uttarārcika). The hymn also occurs in the other Vedas. The verses are called सार्पराज्ञ्य ऋचः. It may be noticed that the Āśv. gr. (IV.4.6) prescribes the recitation of the 24 mantras prescribed in the Āśv. Śr. above and employs some more verses (from Ṛg. X. 14–18) in the ritual set out below from the Āśv. gṛ. In the Āśv. Śr. II. 19 there is a description of a rite called 'pitryā karma,' in which offerings are offered in fire taken from the Dakṣiṇāgni and in which the *devatās* are five viz. Pitaraḥ-somavantaḥ, Soma pitṛmān, Pitaraḥ barhiṣadaḥ, Pitaraḥ Agniṣvāttāḥ, Yama, for each of whom three verses are recited respectively in order viz. Ṛg. X. 15. 1, IX.96.11, X.15.5 ; Ṛg. I.91.1, I.91.12. VIII. 48.13 ; X. 15.4, X. 15.3, X. 15.2 ; X. 15.11, X. 15.13, X. 15.14 ; X. 14.4–5, X. 14.1. Ṛg. X, 16.12 (repeated thrice) becomes the sāmidhenī in that rite ; X. 14.5 is Yājyā and X. 14.4 and X. 14.1 are anuvākyās ; Ṛg. X. 15.9, IV. 11.3, I. 96.1 are recited when the rite is finished (instead of Agni Sviṣṭakṛt Agni Kavyavāhana is invoked); Ṛg. X. 16.11, X. 15.12 are two Saṃyājyās in Vaṣaṭkāra. The editor of the Prayogaratna explains that Nalada means 'Uśīra' (i. e. Wālā in Marathi) and that some substitute japā flowers (china rose) for *naladas*.

S. 25.7 does the same but more briefly. Kāt. (25. 7. 18) refers to the cutting of hair and nails and taking out fecal matter and Kauś. (80. 13–16), Śāṅ. Śr. 4. 14. 4–5 also speak of the cutting of hair, of bathing the dead body, applying paste and putting garlands. The Baud. P. S. (1. 2) refers to these and adds that if they cut open his entrails from the right side they again sew it with darbha grass or they may simply wash the body (without taking out the fecal matter), cover the body with a piece of cloth, deck it, remove the body by the way between the *vedi* and *utkara*, place it on a couch (*āsandī*) over which a black antelope skin was spread with the head to the south, put Nalada garland on it and cover it with an unworn piece of cloth (as in Āśv. Śr. above). Sat. Śr. 28. 1. 22 and G. P. S. I. 10–14 contain similar provisions adding that the toes of the feet and thumbs of the corpse are tied with a white thread or the fringe of a garment (baddhvā daśenāṅguṣṭhau-pādayoḥ pāṇyośca, G. P. S. I. 12) and that the *āsandī* (a small couch or chair on which the corpse was carried) was to be of *udumbara* wood. The Kauśikasūtra (80. 3. 3–45) refers to numerous stanzas from A. V. that are to be recited in kindling the funeral fire and offering oblations, viz. 18. 2. 4 and 36; 18. 3. 4; 18. 1. 49–50, 58; 18. 1. 41–43; 7. 68. 1–2; 18. 3. 25; 18. 2. 4–18 (omitting 18. 2. 10); 18.4.1–15 &c. Compare SBE. vol. XI p. XLI for Budhist practice.

The Āśv. gṛ.[482] (IV. 1 and 2) prescribes in general the ceremonies on the death of an *āhitāgni*, while the Āśv. Śṛ. S. quoted

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482. It deserves to be noted that the numbering of the sūtras in Āśv. gṛ. IV. 1–2 differs in different editions considerably. The rules about the selection of the site for cremation are ancient. The Sat. Br. XIII. 8.1 and Kāt. Śr. XXI. 3,15–26 also lay down elaborate rules. The latter may be set out here: 'the site for cremation should be one surrounded by a thicket of trees, but it should be so open that the sun shines directly on it at mid-day. It should be saltish land or land sloping to the north or it may be all level land. Some say that it should slope towards the south. The spot should be such that the houses in the village cannot be seen from it and should be at a distance from the road and from the vaṭa, pippala, tilvaka, haridru, sphūrjaka, bibhīdaka and other trees that have an evil name (such as śleṣmātaka and kovidāra). The Śat. Br. XIII. 8.1.16 names all these trees that are to be avoided. The spot should be such that a pile of wood (as directed in Kāt. Śr. 25. 7. 16–17) can be constructed thereon. It should be a pleasing one and should have a thicket of various trees to its west or in default, water, which may be to its west or north. The spot should have streams or holes and grass growing thereon. The Kāt. Śr. S.

(*Continued on the next page*)

above deals with what should be done in case the *āhitāgni* dies while engaged in a Soma or other sacrifice. The Āśv. gṛ. remarks 'when an *āhitāgni* dies, one (a son or other relative) should arrange to have a piece of land dug up to the south-east or south-west at a place sloping towards the south or south-east, or according to some towards the south-west. The piece of land dug up should be of the length of a man with upraised arms, of the breadth of one *vyāma*[483] and one *vitasti* (twelve finger breadths) in depth. The cemetery (śmaśāna) should[484] be free (open) on all sides. It should abound in herbs, but plants with thorns and with milky juice (should be dug out) as stated before (in Āśv. gṛ. II. 7.5 about vāstu-parīkṣā). From which the waters flow on all sides (that is the spot should be a little higher than the surrounding ground); this should be a characteristic required for that (kind of) cemetery where (the body) is to be burnt. They should cut off the hair on the head, the lips and the body and pare the nails (of the deceased); this has been declared already (in Āśv. Śr. VI. 10.2). They should make provision for plenty of sacrificial grass and clarified butter. In this (funeral rite) they pour clarified butter into curds. This is the *pṛṣadājya* used

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(Continued from the last page)

21. 3. 27 adds that a bamboo staff with a bundle of grass at its top is carried to the cremation ground and held by a person to the north of the ground while the rites go on and that it is brought back to the house and kept raised at the house. The ground is measured and pegs of palāśa, śamī, varaṇa and a stone are driven into the ground from the east, north, west and south in order. The Śat. Br. XIII. 8. 4. 1 mentions pegs (*śanku*). Śāṅ. Śr. (IV. 14, 6–9) states that the ground of cremation slopes to the south or south-east, that the ground is swept with a palāśa branch with the verse 'apeta' (Ṛg. X. 14. 9), then it is cleared with the *sphya* and sprinkled with water and the pile of wood is made to face south-east.

483. व्याम is defined as 'व्यामो बाह्वोः सकरयोस्ततयोस्तिर्यगन्तरम्' अमरकोश. It is as much as the out-stretched arms together with the hands (i. e. a fathom).

484. श्मशान has two meanings viz. the place where a corpse is cremated and also the place where the charred bones (after cremation) collected in a jar are deposited in the earth. नारायण remarks on आश्व. गृ. IV. 1.11 (अभित आकाशं श्मशानं) 'श्मशानग्रहणेनात्र श्मशानद्वयं गृह्यते ।...दहनदेशश्च श्मशानं सञ्चित्य यत्रास्थीनि निधीयन्ते तच्च श्मशानम् । तद्द्वयं सर्वतआकाशं भवेत्'. The शतपथब्रा. XIII. 8.1.1 derives श्मशान in two ways as being a form of शवान्न or श्मशान्न in the words अथास्मै कल्याणं कुर्वन्ति । अथास्मै श्मशानं कुर्वन्ति ।...श्मशा उ हैव नाम पितॄणामत्तारस्ते हामुष्मिँल्लोकेऽकृतश्मशानस्य साधुकृत्यामुपदम्भयन्ति तेभ्य एतदन्नं करोति तस्माच्छ्मशान्नं श्मशानं ह वै तच्छ्मशान्नमित्याचक्षते परोक्षम्'. अथर्व० 18.4.44 shows that the dead body was carried in a cart drawn by oxen.

(in the rites) for *pitṛs*. (The relatives of the deceased) carry his sacred fires and his sacrificial vessels in that direction (viz. where the ground is dug up for cremation). After these aged persons, in odd numbers, men and women not going together, carry the dead body. Some say that (the dead body) should be carried in a cart with a seat drawn[485] by oxen. Some prescribe that a she-animal, either a cow[486] or a she-goat, of one colour or of a dark colour (should be taken to the cemetery). The (relatives of the dead) tie (a rope) to the left fore-foot and lead it behind (the corpse). Then follow the relations (of the deceased) with their yajñopavītas brought low (round their body) and with the top knot untied (dishevelled), the older ones going first, the younger ones last. Having thus arrived at the spot (of cremation), the performer (of cremation rites) while walking three times round the spot (for cremation) with his left side turned towards it, sprinkles water on it with a *śamī* twig with the verse 'apeta vīta vi ca sarpatātaḥ' (Ṛg. X. 14. 9). To the south-east on a slightly raised corner (of the spot for cremation), he (son or the like) places the Āhavanīya fire, to the north-west the Gārhapatya fire and to the south-west the Dakṣiṇa fire. Then a person that knows (how to prepare a funeral pile) collects a pile of fuel between the fires (on the dug-up spot). Then the performer of the rites spreads *barhis* (kuśas) and a black antelope skin with the hairy part outside on the pile, (the relatives) place the dead body thereon carrying it by way of the north side of the Gārhapatya fire and turning its head towards the Āhavanīya fire. They make the wife

485. The Baud. P. S. (I. 4. 5–6) says that servants or old men should carry the dead body on a couch or chair covering the body with a mat or according to some in a cart.

486. अनुस्तरणी is a cow or she-goat which is killed and then is made to cover the dead body with its limbs. The word is explained by नारायण as 'प्रेतमनुस्तर्यते या सा पशुः सानुस्तरणी'. The कात्यायनश्रौत (25.7.34–37) 'अनुस्तरणीं घ्नन्त्यास्यकर्णमाहृत्य हस्तयोर्वृक्कौ। अक्ष्णोर्वृक्कावित्येके जातूकर्ण्यः। न वास्ति सन्देहात्। वपया मुख-मवच्छाद्याग्निभिरादीपयति। आहुतिं जुहोति पुत्रो भ्राताऽन्यो वा ब्राह्मणोऽस्मात्त्वमधिजातोऽसि त्वदयं जायतां पुनः असौ स्वर्गाय लोकाय स्वाहेति।'. The mantra अस्मात्त्व...लोकाय स्वाहा is वाज. सं. 35.22. Vide शतपथ ब्रा. XII. 5.2.15 for the same words and mantra as in Kāt Sr. The com. of Yājñikadeva on Kāt. Sr. 25. 7.34 explains वृक्कौ as कुक्षिगोलकौ. Vide also Baud. P. S. I.4.1 and I.9–10, Sat. Sr. 28.2.3–13, Kauś. 81.20–27. The latter prescribes that the cow is led round with the left side towards the corpse with the mantras A.V 18.3.3 and 4, that the cow is struck on her buttocks and loins, that two vṛkkas are taken from the cow's back and placed on the hands of the corpse with the mantra 'ati drava' (A. V. XVIII. 2.11) which is Ṛg. X.14.10.

of the deceased (belonging to any one of the three higher varṇas) lie down (on the pile) to the north of the dead body, and also place his bow to the north if (the deceased was) kṣatriya. The wife's brother-in-law[487] (husband's brother) or a representative of the husband or a pupil (of the deceased) or an old servant (slave) should make her rise (from the pile) with the mantra 'udīrṣva nāryabhi jīvalokam' (Ṛg. X. 18. 8); the performer (of the rites) should mutter this verse if a śūdra (servant) makes her rise and he takes away the bow with the verse 'dhanur-hastādādadāno' (Ṛg. X. 18. 9). It has been stated (above what is to be done) in case a śūdra (should perform this act). Having strung the bow he should before the piling up of the things (mentioned below on the dead body) is done, break the bow to pieces and throw it on the pile.[488] He then should put the following sacrificial implements (on the dead body) viz. into the right hand the spoon called Juhū, in the left hand the spoon Upabhṛt, on his right side the Sphya (wooden sword), on his left side the Agnihotrahavaṇī (the ladle with which the Agnihotra offerings were offered into fire), on his chest, head and teeth respectively the dhruvā (the big sacrificial ladle), the dishes (or the *kapālas*), the pressing stones (used for pressing out Soma juice in a soma sacrifice), on the two nostrils the two small ladles (*sruva*), on the ears the two Prāśitra-haraṇas,[489] if there be only one then breaking

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487. Many of the sūtras refer to this act of making the wife of the deceased lie down to the north of the dead body on the funeral pile and then making her rise up from it. Vide Kauśikasūtra 80. 44–45 'इयं नारीति पत्नीमुपसंवेशयति । उदीर्ष्वेत्युत्थापयति.' These two verses are A. V. XVIII. 3. 1–2. Sat. Sr. (28. 2. 14–16) states that before the corpse is placed on the pyre the wife is made to lie down near it with the verse 'iyam nārī' and then her husband's brother or another brāhmaṇa makes her get up with the verse 'udīrṣva nārī'. The same sūtra (28. 2. 22) says that the wife may be made to lie down near the corpse after the latter is placed on the pyre or before (as it appears to prefer).

488. Here the Sat. Br. XII. 5. 2. 6 and some of the sūtras (such as Kāt. Sr. 25. 7. 19, Sān. Śr. IV. 14. 16–35, Sat. Śr. 28. 2. 23–50, Kauśika 81. 1–19, Baud. P. S. I. 8–9) and smṛtis like Gobhila (III. 24) add that in the seven seats of vital air viz. the mouth, the two nostrils, the two eyes and the two ears, they cast small pieces of gold. Others add that sesame wetted with ghee are also thrown on the corpse. The G. P. S. II. 7. 12 says that it is the adhvaryu who deposits the kapālas on the head (of the dead body).

489. On the Prāśitraharaṇa, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1064 (the vessel in which a portion of puroḍāśa is kept for the brahmā priest). For the Śamyā (yoke-pin), vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1112 n. 2487.

it into two; on the belly the *pātrī* (in which the oblations are collected before offering) and the *camasa* (cup) in which (the *iḍā* portion) cut off is placed; on his private parts the śamyā; on the thighs the two araṇis (wood sticks for kindling fire by attrition) and on the spanks the mortar and pestle, on the feet the winnowing baskets (śūrpa) or if there be one only, by tearing it in two pieces. Those of the sacrificial implements which have a hollow (into which a fluid can be poured) are filled with *Pṛṣadājya*. The son (of the deceased) should take the upper and the lower mill-stones for himself and the implements made of copper, iron and earthenware [490].

The Śat. Br. XII. 5. 2. 14 first states that sacrificial implements made of stone or earthenware should be donated to a brāhmaṇa but people regard the latter as a corpse-bearer (and so) they should be thrown into water.[491] Taking out the omentum (*vapā*) of the Anustaraṇī she-animal he should cover therewith the head and the mouth (of the deceased) with the verse 'Agner varma' (Ṛg. X. 16. 7). Taking out the two kidneys (vṛkkau) of the animal he should deposit them into the

490. It should be noted that there are some variations in the statements about the sacrificial implements made here and in the Sat Br. XII. 5. 2, Sat. Sr. 28. 2. 23-50, Kāt. Sr. 25. 7. 21-33, Kauś. 81. 1-19, Baud. P. S. I. 8. 11-I. 9. 7, Śāṅ. Sr. IV. 14. 18-36. For example, the Śāṅ. Śr. (IV. 16. 21-31) prescribes that the Agnihotrahavaṇī is placed on the throat and the two araṇis on the private parts, while Āśv. gr. places the agnihotrahavaṇī on the left side and the śamyā on private parts. Sabara quotes several times a passage which says 'They burn the āhitāgni with his (vedic) fires and sacrificial implements' (āhitāgnim-agnibhir dahanti yajñapātraiśca) on Jai. IV. 1. 9, VI, 6. 34, XI. 3.34. Those words occur also in Baud. P. S. III. 1.9. Jai. XI. 3. 34 states the proposition that the cremation of the sacrificer with the sacrificial implements is what is called *pratipattikarman* (the final disposal) of the yajñapātras.

491. अथास्य सप्तसु प्राणायतनेषु सप्त हिरण्यशकलान्प्रत्यस्यति ज्योतिर्वा अमृतं हिरण्यं ज्योतिरेवास्मिंस्तदमृतं दधाति। अथैनमन्तरेणाग्नीन्स्थित्वा कृष्णाजिनमुत्तरलोम प्राचीनग्रीवं प्रस्तीर्य तस्मिन्नेनमुत्तानं निपाद्य जुहूं घृतेन पूर्णां दक्षिणे पाणावादधाति सव्य उपभृतमुरसि ध्रुवां मुखेऽग्निहोत्रहवणीं नासिकयोः स्रुवौ कर्णयोः प्राशित्रहरणे शीर्षन्प्रणीताप्रणयनं पार्श्वयोः शूर्पे उदरे पात्रीं समवत्तधानीं पृषदाज्यवतीं शिश्नस्यान्ते शम्यामाण्डयोरन्ते वृषारवावन्यदुलूखलं च मुसलं चान्तरेणोरू अन्यानि यज्ञपात्राणि दक्षिणे पाणौ स्फ्यम्। स एष यज्ञायुधी यजमानः। यथा बिभ्यद्वा मोषमतीयादेवमेव योऽस्य स्वर्गो लोको जितो भवति तमभ्यत्येति। शतपथब्रा. XII. 5.2.6-8. The बौ. पि. सू. I. 2.31, Sat. Sr. 28.2.23-4 and others provide that either gold bits or drops of clarified butter were to be cast over the seven orifices (mouth and others). A comparatively later smṛti like that of Parāśara mentions this depositing of sacrificial implements on the sacrificer's body (V. 19-22)

hands (of the deceased) the right kidney in the right hand and left kidney in the left with the mantra 'ati drava' (Ṛg. X. 14, 10, recited once only). He puts the heart (of the animal) on his heart and according to some also two lumps of flour (of rice or barley); according to others only if there are no kidneys.[492] Having deposited the whole animal limb by limb (on corresponding limbs of the dead body) and having covered it with its own hide he recites when the Praṇītā water is being carried forward, by way of invocation the mantra 'imam agne' (Ṛg. X. 16. 8). Bending his left knee he should offer into the Dakṣiṇa fire oblations of clarified butter with the formula 'to Agni svāhā! To Soma svāhā! To the world svāhā! To Anumati svāhā!' A fifth oblation (is to be offered) on the chest of the deceased with the formula 'from this one, indeed thou hast been born! May he now be born out of thee, N. N.! To the heavenly world, svāhā' (Vāj. S. 35. 22). He gives the order 'Light the fire together.' Then the Āśv. gṛ. (IV. 4. 2–5) states what one has to understand if the Āhavanīya or Gārhapatya or Dakṣiṇa fire reaches the dead body first or if all the fires reach the body at the same moment; while the body is burning he recites over it the same texts (Ṛg. X. 14. 7 and others quoted above in n. 481 from Āśv. Sr. sūtra). Being cremated by a person who knows this he goes to the heavenly world together with the smoke (of the funeral pile)—thus it is known (in the Śruti). After he has recited the verse 'ime jīvāḥ' (Ṛg. X, 18. 3) they (all relatives) turn round from right to left and go away without looking back. When they have come to a place where there is standing water, having once plunged into it and raised their heads out of it they pour one handful of water, pronounce the gotra name and the proper name (of the deceased),

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492. According to Kāt. Sr. quoted above in n. 486 the Anustaraṇī animal was to be struck behind the ear and killed. According to Jātūkarṇya the several limbs of the animal were to be placed on the corresponding limbs of the dead body. But Kāt. disapproves of this since when burnt there may be a doubt (in collecting bones) whether they are of the deceased or of the animal (and so only the flesh of the animal was to be placed on the limbs according to Kāt.). Compare Sat. Br. XII. 5. 9-12 for similar remarks. Āśv. gṛ. IV. 2. 4 (as interpreted by Nārāyaṇa) itself shows that there was an option viz. that the animal may be killed or let off and donated to a brāhmaṇa (vide also Baud. P. S. I. 10. 2). The Śāṅ. Sr. (IV. 14. 14–15) states that the kidneys were to be taken from the killed or living animal from behind and being slightly heated on the Dakṣiṇa fire were to be placed in the two hands of the deceased with the two mantras 'ati drava' (Ṛg. X. 14. 10–11) - - - -

come out (of the water), put on other garments, wring out (already worn garments) once, lay them away with their skirts to the north and sit down until the stars appear or they may enter their houses when a part of the Sun's disc is still visible, the younger ones entering first, the older ones last. When they have come to the houses they touch a stone, the fire, cow-dung, fried barley, sesame seeds and water. Compare Śat. Br. XIII. 8. 4. 5 for bath and offering of water by relatives and touching a bull on returning from cremation and reciting 'udvayam' (Vāj. S. 35. 14 = Ṛg. I. 50. 10) and applying collyrium and unguent to their bodies[493].

It is not possible from considerations of space to set out all that is said in the other gṛhya sūtras. A few interesting points may be noted here. The Śat. Br. XIII. 8. 4. 11, Pār. gṛ. (III. 10. 10 ff) expressly provide that funeral rites for any one whose upanayana has been performed are the same from the choosing of the site for the burning of the body to the descent into water on the part of the relatives (for bathing themselves) as those prescribed for a person who has set up the śrauta (Vedic) fires, the only difference being that an *āhitāgni* is cremated with the three Vedic fires kept by him, that one who has kept only the smārta[494] or aupāsana fire is burnt with that and that common persons who have neither kept the śrauta fires nor smārta fire are burnt with the ordinary[495] fire. Devala provides that when using ordinary fire, one should avoid taking the fire from a cāṇḍāla or any unclean fire or the fire in the room of a freshly delivered woman or the fire of a *patita* or fire from a funeral pyre.[496] The Pitṛdayitā states that the mantra 'asmāt tvam &c.' was not to be recited when the deceased was a person

493. अपामार्गैरपमृजते ।...यत्रोदकं भवति तत्स्नान्ति सुमित्रिया आप ओषधयः सन्त्वित्यञ्जलिनाप उपाचाति... । स्नात्वाहतानि वासांसि परिधायानडुहः पुच्छमन्वारभ्यायन्त्याग्नेयो वानड्वानग्निमुखा एवं तत्पितृलोकाज्जीवलोकमभ्यायन्ति ।... उद्वयं तमसस्परीति । एतामृचं जपन्तो यन्ति...। तेभ्य आगतेभ्य आञ्जनाभ्यञ्जने प्रयच्छन्त्येष ह मानुषोलङ्कारस्तेनैव तं मृत्युमन्तर्दधते । शत. ब्रा. XIII. 8.4.4-7. सुमित्रिया is वाज. सं. 35.12 and उद्वयं is वाज. सं. 35.14 (= ऋ. I.50.10)

494. अथानग्निचितः । एतदेव भूमिजोषणमेतत्समानं कर्म यदन्यदग्निकर्मणः । शतपथब्रा. XIII. 8.4,11.

495. आहिताग्निर्यथान्यायं दग्धव्यस्त्रिभिरग्निभिः । अनाहिताग्निरेकेन लौकिकेनेतरो जनः ॥ वृद्धया. q. by मिता. on या. III. 2, अपरार्क p.873. This is कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध) 23.67

496. लौकिकाग्निश्च चण्डालादिव्यतिरिक्ता ग्राह्यः । चण्डालाग्निरमेध्याग्निः सूतिकाग्निश्च कर्हिचित् । पतिताग्निश्चिताग्निश्च न शिष्टग्रहणोचिताः ॥ इति देवलस्मरणात् । मिता. on या. III, 2, अपरार्क p. 873, परा. मा. I. 2 p. 286,

who had not kept sacred fires.[497] The Pār. gr. further provides that all relatives residing in the same village, if they can trace the relationship, do the same, that they wear only one garment, suspend their sacred thread over the right shoulder, that with the fourth finger of the left hand they spurt away the water with Vāj. S. 35. 6 and facing the south plunge into water and pour out one libation of water with joined hands. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 15. 2–7) lays down a bath when a person's relatives on the mother's side and father's relatives up to the 7th degree or as long as relationship can be traced die, except in the case of children less than a year old. In the case of a child's death before one year, the parents and those who carry the child's body have to bathe. All the above should have dishevelled hair, should throw dust in the hair, wear only one garment, turn their faces to the south, plunge into water, offer water to the dead thrice and then sit down on the bank (of the river or pond), then come to the village and do what the women tell them to do (such as touching fire and bull &c.). Yāj. III. 2 also provides the same rules as Pār. gr. and prescribes the recitation of the mantra 'apa naḥ śośucad agham' ('May evil be burnt away from us,' Ṛg. I. 97. 1, A.V. IV. 33.1, Tai. Ā. VI. 10.1). The G. P. S. (II. 23) provides that the funeral pyre is to be made with the wood of sacrificial trees, (II. 37 and 39) that the sapiṇḍas of the deceased headed by the women, the youngest being the first, fan the corpse placed on the pyre with the fringes of their garments, that the performer of the funeral rites takes a jar filled with water, places a *darbhendva* (?) on his head and goes round the corpse thrice and the priest gives a light stroke on the jar thrice separately with a stone (*aśman*) or an axe and recites a mantra 'imā āpo &c.' when a stream of water rushes out of the broken jar, (changing the words about 'asmin loke' to 'antarikṣe' and 'svarge' at the 2nd and 3rd perambulations). The performer while standing should drop behind him the jar of water. Then after repeating the mantra 'tasmāt tvam adhijātosi...asau svargāya lokāya svāhā,' he should set fire to the pyre to burn the body.[498] The Sat. Śr. 28. 1. 38 provides that the family members

497. अनग्नेर्ब्राह्मणस्य यज्ञपात्राभावात्पात्रन्यासव्यतिरिक्तसमस्तेतिकर्तव्यतया दग्धव्यः । अस्मात्त्व...मन्त्रस्त्वग्निमत्यपि न प्रयोक्तव्यः । पितृदयिता p. 78.

498. अथ कर्तोदकुम्भमादाय पत्नी वा । दर्भेण्डुं (व) शिरसि निधाय मृतं पर्येति । तमश्मना परशुना वाधस्तात्किंचित्प्रहरति । तां धारामनुमन्त्रयेत इमा आपो मधुमत्योऽस्मिंस्ते लोक उपदुह्यन्तामक्षियमाणाः स्वधा नम इति ।...तिष्ठन्नेवोदकुम्भं पृष्ठतो विसृजेत् ।...तस्मात्त्वमधिजातोसि त्वदयं जायतां पुनरसौ स्वर्गाय लोकाय स्वाहेत्यसौ शब्देन प्रेतस्य नाम संबुद्ध्यन्तेन गृहीत्वा शरीरेणाग्निं संयोजयेत् । गौ. पि. सू. I. 3.1–13.

beat their right thighs, fan the corpse with the fringes of their garments and go thrice round the corpse with the left side towards the corpse and recite the *mantra* 'apa naḥ śośucad-agham' (Ṛg. I. 97. 1. Tai. Ā. VI. 10. 1). It further provides (28. 1. 37–46) that the corpse is carried in a cart or by (four) men and while being carried four stops are made, at each of which clods of earth are dug up and boiled rice is offered thereon with mantras like 'pūṣā tvetaḥ' (Ṛg. X. 17. 3., Tai. Ā. VI. 10. 1), 'āyur viśvāyur' (Ṛg. X. 17. 4, Tai. Ā. VI. 10. 2). The Varāha-purāṇa prescribes that a Paurānic mantra should be recited, that the performer should go round the pyre and apply the kindled fire towards the part of the pyre where the head is placed.[499]

In modern times the procedure of cremation is generally on the lines of that described in the Āśv. gṛ. cited above and the procedure described in the Garuḍapurāṇa II. 4. 41 ff. The following is a summary of the procedure set out in the Antyeṣṭi-paddhati of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa which is generally followed by Ṛgvedins in Western India. The dead body is washed with water, is decked with a *tilaka* on the forehead, is clothed in a garment, is covered with a paste of Jaṭāmāṁsī and a garland of *naladas* is placed round its neck. Then the performer washes his own feet, sips water, performs prāṇāyāma without Vedic mantra, then makes a *Saṅkalpa* (as in note 500),[500] he wears his sacred thread under the left shoulder (and on the right shoulder) and prays to the earth with the mantra 'upasarpa' (Ṛg. X. 18.10); he then thrice goes round the place dug up (for cremation) and sprinkles water with a śamī branch at the end of the mantra 'apeta' (Ṛg. X. 14. 9). This mantra is repeated thrice. Then he draws three lines on the ground with an iron piece or kuśa roots saying 'I draw a line for Yama, the lord of cremation,' 'I draw a line for Kāla, lord of &c' 'I draw a line for Mṛtyu, lord of &c.' Then he throws into the dug-up ground pieces of gold and sesame and water mixed with sesame in the middle of the dug up spot for Yama, to the north for Kāla and to the south for

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499. कृत्वा सुदुष्करं कर्म जानता वाप्यजानता । मृत्युकालवशं प्राप्य नरं पञ्चत्वमागतम् ॥ धर्माधर्मसमायुक्तं लोभमोहसमावृतम् । दहेयं सर्वगात्राणि दिव्यान् लोकान्स गच्छतु ॥ एवमुक्त्वा ततः शीघ्रं कृत्वा चैव प्रदक्षिणम् । ज्वलमानं तथा वह्निं शिरःस्थाने प्रदीपयेत् । चतुर्वर्णेषु संस्कार एवं भवति पुत्रक ॥ वराहपुराण q. by शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 170 and by शुद्धिकौमुदी p. 115. These verses occur with variations in वराहपुराण chap. 187,106–108.

500. अद्येत्यादि देशकालौ स्मृत्वामुकगोत्रस्यामुकशर्मणोऽस्मत्पितृभ्रात्रादेः प्रेतस्य प्रेतत्व-विमोक्षार्थमौर्ध्वदेहिकं करिष्ये इति सङ्कल्प्य प्राचीनावीती भूमिं प्रार्थयेत् । अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति folio 165 a.

Mṛtyu (each being associated with pitṛs, the formula being 'Yamāya dahanapataye pitṛbhyaḥ svadhā namaḥ'). He puts sesame in the mouth of the corpse and prepares a funeral pile sufficient for burning the body by means of sacrificial wood brought by the castemen of the deceased. On that pile he spreads kuśa grass and over the latter black antelope skin with the hair outside. Then the corpse is carried to the north of the fire and is placed on the funeral pile with the head to the south. To the north of the dead body, he makes the wife of the deceased sit down. Then the husband's brother, pupil or an old servant makes her get up with the mantra 'udīrṣva' (Ṛg. X. 18. 8). Then the performer puts pieces of gold in the seven holes of the body (vide above note 491) or drops of clarified butter. He then throws on the body of the departed sesame anointed with ghee, he performs *parisamūhana* (wiping with the wet hand) of the fire, then *paristaraṇa* (strewing darbha grass) round the fire together with the funeral pile) and paryukṣaṇa (sprinkling water) and brings to the south of the fire the vessels viz. prokṣaṇī, sruva, camasa and the vessel containing clarified butter. Then he puts water in the *camasa* (cup), covers it with darbha grass and carries it forward and invokes the camasa with Ṛg. X. 16. 8 (imam-agne &c.). He makes a *saṅkalpa* that he would wait upon (or worship) the dead, takes two fuel sticks and offers them into fire and performs the worship of Agni, Kāma, Loka and Anumati by offering clarified butter in fire with the appropriate formula (viz. agnaye svāhā, agnaya idam na mama). Then he offers on the chest of the deceased clarified butter (or pṛṣadājya) (according to some) with the mantra 'asmādvai &c. (vide above note 498). Then he prepares apūpas (balls) with barley flour and mixes them with *pṛṣadājya* and places portions of the balls on the five parts viz. forehead, mouth, the two arms and chest with the following mantras viz. Ṛg. X. 16. 7 (for the ball on forehead and mouth), Ṛg. X. 14. 10 (for the two arms) and Ṛg. X. 14. 11 (for the chest). Then he makes the fire flame up with the mantra Ṛg. X. 16. 9 (kravyādam-agnim) towards the head of a male (and the feet of a woman). Then he should repeat certain mantras while the body is being burnt viz. Ṛg. X. 14. 7–8, Ṛg. X. 14. 10–11, Ṛg. X. 16. 1–6, X. 17. 3–6. X. 18. 10–13, X. 154. 1–5, X. 14. 12. While muttering these mantras he should throw sesame on the body that is being burnt. Then the performer should take a jar (full of water) on his left shoulder, should make a hole in it on the back of the jar with a broken but smooth stone. He should go round thrice with the left towards the

burning body from the spot where the feet of the corpse lie and mutter certain mantras. The jar is struck thrice. All the *sagotra* relatives go round the burning corpse. Then the jar is completely broken near that part of the funeral pyre where the head rests. The relatives without looking back turn to the left and come out of the cemetery with the youngest members first. The performer recites Ṛg. X. 18. 3 (ime jīvā &c.). The relatives repair to a spot where water is flowing, wearing only one garment and with faces to the south and hair dishevelled, plunge into the water once, sip water, place on the bank that stone (*aśman*) with which holes were made in the jar, offer water mixed with sesame on that stone with folded hands with the words 'O departed, of such a gotra and of such a name! May this water mixed with sesame reach you'. The performer offers water with the uttarīya for allaying the thirst (of the departed) due to the burning.

Many rules were prescribed as regards the carrying of the dead body. It has been seen above that the corpse was carried in a cart or on a couch by the relatives or by the servants (*dāsas*). Some sūtras, smṛtis, commentaries and other works lay down many other rules here. The Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyā 76. 13 ff) states that on the death of Daśaratha his Vedic fires were carried by his priests before the corpse, that the dead body was placed in a palanquin (*śibikā*), that his servants carried it and that coins of gold and clothes were thrown about on the road in front of the bier (for the poor). The general rule was that members of the three higher varṇas alone should carry to the cemetery a dead body belonging to any one of those varṇas and a śūdra should not carry the dead body of a man of a higher caste (when there were men of the caste of the dead available) nor should a man of one of the three higher varṇas carry the dead body of a śūdra, and that the impurity in the case of a śūdra carrying a dead *dvijāti* or a *dvijāti* carrying a śūdra's body is determined by the caste of the dead man. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19. 1-4, Gaut. Dh. S. 14. 29, Manu 5. 104, Yāj. III. 26, Parāśara III. 43-45. A brahmacārin was not permitted to be a carrier of the dead body of a person or relative even of his own caste, except his parents, *guru*, *ācārya* and *upādhyāya* and he was not guilty of breaking his vows of student-hood if he carried the bodies of any one of the five mentioned above. Vide Vas. 23. 7, Manu 5. 91, Yāj. III. 15, Laghu-Hārīta 92-93, Brahmapurāṇa (q. by Par. M. I. 2 p. 278). *Guru*, *ācārya* and *Upādhyāya* are defined

by Yāj. I. 34–35. If a *brahmacārin* carried the corpse of any one except the above five he was held to have swerved from his *vrata* and he had to undergo the expiation for *vratalopa*. Manu 5. 103 and Yāj. III. 13–14 state that those who merely carry a dead body of their own caste should bathe with the clothes on, then bite off *nimba* leaves, should perform ācamana, touch fire, water, cowdung, white mustard, place slowly a foot on a stone and then enter their house. It being the duty of *sapiṇḍas*[501] to carry the dead body of their relative they, after doing so, had simply to bathe, to touch fire and drink clarified butter for being pure (Gaut. 14. 29, Yāj. III. 26, Manu IV. 103, Parāśara III. 42, Devala q. by Par. M. 1. 2, p. 277, Hārīta q. by Aparārka p. 871). Carrying the dead body of a brāhmaṇa who has no relatives is highly extolled by Parāśara (III. 39–41) who says that a person, that thus carries the dead body of a brāhmaṇa, secures at each footstep the reward of the performance of a sacrifice and he becomes pure at once simply by plunging into water and performing prāṇāyāma, while Manu (5. 101–102) prescribes that if one carries the dead body of a person who is not a *sapiṇḍa* through affection he becomes pure after three days. The Hāralatā p. 121 quotes the Ādipurāṇa that if a kṣatriya or vaiśya cremates the dead body of a poor brāhmaṇa or of a kṣatriya who has lost everything or of a poor vaiśya, he secures great merit and becomes pure at once after a bath. Even now generally (particularly in villages) men of the same caste carry or follow a dead body and are held to be purified by a bath with clothes on. The medieval commentaries like the Mitākṣarā stuck strictly to the extreme exclusiveness of caste by prescribing 'if a man[502] carries a dead body through affection, eats food in that family and dwells in their house he is under impurity for ten days; if he simply stays with the dead man's family but does not eat their food he is impure for three days; these rules apply when the carrier is of

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501. विहितं तु सपिण्डानां प्रेतनिर्हरणादिकम्। तेषां करोति यः कश्चित्तस्याधिक्यं न विद्यते॥ देवल q. by परा. मा. I. 2 p, 277; विहितं हि सपिण्डस्य प्रेतनिर्हरणादिकम्। दोषः स्यादसपिण्डस्य तत्रानाथक्रियां विना॥ हारीत q by अपरार्क p. 871.

502. अत्रेयं व्यवस्था। यः स्नेहादिना शवनिर्हरणं कृत्वा तदीयमन्नमश्नाति तद्गृहे च वसति तस्य दशाहेनैव शुद्धिः। यस्तु केवलं तद्गृहे वसति न पुनस्तदन्नमश्नाति तस्य त्रिरात्रम्। यः पुनर्निर्हरणमात्रं करोति न तद्गृहे वसति न च तदन्नमश्नाति तस्यैकाह इति। एतत्सजातीयविषयम्। विजातीयविषये पुनर्यज्जातीयं प्रेतं निर्हरति तज्जातिप्रयुक्तमाशौचं कार्यम्। यथाह गौतमः (१४.२९) ... विप्रस्य शूद्रनिर्हरणे मासमाशौचं शूद्रस्य तु विप्रनिर्हरणे दशरात्रमित्येवं शवधर्माशौचं कार्यमित्यर्थः। मिता. on या. III. 14.

the same caste as the dead person. But if a brāhmaṇa carries a śūdra's corpse, the brāhmaṇa is impure for a month, but if a śūdra carries a brāhmaṇa's body the śūdra is impure for ten days.' The Kūrmapurāṇa prescribes that if a brāhmaṇa carries the dead body of a brāhmaṇa for a fee or from other interested motive he becomes impure for ten days, a kṣatriya, vaiśya and śūdra doing the same becomes impure for 12, 15 or 30 days and the Viṣṇupurāṇa says that the person carrying a dead body for a fee has to become impure for the period of impurity prescribed for a man of that caste. It may be stated that these rules about impurity on the ground of carrying or following the carrying of a dead body of another caste are no longer enforced and it is extremely doubtful whether they were ever strictly enforced or followed. Hārīta [503] prescribes that a dead body should not be carried through the midst of a village if while going to the cemetery a village comes in the way, but it should be carried away from it. Manu, 5.92 and Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 100-101 prescribed that the dead body of a śūdra, vaiśya, kṣatriya and a brāhmaṇa was to be taken out respectively by the southern, western, northern and eastern gates of the town or village. It was provided by Yama and the Garuḍapurāṇa II. 4.56-57 [504] that the fuel for the funeral pyre should not be carried (for higher *varṇas*) to the cemetery by a śūdra and if a śūdra did so the deceased would always remain in the state of *preta*. The Hāralatā (p. 121) says that if firewood is carried by śūdras still the pyre should be made by brāhmaṇas only (for a brāhmaṇa's body). The smṛtis and purāṇas provide that the corpse [505] should be first bathed with water and then cremated, that the corpse should never be burned naked, but that it should be covered with cloth, decked with flowers and have fragrant unguents (sandalwood

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503. तथा हारीतोऽपि न ग्रामाभिमुखं प्रेतं हरेयुरिति। मिता on या. III. मद्. 2, पा. p. 395, हारलता p. 119 which explains 'निर्हरतां यदि वर्त्मनि ग्रामः स्यात्तदा तन्मध्ये न गन्तव्यमित्यर्थः।'.

504. यस्यानयति शूद्रोऽग्निं तृणं काष्ठं हवींषि च। प्रेतत्वं च सदा तस्य स चाधर्मेण लिप्यते॥ यम. q. by मिता. on या. III. 2. अपरार्क p. 871, हारलता p. 120 (reads मन्यते दोष धर्मोऽस्ति) which last takes स...लिप्यते as referring to the brāhmaṇa who is cremated; तृणकाष्ठतिलाज्यादि स्वयं निन्युः सुतादयः॥ शूद्रानीतैः कृतं कर्म सर्वं भवति निष्फलम्। गरुड°.

505. चन्दनोक्षितसर्वाङ्गं सुमनोभिर्विभूषितम्।...निर्हरेयुः सुतादयः॥ आमपात्रेऽन्नमादाय प्रेतमग्निपुरःसरम्। एकोऽनुगच्छन्नस्यार्धमर्धपथ्युत्सृजेद्भुवि॥ गोभिलस्मृति III 23-25 q. by अपरार्क p. 873; प्रचेताः। स्नानं प्रेतस्य पुष्पाद्यैर्गन्धाद्यैः पूजनं ततः। नग्नदेहं दहेन्नैव किंचिद्देयं परित्यजेत्॥ किंचिद्वस्त्रं यल्लोके देयस्तेन प्रसिद्धं तत्परित्यजेत् तस्थेभ्यश्चण्डालादिभ्यः। अपरार्क p. 871; मिता. on या. III. 2 also quotes प्रचेतस्.

paste &c.), that fire should be carried in front of the corpse and one man should carry cooked food in an unbaked earthen vessel and another should deposit part of the food on the way and one should give clothes and the like to cāṇḍālas and the like (that stay near the cemetery).

The Brahmapurāṇa (q. by Śuddhiprakāśa p. 159) states that when carrying a dead body to the cemetery, a great deal of noise should be created by means of the four kinds of instruments. [506]

There were differing rules laid down about *vapana* (shaving) for the performer as an auxiliary (aṅga) of the rite of cremation, after the cremation and bath thereafter. A smṛti text provides[507] 'shaving of the head and moustaches is declared in seven cases, viz. on the Ganges, at the Bhāskarakṣetra, on the death of the mother or father or *guru*, on consecrating the śrauta fires and in a Soma sacrifice'. The A. K. D. (p. 19) prescribes that the son or other performer of the rites of cremation should first perform *vapana* and then bathe, then carry the dead body to a sacred spot, bathe it there, or if such a spot is not at hand should invoke the presence of the Ganges, Gayā and other *tīrthas* in the water to be used for washing the dead body, then anoint it with ghee or sesame oil, again bathe it and put on it a fresh garment, should deck it with *yajñopavīta, gopīcandana,* garland of basil leaves and then should apply to the whole body fragrant substances like sandalwood paste, camphor, saffron, musk &c. But if the cremation took place at night, there was to be no *vapana* at night, but on the next day.[508] Other smṛtis allowed *vapana* on the 2nd, 3rd, 5th or 7th or any following day up to the offering of śrāddha on the 11th day.[509] Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 6

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506. The four kinds of वाद्य were enumerated by भरत as 'ततं चैवावनद्धं च घनं सुषिरमेव च' and the अमरकोश illustrates them as follows : 'ततं वीणादिकं वाद्यमानद्धं मुरजादिकम्। वंशादिकं तु सुषिरं कांस्यतालादिकं घनम्॥.'

507. गङ्गायां भास्करक्षेत्रे मातापित्रोर्गुरोर्मृतौ। आधानकाले सोमे च वपनं सप्तसु स्मृतम्॥ q. by मिता. on या. III. 17, परा. मा. I. 2. p. 296, शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 161, प्राय. तत्त्व p. 493 (from स्मृतिसमुच्चय). भास्करक्षेत्र is प्रयाग.

508. रात्रौ दग्ध्वा तु पिण्डान्तं कृत्वा वपनवर्जितम्। वपनं नेष्यते रात्रौ श्वस्तनी वपनक्रिया॥ संग्रह q. in शुद्धिप्र. p. 161.

509. अनुप्तकेशो यः पूर्वं सोऽत्र केशान् प्रवापयेत्। द्वितीयेऽह्नि तृतीयेऽह्नि पञ्चमे सप्तमेऽपि वा। यावच्छ्राद्धं प्रदीयेत तावदित्यपरं मतम्। बौधायन q. by परा मा. I. 2. p. 2; वापनं दशमेऽपि कार्यम्। तदाह देवलः। दशमेऽहनि संप्राप्ते स्नानं ग्रामाद् बहिर्भवेत्। तत्र त्याज्यानि वासांसि केशश्मश्रुनखानि च।; this verse is q. by the मिता. on या. III. 17; the मद. पा. p. 416 after quoting देवल and other authors remarks 'प्रथमादिदिनेषु कृतक्षौरस्यापि शुद्ध्यर्थं दशमदिनेऽपि वपनं कर्तव्यम्।.'

provides[510] *vapana* for all sapiṇḍas that are younger than the deceased. The Madanapārijāta holds that the performer of cremation rites had to undergo *vapana* on the first day and also on the expiry of the period of impurity, while the Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 162) following the Mit. on Yāj. III 17 states that the day on which *vapana* is to be undergone is determined by the usage of each country. This difference in usages has been even judicially noticed. In *Chandra choora Deo v. Bibhuti Bhushan Deva* A.I.R. 1945 Patna p. 211 at p. 219 it has been stated that according to the Benares School the person who performs the cremation shaves his head at the time of cremation, whereas under the Mithilā school there is no such shaving at that time.

The Garuḍapurāṇa (II. 4. 67–69) provides that loud weeping may be indulged in when the body is burning but there should be no weeping after cremation and the offering of water to the departed.

There was some difference of opinion as to the offering of water (*udakakriyā* or *udakadāna*) to the deceased by his *sapiṇḍas* and *samānodakas*. Āśv. gr. quoted above (p. 209) speaks of offering water once, but the Sat. Śr. 28. 2. 72 and others prescribe that water mixed with sesame is offered thrice with joined hands on the day of death to the deceased after reciting his gotra and name and every day thereafter up to the 11th.[511] Gaut. Dh. S. 14. 38, Vas. 4. 12 prescribe that water should be offered by *sapiṇḍas* to the deceased with their faces to the south on the first, third, seventh and ninth days of death and Haradatta says that in all 75 *añjalis* of water were to be offered (three on 1st day, 9 on 3rd, 30 on 7th and 33 on 9th), but that the usage in his country was that on the first day water was offered three times with joined hands and then one more *añjali* on each succeeding day from the 2nd. On the other hand, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19. 7 and 13, Pracetas, Paiṭhīnasi (both quoted by Aparārka p. 874)

510. अनुभाविनां च परिवापनम्। आप. ध. सू. I. 3.10.6. For explanation of this sūtra, vide मिता. on या. III. 17.

511. केशान् प्रकीर्य पांसूनोप्यैकवाससो दक्षिणामुखाः सकृदुन्मज्ज्योत्तीर्य सव्यं आप्लाव्य वासः पीडयित्वोपविशन्त्येवं त्रिस्सप्तरयं गोत्रनामधेयं तिलमिश्रमुदकं त्रिरस्त्रिय्याहरहरञ्जलिमेकोत्तरवृद्धिरैकादशाहात्। सत्याषाढश्रौत 28.2.72. The गो. पि. सू. I. 4.7 is almost in the same words. The water would be offered in the form 'काश्यपगोत्र देवदत्तशर्मन्, एतत्ते उदकम्' or 'काश्यपगोत्राय देवदत्तशर्मणे प्रेतायैतत्तिलोदकं ददामि' (हरदत्त) or 'देवदत्तनामा काश्यपगोत्रः प्रेतस्तृप्यतु' (मिता. on या. III. 5.). Vide गोभिलस्मृति III. 36–37 also, q. by अपरार्क p. 874 and परा. मा. I. 2 p. 287.

prescribe that water and piṇḍa were to be offered to the deceased for ten days.[512] The Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 202) quotes verses from Gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa, one of which says that some declare that only ten añjalis were to be offered, some say 100 were to be offered and others that 55 were to be offered and that one should follow the usage settled in one's vedic Śākhā. The Āśv. gṛ. pariśiṣṭa 3. 4 has a similar rule in prose. The Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa chap. 5 verses 22–23) also refers to the offering of 10, 55, or 100 *añjalis*. Some smṛtis prescribed that the number of añjalis of water were dependent on the caste of the deceased. Pracetas (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 4) provides that 10, 12, 15, 30 añjalis should be respectively offered to a deceased person of the brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya or śūdra varṇa. Yama (verses 92–94) states how water is to be offered to the deceased standing in navel-deep water and (98) prescribes that water is to be offered in water to gods and pitṛs but on the ground to those that died without upanayana being performed. In a smṛti quoted by Devayājñika[513] it is stated that six piṇḍas were to be offered from the day of death as follows: at the place where the death occurred, at the door of the house, where four roads meet, where the funeral procession on the way to the cemetery rested, on the pile of wood arranged for burning (*citā*), and at the time of the collection of the burnt bones. It was further provided that for the benefit of the departed a lamp fed by sesame oil was to be kept burning continuously for ten days after death and an earthenware vessel was to be kept filled with water and a handful of cooked rice was to be offered on the ground at the time of the mid-day meal after uttering the name and gotra of the departed. This was called *pātheya* śrāddha because it helped the departed to go on his way from the earth to the world of the departed (vide Dharmasindhu p. 463). According to some of the digests

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512. दिनेदिनेऽञ्जलीन् पूर्णान् प्रदद्यात्प्रेतकारणात्। तावद्वृद्धिश्च कर्तव्या यावत्पिण्डः समाप्यते॥ प्रचेतस् q. by मिता. on या. III. 3; 'यावदाशौचं तावत्प्रेतस्योदकं पिण्डं च दद्युः। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 19.13. If water is offered only once a day for ten days there would be only ten añjalis in all, but if 10 were offered on each day there would be 100 ; if one was offered on first day and one more added on each succeeding day to the 10th there would be 55 añjalis

513. अत्र च श्राद्धोत्तरं पिण्डदानमुक्तं देवयाज्ञिकोदाहृतायां स्मृतौ। मृतस्योत्क्रान्तिसमयात्षट् पिण्डान् क्रमशो दिशेत्। मृतस्थाने तथा द्वारे चत्वरे तार्क्ष्य कारणात्। विश्रामे काष्ठचयने तथा सञ्चयने च षट्। q. by शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 158. Vide गरुडपुराण II. 4.48 for a similar provision.

a śrāddha called Nagna-pracchādana was to be performed on the day of the death of a person after his sapiṇḍas undergo shaving and bath, enter the village and the house. It consists in filling a jar with grains of rice wound round with a piece of cloth and putting clarified butter in a vessel of bell-metal and some gold (or coins) thereon according to one's ability. The whole was to be given to a poor brāhmaṇa of good family after remembering Viṣṇu for the benefit of the departed. Vide Smṛti-muktāphala (on śr.) pp. 595–596, Sm. C. (on Āśauca p. 176).

The smṛtis and purāṇas (like Kūrma, uttarārdha 23. 70) prescribe that after offering with joined hands water to the deceased a ball of rice or barley flour with sesame was to be presented on darbha grass. There are two views on this point. According to Yāj. III. 16 a *piṇḍa* was to be offered for three days after death according to the procedure prescribed for Piṇḍa-pitṛ-yajña (such as wearing of the sacred thread on the right shoulder and under the left shoulder); while according to Viṣṇu 19. 13 one *piṇḍa* was to be offered every day as long as impurity on death lasted. The piṇḍa was to be offered on darbhas spread on the ground if the deceased had his upanayana performed, but without mantras or may be offered on a stone.[514] While water could be offered by any and every sapiṇḍa, piṇḍa was to be offered only by the son (and when there were many sons, by the eldest if free from defect); in default of a son the nearest sapiṇḍa like a brother or brother's son was to offer it and in default of such then the sapiṇḍas of the mother (maternal uncle, his son or the like) could[515] offer it. Even when piṇḍas were to be offered for three days or *āśauca* lasted only for 3 days the piṇḍas were prescribed to be ten by Śātātapa and Pāraskara distributed them as follows: three on the first day, four on the 2nd and 3 on the third and Dakṣa [516] distributed them as follows: one on the first day, four on the 2nd and five on the 3rd. Pāraskara prescribed that 10, 12, 15, 30 piṇḍas were to be offered according to the varṇa of the deceased. In the case cited above from A. I. R. 1945 Patna p. 211 at p. 219 it has been stated that according to the Benares school 4, 5 or 6

514. भूमौ माल्यं पिण्डं पानीयमुपले वा दद्युः । शङ्ख q. by मिता. on या. III. 16.

515. पुत्राभावे सपिण्डा मातृसपिण्डाः शिष्याश्च वा दद्युः । तदभावे ऋत्विगाचार्यौ । बौ. ध. सू. 15.13–14.

516. प्रथमेऽहनि त्रिपिण्डं द्वितीये चतुरस्तथा । तृतीये पञ्च वै दद्यादेवं पिण्डविधिः स्मृतः ॥ दक्ष q. by अपरार्क p. 888.

piṇḍas are offered at the time of cremation, while according to the Mithilā school only one piṇḍa is offered. Everybody, whether a person of the same gotra as the deceased or of another gotra, had to carry out all the rites up to the tenth day when he once began them on the day of death, as stated by the Gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa[517] and Garuḍapurāṇa. It is further prescribed that when the funeral rites are begun by a person and then a nearer relative such as a son comes, even then the former is to carry on all the rites up to the 10th day, but the rites of the 11th and later days are to be performed by the son and in default of him by a near sapiṇḍa. The Matsyapurāṇa states[518] that piṇḍas should be offered to the deceased for twelve days; they become his food on his journey (to the other world) and they give him satisfaction; since the deceased is taken to the abode of departed spirits after twelve days, he (his spirit) sees his house, sons and wife for twelve days. Ṛṣyaśṛṅga quoted by Aparārka (p. 889) specifies the limbs of an ethereal body with which the deceased is endowed on each day of the ten days after death when a piṇḍa is offered. The Garuḍapurāṇa (pretakhaṇḍa chap. 5. 33-36) says the same.

Just as sapiṇḍas of the same gotra and *samānodakas* were bound to offer water to the deceased, a person was bound to offer water to his maternal grandfather and to the two further ancestors and to his ācārya on their death. Every man, if he so desired (i. e. he was under no religious duty), could offer water to his friend, to his married sister or daughter, to his sister's son, father-in-law and his sacrificial priest on their death (Pār. gṛ. III. 10, Śaṅkha-Likhita, Yāj.[519] III. 4). Pāraskara (III. 10) refers to a peculiar practice. When the sapiṇḍas are about to enter water for bathing and thereafter offering water to the deceased they pray to their relatives or brother-in-law for water with the words 'we shall perform udakakriyā', where-upon

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517. असगोत्रः सगोत्रो वा यदि स्त्री यदि वा पुमान्। प्रथमेऽहनि यो दद्यात् स दशाहं समापयेत्॥ गृह्यपरिशिष्ट q. by मिता. on या. I. 255 and III. 16, अपरार्क p. 887, मद. पा. p. 400, हारलता p. 172. This is लघ्वाश्वलायन 20.6 and गरुडपुराण (प्रेतखण्ड) 5.19-20.

518. प्रेताय पिण्डदानं तु द्वादशाहं समाचरेत्। पाथेयं तस्य तत्प्रोक्तं यतः प्रीतिकरं महत्॥ तस्मात् प्रेतपुरं प्रेतो द्वादशाहेन नीयते। गृहपुत्रकलत्रं च द्वादशाहं प्रपश्यति। मत्स्यपुराण q. by अपरार्क p. 889. These two verses are the same as पद्मपुराण, सृष्टिखण्ड 10.5-6.

519. 'उदकक्रिया कार्या श्वशुरमातुलयोः शिष्ये सहाध्यायिनि राजनि च' शङ्खलिखित q. by दीपकलिका on या. III. 4.

the other replies 'do so but don't come again (with a similar request),' if the deceased was less than one hundred years of age, but the reply would be simply 'do so' if the deceased was hundred years of age or more.[520] The G. P. S. (I, 4. 4–6) has a somewhat similar symbolic dialogue. A king's officer, a *sagotra* or a brother-in-law takes a branch having thorns and prevents them from entering water with the words 'don't enter'; then the sapiṇḍas should reply 'we shall not again enter water'. The probable significance of this was that they thereby would be able to escape from another death in the family soon after.

There were rules prohibiting certain persons from offering water to the deceased and also directing that water should not be offered to certain deceased persons. Impotent [521] persons and the like, thieves of gold, *vrātyas*, those who follow forbidden conduct and women that kill their own foetus or husband and that drink the kind of liquor (forbidden to them) should not offer water to a deceased person. Yāj. (III. 6) provides that water should not be offered to and no āśauca observed for heretics, for those who do not belong to one of the four āśramas, to thieves, to women who kill their husbands or who are guilty of prostitution or who drink *surā*, or who commit suicide. Manu (V. 89–90) is to the same effect. Gaut. Dh. S. [522] 14. 11 provides that in the case of those who start (through anger) on the Great

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520. संयुक्तं मैथुनं वोदकं याचेरन्नुदकं करिष्यामह इति। कुरुध्वं मा चैवं पुनरित्यशतवर्षे प्रेते। कुरुध्वमित्येवेतरस्मिन्। पारस्करगृह्य III. 10, which are included in the procedure of udakadāna even by such a late writer as Govindānanda (S. K. p. 122) and explained by शुद्धिप्रकाश pp. 199–200; अपः प्रतिपद्यन्ते। अत्र राजपुरुषः सगोत्रमिथुनो (सगोत्रो मैथुनी?) वा कण्टकिनीं शाखामादाय मावतरतेति वारयेत् न पुनरवतरिष्याम इति प्रतिब्रूयुः। गो. पि. सू. I. 4.3–6.

521. क्लीबाद्या नोदकं कुर्युः स्तेना व्रात्या विधर्मिणः। गर्भभर्तृद्रुहश्चैव सुरापश्चैव योषितः॥ वृद्धमनु q. by कल्पतरु (शुद्धि) p.89, शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 203. The word क्लीबाद्याः probably includes all those mentioned by Yāj. II. 140. For *vrātya* vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 96, 386.

522. प्रायानाशकशस्त्राग्निविषोदकोद्बन्धनप्रपतनैश्चेच्छताम्। गौ. 14.11; क्रोधात्प्रायं विषं वह्निः शस्त्रमुद्बन्धनं जलम्। गिरिवृक्षप्रपातं च ये कुर्वन्ति नराधमाः। ब्रह्मदण्डहता ये च ये चैव ब्राह्मणैर्हताः। महापातकिनो ये च पतितास्ते प्रकीर्तिताः। पतितानां न दाहः स्यान्न च स्यादस्थिसञ्चयः। न चाश्रुपातः पिण्डो वा कार्या श्राद्धक्रिया न च॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by हरदत्त on गौ. 14. 11 and by अपरार्क pp. 902–903, quoting many more verses; similar rules are laid down by Auśanasamṛti VII. 1. p. 539 (Jīv.), संवर्त verses 178–179, Atri 216–217, कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध chap. 23. verses 60–63) q. by हारलता p. 204, शुद्धिप्र. p. 59.

Journey, who commit suicide by fasting or by means of a weapon or by fire, by poison, in water, by hanging or falling from a precipice or tree, there is no cremation, no āśauca, no offering of water or piṇḍa. Haradatta on Gaut, 14. 11 quotes three verses from Brahmapurāṇa that those who die of a brāhmaṇa's curse or black magic and those who are *patitas* are dealt with in the same way. But Aṅgiras (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 6) says that if one dies by water or fire or the like through inadvertence, there was āśauca for him and *udakakriyā* was performed. Vide Vaik. Sm. S. V. 11 for a long list of persons who must not be cremated. In the Mahābhārata the rites of cremation have been described frequently e. g. the cremation of Pāṇḍu in Ādiparva, chap. 127 (the body was carried in a *śibikā* covered on all sides, there were musical instruments, the royal parasol and chowries were carried in the procession, distribution of wealth to mendicants, carrying the dead body to the bank of the Ganges on a charming sylvan spot, bathing the body, applying sandalwood paste to it); of Droṇa in Strīparva, chap. 23.38–42 (three *Sāmans* were sung, his pupils with Droṇa's wife in front went round the funeral pyre, going to the Ganges); of Bhīṣma in Anuśāsana 169.10–19 (fragrant resins were used on the pyre, his body was covered with fine clothes and flowers, an umbrella and chowries were held over the body, Kaurava women fanned the body with fans, *sāmans* were sung); of Vasudeva in Mausalaparva 7. 19–25 ; of killed warriers in general in Strīparva, chap. 26. 28–43 and of Kuntī, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gāndhārī in Āśramavāsikaparva, chap. 39. In the Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyā, chap. 76 verses 16–20), it is said that the funeral pyre for Daśaratha was made with sandalwood, *aguru* and fragrant resins, with Sarala, Padmaka and Devadāru (pine) wood and various fragrant substances were heaped thereon, then Daśaratha's body was placed on the pyre and that Kausalyā and other women followed the corpse in *śibikās* and conveyances according to their status.

If an *āhitāgni* died away from home, the Śat. Br. (XII. 5.1.13–14) provides that, having brought his bones home they were to be spread on a black antelope skin and arranged in imitation of the human frame, were to be covered with wool and ghee and burnt with his śrauta fires and sacrificial implements. Similar rules are laid down in Kāt. Śr. 25.8–9, Baud. P, S, III.8, Gobhilasmṛti III.47, Vas. Dh. S. IV. 37,

If even the bones could not be found, then the sūtras following the Ait. Br. (chap. 32.1) and similar ancient works[523] provide that on a skin of black antelope one should make the effigy of a human frame with *palāśa* stalks (leaves) 360 in[524] number, the effigy should be bound round with woollen thread, should be covered with *yava* flour mixed with water and anointed with clarified butter and cremated with his fires and sacrificial implements. The Brahmapurāṇa (q. by Śuddhiprakāśa p. 187) contains similar rules about burning an effigy and ordains three days' impurity thereafter. Acc. to a smṛti (q. by Aparārka p. 545), the *palāśa* leaves were to be 362. They were to be distributed according to Baud. P.S. and Gaut. P.S. as follows: 40 represent the head, 10 the neck, 20 the chest, 30 the abdomen (*udara*), 50 each of the arms, 10 the fingers of the two hands, 70 each of the two legs, 10 the toes of the feet, 8 the male organ, 12 the testicles. This is also the enumeration in Sat. Śr. 29.4.39. Vide also Śāṅ. Śr. IV. 15.19–31,[525] Kāt. Śr. XXV. 8.15, Baud. P. S. III. 8, G. P. S. II .1.6–14 Gobhila-smṛti III.48. Hārita q. by Śuddhiprakāśa p. 186, Garuḍapurāṇa II. 4. 134–154 and II.40 44 ff. It may be stated here that all the sūtras and smṛtis do not entirely agree as to the number of palāśa leaves taken as representing the several parts of the body, as may be seen from a comparison of the Śāṅ. Śr. quoted in the note with Baud. P. S. set out here. A smṛti quoted by Aparārka (p. 545) gives the numbers as follows: 32 for the head, 60 for the neck, 80 for the chest, 20 for the hip and loins, 20 each for the two arms, 10 for fingers, 6 for testicles, 4 for the penis, 60 for the two thighs, 20 for the knees, 20 for the

523. The ऐ. ब्रा. reads: यदि शरीराणि न विद्येरन् पर्णशरः षष्टित्रीणि च शतान्याहृत्य तेषां पुरुषरूपकमिव कृत्वा तस्मिंस्तामावृतं कुर्युरथैनाञ्छरीरैराहृतैः संस्पर्श्योद्वासयेयुरध्यर्धशतं काये सक्थिनी द्विपञ्चाशे च विंशे चोरू द्विपञ्चविंशे शेषं तु शिरस्युपदध्यात् सा तत्र प्रायश्चित्तिः।.

524. शरीरनाशे त्रीणि षष्टिशतानि पलाशवृन्तानां कृष्णाजिने पूर्ववत्। कात्या. श्रौ. 25. 8. 15, on which the com. remarks 'पुरुषविध्यादि पूर्ववत् दाहान्तम्। तेनामेव सञ्चयनं पितृमेधश्च तेरेवेति।'

525. चत्वारिंशच्छिरसि। ग्रीवायां दश। अंसाम्वंसयोर्बाह्वोः शतम्। उरसि त्रिंशत्। जठरे विंशतिः। षड्वृषणयोः। शिश्ने चत्वारि। ऊर्वोः शतम्। त्रिंशज्जान्वजङ्घाष्ठीवतोः। पादाङ्गुलीषु विंशतिः। एवं त्रीणि षष्टिशतानि भवन्ति। पुरुषाकृतिं कृत्वोर्णासूत्रैः परिवेष्ट्य यवचूर्णैः प्रलिप्य सर्पिषाभ्यज्याग्निभिः संस्कुर्वन्ति। शां. श्रौ. सू. IV. 15. 20–31. Each stalk of Palāśa has three leaves; ऊर्णासूत्रs will represent the muscles and यवचूर्णलेप will represent flesh. It will be seen that as enumerated in Śāṅ. S. the palāśa stalks are exactly 360. The कूर्मपुराण (उत्तर) 23.66 refers to it as 'देहाभावात्पलाशैस्तु कृत्वा प्रतिकृतिं पुनः।'

lower parts of the legs, 10 for toes of the feet. Jātūkarṇya (q. by Aparārka p. 545) and Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (q. by Śuddhiprakāśa p. 187) say that when a son does not hear for 15 years about his father who had gone to a distant land, he should perform the cremation of the effigy (called 'ākṛtidahana'). Bṛhaspati advises waiting for 12 years before resorting to *ākṛtidahana* (Śuddhipr. p. 187). The Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra V. 12 regards the burning of the effigy as a meritorious act for every one and does not restrict it to the case where the body or bones are not found. The Śuddhiprakāśa p. 187 quotes several verses from the Brahmapurāṇa that the procedure of burning an effigy of palāśa stalks was to be followed even in the case of one who has not consecrated Śrauta fires and āśauca for three days has to be observed, while the āśauca for burning the effigy of an āhitāgni was ten days.

It is further provided in Sat. Śr. 29. 4. 41, Baud. P. S. (III. 7. 4) and Garuḍapurāṇa II. 4. 169–70 that, if after the effigy is cremated in the belief that a person died in a foreign land, he returns alive, then he is plunged in a pit containing clarified butter and then he comes out of it, takes a bath, then all the *saṁskāras* from *jātakarma* are performed on him, then he marries the same wife again or if she be dead, he may marry another girl, then consecrate again śrauta fires. Some sūtras provide that if the wife of an *āhitāgni* dies before him, he may, if he so desires, cremate her with his śrauta fires or he may cremate her with fire prepared from cowdung and some easily inflammable things (like straw) placed in three *sthālīs* (cooking pots [526]). Manu (V. 167–168) provides that if the *savarṇa* and virtuous wife of a twice-born person who had consecrated sacred *śrauta* fires died before him she was to be cremated with his fires (śrauta and smārta) and with the sacrificial implements. Then he may marry again and consecrate śrauta or smārta fires again. To the same effect are Yāj. I. 89, Baud. P. S. II. 4, 6, Gobhila-smṛti III. 5, Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra VII. 2, Vṛddha-Hārīta XI. 213, Laghu-Āśv. 20. 59. [527] Viśvarūpa on Yāj. 1. 87 quotes a Kāṭhaka-śruti to

526. इच्छन् पत्नीं पूर्वमारिणीमग्निभिः संस्कृत्य सान्तपनेन वान्यामानीय ततः पुनरादधीत । शा॰ श्रौ. IV. 15.32. How the सान्तपन fires are produced is stated in Sat. Br. XII. 5. 2.3 'इत्थमेव कुर्यात् । तिस्र एव स्थालीरेष्टवै ब्रूयात्तासु गोमयानि च छुम्बलानि चावधाय नाना त्रिष्वग्निषु मवृञ्ज्यात्से ये ततः सन्तापादग्नयो जायेरंस्तैरेनं दहेयुः ।.' छुम्बल means some material which is easily inflamed such as straw.

527. तस्मादाचस्य: पत्न्याः सर्वा एवाग्निहोत्राद्यर्थेनाग्निना दग्धव्या इति स्थितम् ।... तथा च काठके श्रुतौ 'शवाग्नयो वा एते भवन्ति ये पत्न्यां प्रमीतायां धार्यन्ते' इत्युपक्रम्य 'तस्मात् पत्नीमग्निभिर्दहेत्' इति विस्पष्टो विशेषविधिः । विश्वरूप on या. I. 87.

the effect that if a person keeps the same śrauta fires after the death of his wife they are (impure like) the fires used for burning a corpse and adds that even if a brāhmaṇa āhitāgni had a wife of the kṣatriya class and she died before him, she was to be cremated with his śrauta fires. This view is opposed to that of many other commentators and he explains Manu V. 167 (where 'savarṇām' occurs) as merely illustrative and that if it were interpreted as restricted to a savarṇa wife alone, there would be the fault of *vākyabheda*. Some of the smṛtis provide that he may remain a widower and perform his Agnihotra by having a golden effigy of the wife or one made of kuśa grass, as Rāma did. Vide Gobhilasmṛti III.[528] 9-10, Vṛddha-Hārīta XI. 214. If the householder did not marry again (when his wife died before him and was cremated with his śrauta fires) and did not consecrate fresh vedic fires he was to be cremated with ordinary fire. If the householder was unable to marry again, he may cremate his wife with fire kindled by means of the kindling sticks (*araṇis*) and keep his śrauta fires and carry on *agnihotra* with the image or effigy of the wife. If the āhitāgni died first and his wife then died as a widow she was to be cremated with fire (*nirmanthya*) kindled by attrition of the *araṇis*. Vide Baud. P. S. II. 4. 6-8, Kāt. Śr. 29.4. 34-35, and Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍana II. 121.[528a] When the wife was cremated the mantra 'Asmāttvam-abhijātosi' quoted above was not to be recited (vide Gobhilasmṛti III. 52). It was only a virtuous wife and not an unchaste one that was cremated with śrauta or smārta fire (Gobhilasmṛti III. 53). Kratu (q. by

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528. मृतायामपि भार्यायां वैदिकाग्निं न हि त्यजेत्। उपाधिनापि तत्कर्म यावज्जीवं समापयेत्॥ रामोऽपि कृत्वा सौवर्णीं सीतां पत्नीं यशस्विनीम्। ईजे यज्ञैर्बहुविधैः सह भ्रातृभिरर्चितैः॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 9-10, the first being quoted by अपरार्क p. 114 as विष्णु's. It is also quoted by गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 110. अपरार्क does not accept the interpretation that the verse मृतायां etc. allows the householder to have an image of his deceased wife beside him while performing a Vedic sacrifice. The words 'उपाधिनापि' according to Aparārka mean that he may marry a woman not of the same varṇa. Both verses are q. by शुद्धिप्रकाश (pp. 164-165) which summarises various views on this point.

528a. तयोर्यः पूर्वो म्रियेत तस्याग्निभिस्तया यज्ञपात्रैश्च पितृमेधः। यः पश्चात्तस्यौपासनेन। ...औपासनेऽविद्यमाने निर्मन्थ्येन पितृमेधः। बौ. पि. सू. II. 4. 6-8; compare कात्या. श्रौ. 29.4. 34; 'पत्नी चेद्विधवा भूत्वा प्रमीयेत कदाचन। तदा श्रौताग्निशून्यत्वान्निर्मन्थ्येनैव दह्यते॥ त्रिकाण्डमण्डन II. 121.

Śuddhiprakāśa p. 166)[528b] and Baud. P. S. III. 1. 9–13 state that a widower and a widow were to be cremated with fire generated on a *kapāla* (made red hot and then cow-dung thrown thereon), a brahmacārin and yati were to be cremated with uttapana (or kapālaja) fire, an unmarried girl and a boy whose Upanayana is not performed are to be cremated with fire produced from chaff. If an āhitāgni became *patita* or guilty of suicide in various ways or met death by challenging animals or snakes, his śrauta fires were to be cast into water and *smārta* fire was to be cast on the place where four roads meet (or in water), his sacrificial implements were to be burnt (a smṛti q. by Par. M. I. 2. p. 226, Parāśara V. 10–11, Vaik. Smārta V. 11) and he was to be cremated with ordinary fire.

Manu V. 68, Yāj. III. 1, Parāśara III. 14, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 27–28, Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Par. M. I. 2 p. 238 provide that in the case of abortion, the foetus, and a still-born child, and a child that has not yet struck teeth should be decked with clothes and the like and should be buried. Children of tender years were not to be cremated, but there was some difference of opinion among ancient writers on the exact age at which one or the other method of disposal was to be resorted to. Pāraskara-gṛ.[528c] III. 10, Yāj. III. 1, Manu V. 68–69, Yama and some others provide that a child that had not completed two years at death was to be buried under ground in an unsullied spot outside the village (other than the usual cemetery), the dead body being anointed with ghee and decked with flowers and sandal paste and that no burning nor offering of water nor the collection of bones was to be performed in this case. The relatives may all follow the body or not

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528b विधुरं विधवां चैव कपालस्याग्निना दहेत्। ब्रह्मचारियती चैव दहेदुत्तपनाग्निना॥ तुषाग्निना च दग्धव्यः कन्यका बाल एव च। अग्निवर्णं कपालं तु कृत्वा तत्र विनिक्षिपेत्। कारीषादि ततो यस्तु जातः स तु कपालजः॥ क्रतु q. by शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 166. The उत्तपनाग्नि is explained as दर्भाग्रेऽग्निं तु प्रज्वाल्य पुनर्दर्भैस्तु संयुतः। पुनर्दर्भे तृतीयेऽग्निरेष उत्तपनः स्मृतः॥ स्मृत्यन्तर q. by शुद्धिप्रकाश 166; अथाहिताग्नि...यज्ञपात्रैश्च। गृहस्थमौपासनेन। ब्रह्मचारिणं कपालसन्तपनाग्निना॥ उत्तपनीयेनेतरान्। एवं स्त्रियम्। बौ. पि. सू. III. 1. 9–13.

528c. अथोदककर्माद्विवर्षे प्रेते मातापित्रोराशौचं शौचमेवेतरेषामेकरात्रं त्रिरात्रं वा शरीरमदग्ध्वा निखनन्ति।...नात्रोदककर्म। पारस्करगृह्य III. 10; ऊनद्विवार्षिकं प्रेतं घृताक्तं निखनेद्भुवि। यमगाथा गायमानो यमसूक्तमनुस्मरन्। यम q. by मिता० on या. III.1. यमगाथाः are verses addressed to यम such as 'nāke suparṇam' (Ṛg. X. 123.6 acc. to दीपकलिका), or तै. आ. VI. 5. 3 अहरहर्नयमानो गामश्वं पुरुषं जगत्। वैवस्वतो न तृप्यति पञ्चभिर्मानवैर्यमः॥, or योऽस्य कौष्ठ्य जगतः and the two following verses from तै. आ. VI. 5.2 (acc. to अपरार्क p. 871) and स्मृतिच. (आशौचकाण्ड p. 201).

and Yama allows the recital of the Yamasūkta (Ṛg. X. 14) and the verses in honour of the god Yama. Manu V. 70, however, states other optional provisions viz. that the offering of water may be done (and therefore the cremation also of the dead body) in the case of infants that have struck teeth or after *nāmakaraṇa.* Therefore there is an option as to cremating an infant of less than two years, viz. it may be buried or cremated after nāmakaraṇa or after the appearance of teeth. In this case it is not necessary that all the sapiṇḍa relatives should follow the dead body. If a child is two years old or more at death and upanayana has not been performed it must be cremated with ordinary fire and water must be offered silently. The same rule applies to a child whose *cūḍā* (tonsure) had been performed before death as stated by Laugākṣi.[528d] The Vaik. Sm. S. V.11 lays down that there is no burning with fire until the 5th year for a boy and the 7th year for a girl. After Upanayana the child was to be cremated according to the rites prescribed for an āhitāgni so far as they could be applied (i. e. there would be cremation without sacrificial implements and the mantra 'asmāt tvamabhijātosi' was not to be recited). The Baud.[529] P. S. (II. 3.10–11) provides that there is no cremation for children dying before the performance of *caula* (tonsure) and there is no *pitṛmedha* for those whose upanayana had not been performed at death or for unmarried girls. It also provides that infants that have struck no teeth are to be buried with syllable 'om' and those that have had teeth with the *Vyāhṛtis.* The Mit. on Yāj. III.2 summarises the rules as follows: Before Nāmakaraṇa there was to be only burial and no offering of water and the like; after Nāmakaraṇa up to the third year cremation and offering of water are optional with burial; from the third year up to upanayana there is cremation and also offering of water but silently (without mantras); if Cūḍā ceremony was performed before the 3rd year and the child died then also the same rule applied. After Upanayana the deceased was to be cremated with ordinary fire but the procedure was to be the same as for an āhitāgni.

528d. तूष्णीमेवोदकं कुर्यात्तूष्णीं संस्कारमेव च । सर्वेषां कृतचूडानामन्यत्रापीच्छया द्वयम् ॥ लौगाक्षि q. by मिता. on या. III. 1.

529. न प्राक् चौलात्प्रमीतानां दहनं विद्यते । नानुपनीतानां कन्यानां वा पितृमेधः । बौ. पि. सू. II. 3. 10–11. सायण on तै. आ. III. 21 explains 'आहिताग्नित्वे सति यो ब्रह्मत्वं जानाति तस्य दहनादिसंस्कारो ब्रह्ममेधः । आहिताग्नेर्यो दहनादिसंस्कारः सोऽयं पितृमेधः ।.'

A yati (sannyāsin) was and is even now buried. In a previous note (n. 528b) a verse of Kratu is quoted that a brahmacārin and yati are to be cremated with *uttapana* fire. The explanation of the Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 166) is that the word yati here means an ascetic of the Kuṭīcaka kind and quotes a [530] verse as to how the dead bodies of the yatis of four grades are to be disposed of. The [531] Baud. P. S. III.11 gives a brief description which is adopted with some variations by the Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 98) that contains a description of the death rites of a *parivrājaka*. [532] One should go to the east or north of the village, he should dig a pit (lit. a sacrificial place) as deep as the staff (carried by the yati) under a palāśa tree or on a river bank or on some other pure spot to the accompaniment of the *vyāhṛtis*; then he should sprinkle water thereon thrice repeating the seven vyāhṛtis each time, should spread darbha grass on the bottom of the pit, should deck the dead body (with garlands, sandal paste), deposit the body in the pit with the *mantra* (Tai. S.I.1.3.1) 'O Viṣṇu! guard this offering (the dead body).' He should place in the right hand the staff of the parivrājaka (breaking it into three parts) with the mantra 'Viṣṇu took strides over this' (Ṛg. I.22.17, Vāj. S. V. 15, Tai. S. I.2.13.1). He places the *śikya* (loop of strings) in the left

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530. कुटीचकं तु प्रदहेत्पूरयेच्च बहूदकम्। हंसो जले तु निक्षेप्यः परहंसं प्रपूरयेत्॥ q. by स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 98, शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 166. For the four kinds of sannyāsins, vide of H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 338-342.

531. अथ परिव्राजकस्य संस्कारविधिं व्याख्यास्यामः। पृथिव्यां 'आक्षिभ्यामोषधिभ्याम्' इति शरीरं निधाय 'भूमिर्भूमिमगान्माता मातरमप्यगात्। भूयास्म पुत्रैः पशुभिर्यो नो द्वेष्टि स भिद्यताम्' इत्युदरे पात्रं निधायाथ होतारमधीत्य तस्य दक्षिणे हस्ते कमण्डलुं निदधाति व्याहृतिभिर्देवयजनं पूरयेत् 'अग्निनाग्निः समिध्यते' इत्यशेषसंस्कारोऽश्वमेधफलम्। तत्रोदाहरन्ति। शृगालश्च वायसाः खादन्ति चेद्दोषमाहारयेत्कर्तुः तस्मादविशङ्कां वेदिं प्रच्छादयेदिति बोधायनः। बौ. पि. सू. III. 11. अग्निना अग्निः is Ṛg. I. 12.6 (= Tai. S. I. 4.46.3). The mantra भूमिर्भूमि० occurs in बौ. .. सू. I. 4.9 also,

532. अथ परिव्राजकस्य संस्कारविधिः। ग्रामात्प्राचीमुदीचीं वा गत्वा ब्रह्मवृक्षस्याधस्तान्नदीतीरे वा शुचौ देशे वा दण्डप्रमाणं देवयजनं व्याहृतिभिः खात्वा त्रिः सप्तव्याहृतिभिः प्रोक्ष्य दर्भान्संस्तीर्यालंकृत्य शवं निदधाति श्वभ्रे विष्णो हव्यं रक्षस्वेति। इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे इति दक्षिणहस्ते दण्डं निदधाति। यदस्य पारे रजस इति सव्यहस्ते शिक्यम्। येन देवाः पवित्रेणेति मुखे जलपवित्रम्। सावित्र्या उदरे ब्रह्मभाजनम्। भूमिर्भूम्नेति गुह्ये कमण्डलुम्। चित्तिः स्रुगिति दशहोत्रभिरनुमन्त्रयते। नात्र शेषसंस्काराः पूर्वमनुष्ठितत्वात्। सर्वसङ्गनिवृत्तस्य ध्यानयोगरतस्य च। न तस्य दहनं कार्यं नाशौचं नोदकक्रिया॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 98. The Baud. Gṛ. Seṣasūtra IV. 17.9 reads 'गुह्ये कमण्डलुं चैव भूमिर्भूमिमगादिति'. The verse सर्वसङ्ग० occurs in Baud gṛ. Seṣasūtra IV. 17. 17-18. According to the Baud. Dh. S. II. 10.11 the paraphernalia of a yati is: पवयः शिक्यं जलपवित्रं कमण्डलुं पात्रमिति.

hand with the mantra 'what is beyond this world' (Tai. S. IV.2.5.2), the piece of cloth used as a water-strainer on the mouth with the words 'by which strainer the gods' (Tai. Br. I.4.8.6), the pot on his belly with the Gāyatrī stanza (Ṛg. III.62.10, Vāj. S. III. 35, Tai. S. I.5.6.4), his water pot near his private parts with the mantra 'earth went to earth'. He then invokes with the mantras beginning with 'cittiḥ sruk' (ten sentences in Tai. Ā., Maitrāyaṇī S. I 9. 1 which are called 'caturhotāraḥ').[533] The other rites are not performed here as they were performed before. No cremation should be done, no *āśauca* should be observed nor should water be offered to (an ascetic who is dead) who was free from all attachments and who had given himself up to meditation. The Smṛtyarthasāra adds that no *ekoddiṣṭa* śrāddha nor sapiṇḍīkaraṇa is performed for an ascetic, but only *pārvaṇa* on the 11th day, that a kuṭīcaka should be cremated, the bahūdaka should be buried, *haṁsa* should be thrown into water and *paramahaṁsa* should be thoroughly buried. The Nirṇayasindhu (pp. 634–635) quotes the Smṛtyarthasāra and then adds a few details from Bṛhat-Śaunaka, viz. that the dead body of a *yati* should be bathed with the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X, 90), then the pit (dug for burial) should be sprinkled eight times with the syllable 'Om' on all sides; having deposited the body in the pit with the Yajus formula 'O Viṣṇu! guard this offering' (Tai. S. I. 1. 3.1) and with 'Om', he should place in the right hand the staff with the mantra 'Viṣṇu took strides over this' (Ṛg. I. 22. 17), then pierce the crown of the head with a conch by repeating the mantra 'bhūr-bhuvaḥ-svaḥ', he should fill up the pit with salt to the recitation of the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90). He should fill up the pit thoroughly (with sand) in order to guard against jackals and dogs and the like (exhuming the body with their paws). The Dharmasindhu (p. 497) adds some details particularly as to the number of hymns and mantras to be repeated. It states that the crown of the head should be pierced with a conch or an axe, that one who is unable to do this should smash a ball of jaggery placed on the head. It adds that no yati except kuṭīcaka should be cremated. In modern times a sannyāsin is always buried and not cremated, since kuṭīcaka and bahūdaka kinds of yati are no longer in vogue and it is only the *paramahaṁsa* that is prevalent in the whole of India. The reason why ascetics were buried and not cremated

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533. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 993 notes 2247 and 2248 for the Daśahotāraḥ and their relation to *caturhotṛs*.

appears to me to be as follows; part of the procedure of becoming an ascetic consisted in giving up his śrauta fires and throwing in fire his sacrificial wooden implements (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 954). One of the rules for ascetics is that he should not kindle *śrauta* or smārta fires nor kindle ordinary fire for cooking his food but was to subsist on cooked food obtained by begging (H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 933–934). The householder was cremated with his śrauta or smārta fire but the ascetic, having abjured these, was without any fire and was therefore buried. The Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra X. 8 (ed. by Caland) contains a brief description of the burial of an ascetic who was not an āhitāgni and the cremation of an ascetic who was āhitāgni.

Special rules were laid down about the cremation of women dying in or immediately after child-birth and women dying while still in their monthly illness. A smṛti quoted by the Mit. and the Smṛti-candrikā (I. p. 121) provides that in the case of a *sūtikā*, one should take water and *pañcagavya* in a jar, should repeat holy texts (such as 'āpo hi sthā' Ṛg. X. 9. 1–9, verses addressed to Varuṇa) over them, should then bathe the *sūtikā* with water and pañcagavya and then cremate the body. A woman in her monthly illness was to be similarly bathed and she was to be covered with another garment and then cremated. Vide Garuḍapurāṇa II. 4. 171 ff and Nirṇayasindhu p. 621. Similarly, elaborate rules are prescribed about the rites of cremation in relation to the death of a pregnant woman (vide Baud. P. S. III. 9, Nirṇayasindhu p. 622) which are passed over here.

Dead bodies were disposed off in different ways at different times and in different countries. The various methods of disposal were cremation, burial underground, water burial, exposure of the body for being destroyed[534] by vultures and other birds (as among Zoroastrians) or beasts, being preserved in

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534. According to the Parsi scriptures burying a human corpse in the earth was a grave sin and if the body was not disinterred there was no atonement in the case of a professor of the law of Mazd or one who had studied it and if he did not disinter it within six months or within a year, he was liable to receive five hundred or a thousand stripes respectively. Vide Vendidad, Fargard III (S. B. E. Vol. 4 pp. 31–32). Corpses were to be laid down on the summits of mountains to be devoured by birds and dogs and the exposure of corpses was the most striking practice of the Mazdean profession (S. B. E. Vol. IV part 1 Intro. p. XLV),

caves,[535] or being mummified (as in Egypt). The general rule in India from times of which we have literary evidence was cremation; though burial took place in certain exceptional cases such as in the case of infants, ascetics &c. How the ancient Indians hit upon this scientific though rather heart-rending method of the disposal of dead bodies it is difficult to say[536]. Burials were not unknown in India even in very early times, as Atharvaveda 5. 30. 14 (mā nu bhumigṛho bhuvat) and 18. 2. 34 show. The last may be rendered as follows: O Agni! bring all those *pitṛs* here in order that they may partake of the offering, those (pitṛs whose bodies) were buried or cast aside (exposed) or burnt or deposited above (on trees or in caves?)[536a]. In the word 'anagnidagdhāḥ' occurring in Ṛg. X. 15. 14, scholars see a reference to burial. But it is quite possible that no burial is referred to. If some ancestors were killed far from home in a fight or if they were kidnapped and killed by enemies, their bodies might have been left uncared for in a distant land and not cremated nor buried. A passage in the Chāndogya[537] Up. (VIII. 8. 5) is construed by some scholars as referring to burials. It may be rendered as follows: Therefore they designate even now a man, an *asura* who does not make gifts, who has no faith and who offers no sacrifices; for this is the esoteric doctrine of Asuras. They deck out the body of the dead with *bhikṣā* (perfumes and flowers?), with a raiment by way of decoration, and think that they will thus conquer the next world. Though the passage is not quite clear, the reference to Asuras, their usage of decorating the dead body and thereby being able to gain the next world render it probable that the usage of the burial of the body among Asuras is referred to. In Ṛg. VII. 89. 1 the sage prays 'O Varuṇa!

535. In Rome the bones of over 4000 monks are preserved in the walls of the subterranean burial chapels in the Capuchin Church near the Piazza Barberini. For a description of the catacombs in Rome, vide Puckle's 'Funeral customs' p. 136 (quoting from Frothingham).

536. Vulliamy in 'Immortal man' (p. 34) throws out the suggestion that one of the purposes of cremation may have been the complete destruction of the human aspect of the ghost or its transference to a region from which contact with mankind in any material sense was impossible.

536 a. ये निखाता ये परोप्ता ये दग्धा ये चोद्धिताः। सर्वांस्तानग्न आ वह पितॄन्हविषे अत्तवे ॥ अथर्व० 18.2.34.

537. तस्मादप्यद्येहाददानमश्रद्दधानमयजमानमाहुरासुरो बतेत्यसुराणां ह्येषोपनिषत्प्रेतस्य शरीरं भिक्षया वसनेनालङ्कारेणेति संस्कुर्वन्त्येतेन ह्यमुं लोकं जेष्यन्तो मन्यन्ते। छा. उप. VIII. 8.5.

may I not go to the earthen house'. This is probably a reference to burial. Besides, after the charred bones were collected, they were placed in an urn or pot, which was buried in the ground and after a good deal of time a mound (śmaśāna) was built upon the bones as will be seen immediately from a passage in the Śat. Br. and other sources. In A. V. XVIII. 2. 25 it is said, 'may the tree not oppress them, nor the great goddess Earth'. This is probably a reference to a coffin and burial.

It is somewhat curious that the progressive nations of the West, believing in a literal interpretation of the Biblical words (such as Matthew 22. 23-33, Mark 12. 18-27 and Luke 20. 37-38, John 5. 19-31 and 6. 32-56) about physical resurrection of the dead, held fast by burial alone and up to the end of the 19th century people in Christendom would not allow the cremation of a dead body. The case of *Reg.* v. *Price* illustrates how deep the sentiment against cremation was and how popular fury prevented Price from disposing of the body of his dead child of five months by petroleum fire in a field, how he was prosecuted for two offences viz. misdemeanor at Common Law for burning a dead body instead of burying it and misdemeanor on the ground that he attempted to burn the body with intent to prevent an inquest being held on it by the coroner.[538] It was only in 1902 that the Cremation Act (2 Edw. 7 Ch. 8) was passed empowering burial authorities to establish crematoria on plans approved by the Minister of Health. The Catholic Church does not even now allow cremation. The ancient Romans on the other hand held cremation as the honourable means of the disposal of the dead body but reserved burial for the suicide and the murderer.

Embalming the dead for some time at least was not quite unknown in India. The Sat. Śr. 29. 4. 29 and Vaik. Śr. 31.23 [539] prescribe that if an āhitāgni died away from his people his corpse should be laid down in a tub or trough filled with sesame oil and brought home in a cart. In the Rāmāyaṇa it is several times said that the body of Daśaratha was placed for several

538 (1884) 12 Q. B. D. p. 247. Ultimately Price was acquitted on both charges.

539. आहिताग्निमजने प्रमीतं तैलद्रोण्यामवधाय शकटेनाहरन्ति निर्मन्थ्येन वा दग्ध्वा कृष्णाजिनेऽस्थीनि निधायाहतेन वाससा संवेष्ट्य वीर्यवंशे प्रबध्यानधो निदधानाः प्रयता पुण्यभाजना आहरन्ति । सत्या. श्रौ 29.4. 29; almost the same words occur in वैखानसश्रौत 31.23 p. 312 (Caland's ed.).

days in a tub containing oil till the arrival of Bharata (*vide* Ayodhyā 66. 14–16, 76.4). In the Viṣṇupurāṇa [540] it is stated that the body of Nimi being covered with oil and fragrant substances did not become decomposed and looked as if the death was recent.

What the state of things was before the composition of the Ṛgveda cannot be said with certainty. There is no general agreement as to the age of the Ṛgveda and of the ruins found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Sir John Marshall (in Mohenjo-daro vol. I. p. 86) refers to complete burials, partial burials and post cremation burials. The excavations at Lauriya [541] Nandangarh have brought to light supposed Vedic burial mounds in which has been found a small *repousse* golden plaque bearing the figure of a nude female, the Earth Goddess. These and the disposal of corpses in paleolithic ages are matters for archaeologists and are outside the proper scope of the present work.

The Hāralatā (p. 126) quotes a passage from the Ādipurāṇa to the effect that Magas (Magians) are buried underground and that Daradas and Luptrakas (?) go away after placing their dead relatives on trees. [541a]

It appears that among early Buddhists in India hardly any religious ceremony was performed, whether the person deceased was a layman or even a member of the Order. In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta the death and the funeral ceremonies of the great founder of Buddhism are described in chapter VI (Section 14 ff). All that is gathered from that chapter is that the favourite disciple of the Buddha, Ānanda, uttered a stanza, some of the disciples that were not free from passion wept and fell headlong on the ground, while others (who were Arahats) bore the grief with composure, that next morning Ānanda went to the Mallas of Kusinārā, that the Mallas took perfumes,

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540. निमेरपि तच्छरीरमतिमनोहरं तैलगन्धादिभिरुपसंस्क्रियमाणं नैव क्लेदादिकं दोषमवाप सद्यो मृतमिव तस्थौ । विष्णुपुराण IV. 5. 7.

541. Vide T. Bloch in Z. D. M. G. vol. 60 pp. 227–232 for the excavations at Lauriya; also Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India for megalithic burial and urn fields in South India; Prof. V. G. Childe in 'Man. for 1945 p. 13 ff. for the disposal of corpses in Paleolithic, Neolithic and Bronze ages and Prof. E. O. James in 'Christian Myth and Ritual', chap VII on 'Last rites.'

541a. मगा भूमौ निखन्यन्ते दरदाश्च मृतान् सदा । आसन (ज्य ?) वृक्षे गच्छन्ति लुप्तकाश्च स्वबान्धवम् ॥ आदिपुराण q. by हारलता p. 126 which explains 'दरदेशा-धर्मस्तु [illegible] । ततो [illegible]..

garlands, all musical instruments and five hundred suits of apparel, the Mallas passed seven days in paying homage to the body of the Buddha that lay in the śāla grove with dancing, hymns, music, garlands and perfumes, in making canopies of their garments, that on the 7th day they carried the body of the Blessed One to the south but owing to a miracle (described in sections 29–32) they carried it through the city by the north gate and laid the body to the east (the general rule was that a dead body was not to be carried through the middle of a village, and was to be carried to the south but as Buddha was so extraordinary and holy the above was allowed to be done). The body of the Buddha was then wrapped in a new cloth, then with cotton wool, then in a new cloth and so on till 500 layers of cloth and cotton wool covered the body. The body was then placed in an oil vessel of iron which was covered with another oil vessel of iron. Then a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes was built upon which the body was placed. Then Mahākassapa and five hundred brethren accompanying him arranged their robes on one shoulder (representing the way in which the sacred thread is arranged among the brāhmaṇas), bowed down with clasped hands, went round the body reverently thrice. The body was then burnt and only bones remained. Then the narrative states that Ajātaśatru, king of Magadha, the Licchavis of Vesāli and several others claimed portions of the relics of the Buddha. Then the relics were divided into eight parts. Those who received them built mounds (*Thūpas*) over the relics and the Moriyas who got only embers also built a Thūpa over them and a brāhmaṇa Dona (Droṇa) built a mound over the jar (kumbha) in which the bones were collected. Mr. Rhys Davids remarks (S. B. E. vol. XI Introduction p. XLV) 'though funerals are naturally not infrequently mentioned in the historical books and in the Birth stories there is nowhere any reference to a recognised mode of performing any religious worship'. It will be noticed that the Buddhist ritual[542], though simple, agrees closely with some of the rules of Āśv. gṛ.

542. Vide Fleets' papers in J. R. A. S. for 1906 pp 655–671 and 881–913 on the disposal of the bones and ashes of Buddha based on the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, the Divyāvadāna, Fa Hian's work, the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī and other writings. He therein states his view that the Piprahava relic vase, on which there is an inscription that is the oldest Indian Inscription found up to date (it is about 375 B. C.) and in which 700 articles were

(*Continued on the next page*)

After the relatives (sons and the like) of a deceased person have offered water, have taken a bath and after they emerge from the water (of a river or the like) and are sitting on a plot of soft green grass, elderly persons should talk to them (in order to lessen their grief) about ancient narratives (Yāj. III. 7 and G. P. S. I. 4.2[543]). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20. 22–53 contain a long disquisition on the grip that *Kāla* (Time, Death) has on every body including even Indra, gods, *daityas*, great kings and sages, how everyone that is born is sure to die (i. e. Death is inevitable), and how no one (except the wife) can follow the departed on his journey to the other world, how the good actions and bad actions will accompany the spirit of the dead, how śrāddha confers great benefit on the departed; it winds up that therefore the surviving relatives should offer śrāddha and give up lamentations that help no one, that it is *dharma* that alone follows the soul through his wanderings[544]. Yāj. III. 8–11 (= Garuḍapurāṇa II. 4. 81–84) are verses in a similar strain and are intended to serve the same purpose. They are: 'He, who seeks everlastingness in this human life that is as devoid of strength as the stock of a plantain plant, and that is as inconstant as a bubble of water, is a deluded person. What is the use of lamentation if the body, created out of the five elements by reason of actions performed in a former life, returns to those five elements? The earth, the ocean and the gods

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(Continued from the last page)

found, enshrines the relics, not of the Bhagavān Buddha, but of his kinsmen. Fleet further refers to the tradition that the great emperor Aśoka dug up seven out of the eight mounds of the relics of Buddha and transferred almost all their contents to 84000 boxes of gold and silver and distributed them throughout India and built monuments (stūpas) over them. Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' (pp. 78–80), after stating that deceased persons of distinction either by birth or wealth or official status or as public teachers were cremated and the ashes were buried under a *tope* (Pāli 'thūpa'), remarks 'The dead bodies of ordinary people were disposed of in a unique way. They were put away in a public place. There as a rule the bodies or the remains of the pyre were not buried but left to be destroyed by birds or beasts or dissipated by the process of natural decay'.

543. शोकमुत्सृज्य कल्याणीभिर्वाग्भिः सात्त्विकाभिः कथाभिः पुराणैः सुकृतीभिः श्रुत्वा धौत्वा व्रजन्ति। गौतमपितृमेधसूत्र I. 4. 2.

544. It may be noted that Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20. 29, 48–49 and 51–53 are the same or almost the same as Bhagavadgītā II. 27, 28, 13, 23–25 respectively. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20. 47 (yathā dhenusahasreṣu &c.) is the same as Śāntiparva 181. 16, 187.27 and 323.16 and Viṣṇudharmottara II. 78. 27; and Viṣṇu Dh. S, 20.41 is the same as Śānti 175. 15 and 322, 73. The कल्पतरु (शुद्धि pp. 91–97) quotes याज्ञ. (III. 7.11), विष्णु 20.22–53 and गीता II. 13, 28.

are destined to go to destruction (at some future date when *pralaya* takes place). How is it possible that the world of mortals which is (evanescent) like foam will not meet with destruction? As the departed spirit, being helpless, has to swallow the tears and phlegm cast by kinsmen, they should not weep but should perform (obsequial) rites according to their ability.' Gobhilasmṛti III. 39 urges 'do not lament for what is perishable and what is the characteristic (destiny) of all beings. Exert yourselves in the performance of meritorious acts which will accompany you.' Gobhila then quotes Yāj. III. 8–10 and one verse from the Mahābhārata [544a] viz. 'All collections are to end in dissipation, all rise is to end in fall, all unions in separation and life in death'. Aparārka quotes the Rāmāyaṇa and Vāsudeva's words from the Śalyaparva to Dhṛtarāṣṭra on the death of Duryodhana. The Par. M. I. 2 pp. 292–93, the Śuddhiprakāśa pp. 205–206 and several other works quote the verses of Viṣṇu, Yāj. and Gobhila.

The Garuḍapurāṇa here (II. 4. 91–100) waxes eloquent over the immolation of a wife on her husband's funeral pyre, over the miraculous power of a *pativratā*, and states that a brāhmaṇa woman should not burn herself apart from her husband's body (or after he is cremated), but that kṣatriya and other women may do so, that the practice of *satī* is common to all women even including chāṇḍāla women, but pregnant women or those that have young children should not do so and that a woman does not become free from the liability to be born again and again as a woman until she becomes a *Satī*.

After listening to the philosophical discourse of elders the relatives return to their house, placing children in front and standing at the door of the house, they with minds under control bite the leaves of the *nimba* tree, perform *ācamana*, touch fire, water, cowdung, white mustard; then they should enter their house after slowly (firmly) planting their foot on a stone. According [545] to Śaṅkha the relatives should touch the tendrils of Dūrvā, fire and a bull, should offer a *piṇḍa* to the departed at

544a. सर्वे क्षयान्ता निचयाः पतनान्ताः समुच्छ्रयाः। संयोगा विप्रयोगान्ता मरणान्तं च जीवितम्॥. This is शान्तिपर्व 331.20 (in 330. 20 in Citraśālā edition).

545. दूर्वाप्रवालमग्निं वृषभं चालभ्य गृहद्वारे प्रेताय पिण्डं दत्त्वा पश्चात्प्रविशेयुः। शङ्ख q. by मिता. on या. III. 13, परा. मा. I. 2 p. 293.

the door of the house and then enter it. Baijavāpa [546] q. by Śuddhitattva prescribes the mantras to be recited in touching *śamī*, the stone (*aśmā*), fire and provides further that a cow and a goat should be touched holding fire between themselves and these animals; food should be purchased or obtained from another's house, it should be of one kind only without salt, that they should for one day eat only by day and stop all actions for three days. Yāj. III. 14 prescribes that the actions prescribed by him in III. 12 for relatives (viz. biting *nimba* leaves up to entering the house) must be done by others who, though no relatives, carried the corpse or decked it &c.

The Śāṅ. Śr. IV. 15.10, the Āśv. gr. IV. 4.17-27, Baud. P. S. I. 12.10, Kauśikasūtra 82.33-35 and 42-47, Pār. gr. III. 10, Āp. Dh. S. I. 3.10.4-10, Gaut. Dh. 14.35-36 Manu V. 73, Vas. 4.14-15, Yāj. III. 16-17, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19.14-17, Saṁvarta 39-43, Śaṅkha 15.25, Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa chap. 5.1-5) and others lay down several rules for those (both men and women) who have lost a near *sapiṇḍa* by death to be observed immediately after they return from the cremation and for three more days. [547] The Śāṅ. Śr. provides that they should sleep on the bare ground (not on a cot), they should subsist on sacrificial food, they should give up the performance of their usual religious duties (except in relation to the vedic fires) for one night, three nights or nine nights or till the day of the collection of the bones. The Āśv. gr. (IV. 4.17-24) provides these observations viz. 'Let them not cook food during that night, let them subsist on bought food or on food received from others,

546. शमीमालभन्ते शमी पापं शमयत्विति अश्मानमश्मेव स्थिरो भूयासमिति अग्निमग्निर्नः शर्म यच्छत्विति ज्योतिष अन्तरा गामजमजुपस्पृशन्तः क्रीत्वा लब्ध्वा वा माप्य गृहमेकान्नमलवणमेकरात्रं दिवा भोक्तव्यं त्रिरात्रं च कर्मोपरमणम्। बैजवाप quoted in कल्पतरु (शुद्धि p. 100), शुद्धितत्त्व p. 319, the शुद्धितत्त्व itself being q. by निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 580 (which reads लब्ध्वा वान्यगेहादेका°.).

547. अधः शय्या हविष्यभक्षयता प्रत्यूहनं च कर्मणां वैतानवर्जमेकरात्रं त्रिरात्रं नवरात्रं वा, वासश्चयनाद्वसानि। शां. श्रौ IV. 15.10; मातरि पितर्याचार्ये इति त्रिरात्रमक्षारलवणभोजनमधःशयनं ब्रह्मचर्यं त्र्यहं षडहं द्वादशाहं संवत्सरं यावत् ग्रहणं द्वादशाहावरार्ध्यं परमगुरुष्वेवमथोदकामितरेषु त्रिरात्रं यावज्जीवं प्रेतपत्नी। बौ. पि. सू I. 12.10.; न स्वाध्यायमधीयीरन्। नित्यानि निवर्तेरन्वैतानवर्जम्। शालाग्नौ चैके। अन्य एतानि कुर्युः। पार. गृ. III. 10 (ascribed to पैठीनसि in मिता. on या. III. 17); उभयत्र दशाहानि कुलस्यान्नं न भुज्यते। दानं प्रतिग्रहो होमो स्वाध्यायश्च निवर्तते॥ cited as मनु's in अपरार्क p. 892, परा. मा. I. 2. p. 211. Aparārka and others explain that the cessation of homa refers to smārta and not to *śrauta* homa. The last verse is ascribed to यम by मिता. on या. III. 17, where it adds the half verse सूतके तु कुलस्यान्नमदोषं मनुरब्रवीत्।. The विष्णुपुराण III. 13.18 reads मृतबन्धोर्दशाहानि कुलस्यान्नं...निवर्तते॥.

let them eat no mineral salt or ordinary[548] salt for three nights, let them optionally avoid for twelve nights the distribution of gifts and the study of vedic texts if one of the principal gurus (father, mother or the teacher who performed upanayana and taught the whole Veda) dies. Pār. gr. III. 10 adds that they should remain chaste, eat food only once in the day and that they should not repeat Veda study, and should give up the daily obligatory duties except those connected with Vedic fires. Manu (V. 73) adds that they should not eat flesh for three days. Vas. (4.14-15) lays down that the relatives who returned from the cemetery should sit down for three days on mats and fast, that if they are unable (to fast for three days) they should subsist on food bought in the market or obtained unasked. Yāj. III. 17 and Pār. III. 10[549] provide that for the night they should put milk and water in an earthen vessel in the open space (on a *śikya*) with the words 'O departed one! bathe here (in the water) and drink this milk'. Yāj. III. 17, Paiṭhīnasi, Manu V. 84, Pār. gr. III. 10, and others state that the relatives of the departed should perform their own daily rites to be performed in the *śrauta* fires (such as Agnihotra and Darśapūrṇamāsa) and in the *smārta* fire (such as morning and evening *homa*) on account of the peremptory dictates of the Veda (such as 'one should perform Agnihotra as long as one lives'). The commentators have added several limitations and restrictions. The Mit.[550] on Yāj. III. 17 states that, as Manu V. 84 only prohibits the stopping of the rites in (Vedic and Smārta) fires, such religious duties as the five daily *Mahāyajñas* are excluded, that Vaiśvadeva, though performed in fire, is excluded because there is an express text of Saṁvarta a brāhmaṇa should be without Vaiśvadeva for ten days (after the death of a sapiṇḍa), that the Śrauta and Smārta rites should be got performed by another, as Pāraskara (III. 10 'anya etāni kuryuḥ') expressly lays down. Only *nitya* and *naimittika* acts to be performed in Vedic and Smārta fires are allowed and so *kāmya* rites cannot be performed. Even at present Agnihotrins

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548. For the different explanations of 'kṣāra-lavaṇa' vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 304 n. 723.

549. प्रेतात्र स्नाहीत्युदकं स्थाप्यं पिब चेदमिति क्षीरम्। पार. गृ. III. 10.

550. सूतके कर्मणां त्यागः सन्ध्यादीनां विधीयते—इति यद्यपि सन्ध्यायाः विनिवृत्तिः श्रूयते तथाप्यञ्जलिप्रक्षेपादिकं कुर्यात्। सूतके सावित्र्या चाञ्जलिं प्रक्षिप्य प्रदक्षिणं कृत्वा सूर्यं ध्यायन्नमस्कुर्यादिति पैठीनसिस्मरणात्। मिता. on या. III. 17. सूतके कर्मणां त्यागः is गोभिलस्मृति III. 60. Vide विष्णुपुराण III. 13. 18 'दानं प्रतिग्रहो होमः स्वाध्यायश्च निवर्तते'.

perform their śrauta *nitya homa* during days of impurity themselves, though some get it performed by another. (Vide Yāj. III. 17, Manu V. 84). Although there is a text of Gobhilasmṛti (III. 60) prohibiting the performance of *sandhyā*, yet relying on a sūtra of Paiṭhīnasi the Mit. says that a man can offer water to the Sun in worship; others like the Smṛtimuktāphala (p. 478) say that sandhyā mantras may be revolved in the mind, except the prāṇāyāma mantras. This is followed in modern times in many parts of India. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22.6 prescribes that in impurity due to birth or death *homa* (Vaiśvadeva), giving and accepting gifts and the study of Veda cease. The Vaik. Sm. S. VI.4 states that the performance of *sandhyā* adoration, all rites for the gods and manes, gift and acceptance and Veda study should be given up during impurity on death. Gautama 14.44 appears to hold that a brāhmaṇa is not affected by impurity on birth and death for the purposes of Veda study. On the other hand Saṁvarta [551] (43) affirms that on the days of impurity on birth and death there is no performance of the five Mahāyajñas nor of Veda study. The Nityācāra-paddhati p. 544 states that even in āśauca the thousand names of Viṣṇu may be recited.

Asthisañcayana or *Sañcayana* means that rite in which the (charred) bones (of the cremated person) are collected. This rite is dealt with in many sūtra and smṛti works, such as Śāṅ. Śr. IV. 15. 12–18, Sat. Śr. 28. 3, Āśv. gṛ. IV. 5. 1–18, Gaut. P. S. I. 5, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19. 10–12, Baud. P. S. I. 14, Kauśika-sūtra 82. 29–32, Vaik. Smārta Sūtra V. 7, Yama 87–88, Saṁvarta 38, Gobhila-smṛti III. 54–59 (q. by Hāralatā p. 183). There is great divergence of views about the day on which this was to be done. For example, Sat. Śr. 28. 3. 1 provides: [552] 'bones are collected on the next day (after cremation) or on the 3rd, 5th or 7th.' Saṁvarta (verse 38) and Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa 5. 15) prescribe that collection of bones should be made on the 1st, 3rd, 7th or 9th and (particularly) on the 4th by twice-born persons. The Vāmanapurāṇa (14. 97–98) allows it on the 1st, 4th or 7th day. Yama (87) requires the relatives to collect bones from the 1st to the 4th day after cremation and also provides (verse 88)

551. पञ्चयज्ञविधानं तु न कुर्यान्मृत्युजन्मनोः । दशाहात्तु परं सम्यग्विप्रोऽधीयीत धर्मवित् ॥ संवर्त 43.

552. अपरेद्युस्तृतीयस्यां पञ्चम्यां सप्तम्यां वास्थीनि सञ्चिनोति । सत्या. श्रौ. 28. 3.1; अथ सञ्चयनं व्युष्टे द्विरात्रे त्रिरात्रे चतूरात्रे पञ्चरात्रे वा । गौ. पि. सू. I. 5 1; प्रथमेऽह्नि चतुर्थे वा सप्तमे वास्थिसञ्चयम् । ऊर्ध्वं सञ्चयनात्तेषामङ्गस्पर्शो विधीयते ॥ वामनपुराण 114. 97–98.

that the four varṇas should respectively perform *sañcayana* on the 4th, 5th, 7th and 9th day. The Āśv. gr. 8. IV. 5. 1 states that *sañcayana* should be performed after the 10th day from cremation in the dark half, but on uneven *tithis* (i. e. 1st, 3rd, 11th, 13th, 15th) and on a *nakṣatra* which bears a name not applicable to two or more *nakṣatras* (i. e. except on the two Aṣāḍhas, two Phalgunīs and two Bhādrapadās). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19. 10, Vaik. Smārta-sūtra V. 7, Kauś. 82. 29, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 13. 14, Kūrmapurāṇa (uttara) 23 and a few other works lay down that *sañcayana* must be done on the 4th day after cremation. The various texts differ a good deal in details. The following is the procedure in the Āśv. gr. IV. 5:—The bones of a male should be collected into an urn that has no special marks (protuberances), those of a woman in an urn that has protuberances but no other special marks. Aged persons, odd in number[553] not being together with women, (i. e. not as a mixed assemblage) collect the bones. The performer walks thrice round the spot (where the body was burnt) with his left side turned towards the spot, sprinkles on it with a śamī branch milk mixed with water with a verse 'śītike' (Ṛg. X. 16. 14). With the thumb and the 4th finger they (gatherers) should put each single bone into the urn without making a rattling noise (of the bones in the urn), the bones of the feet being taken first, those of the head last. Having well gathered the bones and having purified them with a winnowing basket (i. e. removing the dust attaching to them) they should put the urn in a pit at a place where the waters from different sides do not flow together except rain water with the verse 'upasarpa' (Ṛg. X. 18. 10) and he should throw earth (into the pit) with the following verse (Ṛg. X. 18. 11). After having thrown (earth) he should repeat the next verse (Ṛg. X. 18. 12). Then covering (the mouth of the urn) with a lid with the mantra 'ut te stabhnāmi' (Ṛg. X. 18. 13) (he fills up the pit). Then without looking back they return (towards the house), bathe in water and then offer śrāddha to him alone (the departed). Dr. B. N. Datta in his paper 'Vedic funeral customs and Indus Valley culture in 'Man in India', vol. 16

553. The हारलता (p. 184) explains अयुजो मिथुनाः प्रवयसः (in आश्व. गृ.) as 'मिथुनं पुरुषद्वयं बहुवचनात् त्रयो मिथुनाः यत्र पुरुषा इत्यर्थः पञ्च वा मिथुना यत्र पुरुषाः प्रवयसः प्रवृद्धवयसः'. It is probable that women also accompanied the *cortege* to the cemetery in ancient times, that gradually they ceased to do so and by the time of the Hāralatā only men comprised the funeral procession and so it explained the words of Āśv. as above.

pp. 223–307 regards (p. 285) Ṛg. X. 18 as a hymn dealing with burial of the whole body (and not of ashes), while he admits (p. 287) that Ṛg. X. 16 is a cremation hymn. I dissent from him for various reasons; the most important is that if his theory be correct a period of several centuries must be postulated between the two hymns. This is inadmissible.

The Kauśikasūtra (82. 29–32) prescribes certain details differently. It says that the bones are collected with A. V. 18. 2. 24, 26, then they are consigned to a jar over which all fragrant powders are scattered, then the jar is raised with the Utthāpanī verses and carried with the verses called Hariṇīs (i. e. A. V. 18. 2. 11–18). He (the performer) deposits (in the earth the urn) at the root of a tree with the verse 'mā tvā' (A. V. 18. 2. 25 'May the tree not injure thee all round, may not the wide goddess Earth also injure thee'). [554]

The other sūtras present several variations which are passed over here, excepting one or two matters. The Sat. Śr. provides that the twig should be of the Udumbara tree, that the bones are collected by women of the family of the deceased (his wife and others) odd in number (five or more), or other women (in the absence of women of the family). A woman who is not likely to have a child should tie in her left hand a Bṛhatī fruit with two threads, blue and red in colour, should step on a stone with her left foot, collect the bones first from the teeth or head with the mantra 'uttiṣṭhata' (Tai. Ā. VI. 4. 2) and she should deposit those bones in a jar or garment, then a second woman of the same type collects bones from the shoulders or arms, a third woman from the sides or hips, a fourth from the thighs or legs, and a fifth from the feet. They or more women collect the bones completely. The urn is deposited at the root of a *śamī* or *palāśa* tree.

In modern times, particularly in towns and cities, the collection of bones has to be done immediately after cremation. The Antyeṣṭi-paddhati closely follows the procedure prescribed in the Āśv. gṛ. quoted above. It says: the performer goes to the place of cremation, sips water, mentions the time and place, makes a *saṅkalpa* (declaration) that he will perform the collec-

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554. मा ते मनो यत्ते अङ्गमिति सञ्चिनोति पश्चः। प्रथमं शीर्षकपालानि । पश्चात्कलशे संमोप्य सर्वसुरभिचूर्णैरवकीर्योत्थापनीभिरुत्थाप्य हरिणीभिर्हरेयुः। मा त्वा वृक्ष इति वृक्षमूले निदधाति। कौशिकसूत्र 82. 29–32. It appears that the sūtras are not properly arranged by Bloomfield. They should be read as पश्चः प्रथमम् । शीर्षकपालानि पश्चात् । कलशे etc. For the उत्थापनी verses see n. 474. The हरिणी verses from अथर्ववेद are 18.2. 11–18 and are the same as Ṛg. X. 14.10–12 and X. 154. 1–5.

tion of the bones of the departed naming him and his gotra. He walks thrice round the place of cremation with his left towards it and sweeps it with a śamī branch and sprinkles it with milk mixed with water with the mantra 'śītike' (Ṛg. X. 16. 14). Then old men odd in number with the performer collect the bones (as stated by Āśv. gṛ. above) and place them in a new jar and if they are of a woman in a jar with protuberances. They also winnow the ashes with a *śūrpa* and place in the jar even small bones and throw the ashes into the Ganges. Then at some time other than the rainy season a pit should be dug in a pure spot whereon water would not flow and the performer deposits the jar in the pit with the mantra 'approach this mother, Earth' (Ṛg. X. 18. 10). With Ṛg. X. 18. 11, he throws earth in the pit all round the jar and murmurs with folded hands the mantra (Ṛg. X. 18. 12) and he closes the jar with a new earthen disk with the verse Ṛg. X. 18. 13. Then he should put earth on the jar in such a way that it may not be seen by anybody and without looking back should go elsewhere and bathe. The Nirṇayasindhu (p. 586) expressly states that the procedure for the collection of bones may be gathered from one's sūtra or from the work of Bhaṭṭa (i. e. Nārāyaṇa, Kamalākara's grandfather).

The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (19.11-12) and Anu. 26.32 state that the collected bones should be cast in Ganges water, since as many particles of the bones of a man remain in Ganges water for so many thousands of years he dwells in heaven. It was provided in the Purāṇas that a virtuous son, brother or daughter's son or a relative on the father's or mother's side should cast the bones in the Ganges, that one not so related should not do it and that if he does it he has to perform cāndrāyaṇa prāyaścitta. Even in modern times many Hindus take the charred bones of their parents or other dear relatives to the Ganges at Prayāga (Allahabad) or some other holy river [554a] or cast them into the sea. The Nirṇayasindhu (p. 587) quotes an elaborate rite of casting the ashes in the Ganges from Śaunaka. It is briefly as follows: The performer should go out of the village, bathe with clothes on, sprinkle the earth where the ashes are deposited with the Gāyatrī and the other mantras usually repeated over

554 a. The स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p. 190 quotes several verses on this point. तत्र शाण्डिल्यः । द्वारवत्यां सेतुबन्धे गोदावर्यां च पुष्करे । अस्थीनि विसृजेद्यस्य स सुतो मुक्तिमाप्नुयात् । शङ्खलिखितौ । गङ्गायां च प्रयागे च केदारे पुष्करोत्तमे । अस्थीनि विधिवत् त्यक्त्वा गयायां पिण्डदो भवेत् । पितॄणामात्मनश्चैव तौ नित्यं मोक्षगामिनौ । इति । योगयाज्ञवल्क्यः । गङ्गायां यमुनायां वा कावेर्यां वा शतद्रुतौ । सरस्वत्यां विशेषेण ह्यस्थीनि विसृजेत्सुतः ॥.

pañcagavya. With the four mantras 'upasarpa' (Ṛg. X. 18.10-13) he should respectively pray to the earth, then dig it, take out the earth, and then the bones. Then he should bathe and purify the bones by touching the bones again and again and repeating the mantras 'eto nvindram stavāma śuddham &c.' (Ṛg. VIII. 95. 7-9). Then he should bathe with pañcagavya and become pure. Then he should bathe ten times with cow's urine, cow's dung, cow's milk, curds, clarified butter, water in which kuśas have been dipped, ashes (of sacred fires), earth, honey and water. Then he should sprinkle (with kuśas) water on the bones with the mantras, viz. Ṛg. I.22.16. Ṛg. VIII. 95.7-9,[555] Ṛg. VII. 56.12-14, Ṛg. X. 126.1-8, Ṛg. X. 119.1-13, Ṛg. IX. 1.1-10 (called Pāvamānī verses), Ṛg. X. 128.1-9, Ṛg. I. 43.1-9 (a hymn to Rudra); then he should offer a *hiraṇya śrāddha* for the deceased, offer *piṇḍa* to him and perform *tarpaṇa* with sesame. Then he should cover the bones in seven ways viz. by deer-skin, woollen blanket, *darbhas*, cow's hair, hempen cloth, birch leaf and palm leaf. He should cast among the bones pieces of gold and silver, pearls, coral and sapphire for the purification of the bones, then he should offer into fire 108 oblations of clarified butter and sesame with the hymn beginning with 'udīratām' (Ṛg. X. 15). Then he should cast the bones in holy water; thereby he does not incur the fault of touching an unclean object. While answering the calls of nature or performing *ācamana* one should not hold the bones.

The Nirṇayasindhu adds (p. 588) that there is no *asthisañcayana* for one whose upanayana had not been performed.

The Āśv. gṛ. IV.6, the Sat. Śr. 28.4, Śāṅ. Śr. 4.6 (called *paridhikarma*) and some others prescribe a *Śānti* rite after collection of the charred bones of a deceased person. The Baud. P. S. (II. 3.3) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19.19 appear to prescribe the Śānti rite after the ten days of impurity have expired ('daśarātre śaucam kṛtvā śāntiḥ'). It is described by Āśv. gṛ. as follows: They who have lost a *guru* (father or mother) by death should perform on the new moon day an expiatory ceremony. Before sunrise they should carry fire together with its ashes and with its receptacle to the south with the half verse 'I send away the flesh-devouring Agni' (Ṛg. X. 16. 9). Having cast that fire down at a place where four roads meet or somewhere else, they

555. It should be noticed that in Ṛg. VIII. 95.7-9 the word 'śuddha' (pure) occurs thirteen times and hence it is appropriate that those verses are employed as purificatory ones. Similarly, in Ṛg. VII. 56.12 the word 'śuci' (pure) occurs six times.

walk round it thrice, with their left side turned to it and beating their left thighs with the left hand. They should then return home without looking back, bathe in water, have their hair, beards and hair on the body and nails cut, furnish themselves with new jars, pots, vessels for rinsing the mouth, with garlands of *śamī* flowers, with fuel of śamī wood, with two pieces of śamī wood for kindling fire[556] and with branches for encircling the fire, with bull's dung and hide, fresh butter, a stone and as many bunches of kuśa grass as there are young women (in the house). At the time of the Agnihotra (in the afternoon) he should kindle fire (by means of the araṇīs) with the half verse 'Here may this other Jātavedas' (Ṛg. X. 16.9 latter half)'. Keeping the fire burning they sit till night silence falls, repeating tales of old men (of the family) and stories of auspicious contents, *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*. When all sounds have ceased or when the others (members of the deceased's family) have gone to their houses or resting place, (the performer) should pour out a continuous stream of water beginning at the south side of the door with the verse (Ṛg. X. 53.6) 'spreading the thread follow the light of the world' and go round the house ending at the north side of the door. Then having placed the fire and spread to the west of it a bull's hide with neck to the east, with the hair outside, he should cause the people of the house (including women) to step on that hide with the verse 'Arise to long life'[557] (Ṛg. X. 18.6). He should place twigs round the fire with 'Here do I deposit an encircling thing' (Ṛg. X. 18.4). Having placed a stone to the north of the fire with the words 'May they place a mountain between themselves and death' (Ṛg. X. 18.4 last *pāda*) and having sacrificed with four verses 'Go hence, O Death' (Ṛg. X. 18.1-4), he should look at his people with the verse 'as days follow each other' (Ṛg. X. 18.5). The young women (belonging to the house) should with each hand separately with the thumb and 4th finger salve (at one and the same time) their eyes with fresh butter by means of young *darbha* blades and cast

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556. Nārāyaṇa explains that the fire means ordinary kitchen fire and he seems to be right in spite of Oldenberg's note to the contrary on p. 246 (of S. B. E. vol. 29). The deceased sacrificer is cremated with his śrauta fires (vide Āśv. gṛ. IV. 4) and smārta fire (if any) and on his death the śāntikarma is performed by the son or other relative who may have no consecrated fires at all or, if he has, he cannot cast them away as long as he lives. The Com. on Sat. Sr. 28. 4. 1 states that it is the adhvaryu priest that kindles the fire and not he who performed the cremation.

557. Most of these mantras occur also in Tai. Ā. VI. 10.

away the blades turning their faces away. The performer should look at them while they are salving their eyes, with the verse 'these women, being no widows and having good husbands' (Ṛg. X. 18.7). The former should first touch the stone with 'the stream containing stones flows' (Ṛg. X. 53.8). After that, stationing himself to the north-east, while others go round with the fire, bull-dung and a continuous stream of water he should, after repeating the three verses (āpo hi sṭhā, Ṛg. X. 9.1-3), murmur the verse 'these have led round the cows' (Ṛg. X. 155.5). A tawny-coloured bull should be led round. They then sit down at a place where they like to stop, having put on fresh unwashed garments and they sit there till sunrise avoiding sleep. After sunrise, having murmurred the hymns sacred to the sun and auspicious hymns, having prepared food and made oblations with the hymn beginning 'May he burn away evil from us' (Ṛg. I. 97.1-8), verse by verse, having given to the brāhmaṇas to eat, he should cause them to pronounce auspicious words. A cow, a cup of metal and a fresh unworn garment are the sacrificial fee for each of the brāhmaṇas.

A few details may be added from other sūtras. The Sat. Śr. (28.4.1) provides that the Śānti is performed on the 10th day after cremation by a priest, that in the folded hands of the wives (of the members of the family) he puts the remains of the material used for oblations with the verse 'these women, not being widows' (Ṛg. X. 18.7=Tai. Ā. VI. 10.2), that the priest plants in the earth the stalk of a plant with the verse 'yathā tvam' (Tai. Ā. VI. 10.2) [558], that after they return home, they cook goat flesh and boil *yava* grains and eat them and then may occupy couches and cots (i. e. give up the observances of mourning).

Interesting information is furnished by the Śat. Br. about graves (XIII. 8. 1-4) and Kāt. Śr.[559] It is said in Śat. Br. that

558. The mantra is very significant, यथा त्वमुद्भिनत्सि ओषधे पृथिव्या अधि । एवमिम उद्भिन्दन्तु कीर्त्या यशसा ब्रह्मवर्चसेन ॥ तै. आ. VI. 10. 2.

559. अथैकेषां कुम्भान्तं निधानमनाहिताग्नेः स्त्रियाश्च निवपनान्तं हविर्याजिनः पुनर्दहनान्तं सोमयाजिनश्चयनान्तमग्निचित इति । सत्या. श्रौ. 28. 4, 28; almost the same words occur in बौ. पि. सू. II. 3. 2. This passage refers to four modes of the disposal of the charred bones viz. burial in the earth of the urn for women and men who had not consecrated śrauta fires, depositing the bones alone on the earth for him who performs havir-yajñas (in which only boiled rice and clarified butter are offered, vide Gaut. 8. 20.), re-cremation for one who had offered soma sacrifice and building a brick or clod structure for him who

(*Continued on the next page*)

the grave[560] or monument should not be built too soon after death, lest he (the performer) freshen up the sin of the deceased; that he should make it a long time after and when people do not even remember the years (that have elapsed since the decease). He should make it in uneven years and under a single nakṣatra (i. e. containing a single star such as Citrā and Puṣya, and not dual such as Punarvasu and Viśākhā or plural such as Kṛttikā) and on the New Moon day. Let him make it in autumn or in Māgha or in summer. The sepulchral mound should be four cornered, because the people who are worshippers of gods (or godly) make their burial mounds four-cornered, while those who are followers of Asuras, the Easterns and such like people, make them round. As to the choosing of the ground, the Śat. Br. states several views viz. he makes it on ground sloping towards the north or, according to some, to the south; but the Śat. Br. disapproves of both the views and prescribes that he should make the burial mound on any level ground where the waters flowing from a southernly direction come to the east and stand still without dashing forward and on such a ground one may make it (burial mound). Let him make it on a pleasant and peaceful spot, but not on a road nor in an open space lest he should make the deceased's sin manifest. It should have the sun shining on it (at mid-day). It should not be made at a place

(Continued from the last page)

had performed the solemn rite of Agnicayana. Modes of urn burial, earth burial and re-cremation resemble the funeral customs of the copper age folk of the lower Indus at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Vide Memoir No 31 of the Archaeological Survey of India by Ramprasad Chanda at pp. 13-14.

560. अथास्मै श्मशानं कुर्वन्ति।...तद्वै न क्षिप्रं कुर्यात्। नेदघनवं करवाणीति चिर एव कुर्यादघमेव तत्तिरः करोति यत्र समा नानु च न स्मरेयुः...यद्यनुस्मरेयुः। अयुग्मेषु संवत्सरेषु कुर्यात्।...एकनक्षत्रे...अमावास्यायाम्।...शरदि कुर्यात्।...माघे वा मा नोऽघं भूदिति निदाघे वा नि नोऽघं धीयाता इति। चतुःस्रक्ति।...तस्माद्या दैव्यः प्रजाश्चतुःस्रक्तीनि ताः श्मशानानि कुर्वतेऽथ या आसुर्यः प्राच्यास्त्वद्ये परिमण्डलानि।...अथातो भूमिजोषणस्य। उदीचीनप्रवणे करोति...। दक्षिणाप्रवणे कुर्यादित्याहुः।...यस्यैव समस्य सतः दक्षिणतः पुरस्तादाप एत्य संस्थायो महस्य एतां दिशमभिनिष्पद्याक्षय्या अपोऽपिपद्येरंस्तत्कुर्यात्।...कम्प्रति कुर्यात् कं मेऽसदिति यथो शंवति शं मेऽसदिति नाधिपथं कुर्यान्नाकाशे नेदाविरघं करवाणीति।...आदित्यज्योतिषमेवैनं करोति। न तस्मिन् कुर्यात्। यस्येत्थादनूकाशः स्यात्।...चित्रं पश्चात्स्यात्।...यदि चित्रं न स्यादापः पश्चाद्वोत्तरतो वा स्युः।...ऊषरे करोति...। समूले...। न भूमिपाशमाभिविद्ध्यात्। न शरं नाश्ममन्थां नाध्याण्डां न पृश्निपर्णीं नाश्वत्थस्यान्तिकं कुर्यान्न विभीतकस्य न तिल्वकस्य न स्फूर्जकस्य न हरिद्रोर्न न्यग्रोधस्य ये चान्ये पापनामानः...। अग्निविधयाग्निचितः श्मशानं करोति।...तद्वै न महत्कुर्यात्। नेन्महदघं करवाणीति।...पुरुषमात्रं त्वेव कुर्यात्...पश्चाद्वरीयः...उत्तरतो वर्षीयः। तद्विधायापसलविसृष्टाभिः स्पन्द्याभिः पर्यातनोति...। शतपथब्रा. XIII. 8. 1; compare कौशिक 83. 5-7 for similar derivations of माघ, निदाघ &c.

where it would be visible from the village and there should be charming objects to its west (woods, gardens &c.). If there be no charming objects there should be waters to its west or north. He makes it on salt (barren) soil, on such ground as abounds in roots. Let him not make it near where grows the Bhūmipāśa plant or where reeds grow, or Aśvagandhā or Adhyaṇḍā, or Pṛśniparṇī grows. He should not make it near an aśvattha tree or near a vibhītaka tree or a tilvaka, a sphūrjaka or a haridru or nyagrodha tree or other trees that have an evil name (like ślesmātaka or kovidāra). For one who has performed Agnicayana, he makes a tomb after the manner of the fire altar. One must not make it too large lest he should make the sin (of the deceased) large. He should make it just a man's size, broader behind (to the west) and broader on the north side. He encloses it with cords twisted in the non-sunwise way. He then bids them to cut out the earth which would be just sufficient for making the mound of a man's size.

The Kāt. Śr. (21. 3. 1 and 6) closely follows the above directions contained in the Śat.[561] Br. The Sat. Śr. 29. 1.2 provides that when the day of cremation is not known or remembered one may erect a mound over the bones (with clods of earth or bricks) on the New Moon day that comes immediately after the Full Moon day of Māgha, Phālguna, Caitra, Vaiśākha or of the summer months (Jyeṣṭha and Āṣāḍha).

The Śat. Br. (XIII. 8. 2-4) pursues the subject of sepulchral monuments as follows: Godly people make their sepulchres so as not to be separate from the earth; while those who are of the Asura stamp, the Easterns and others, make the sepulchral mounds so as to be separate from the earth, either on a stone basin or a similar thing. He then encloses it with an undefined number of stones silently. He then sweeps the sepulchral site with a palāśa branch with (Vāj. S. 35.1 'May the niggardly god-haters go away') and prays that Yama may grant him (the deceased) an abode. He throws out the branch to the south side. He then yokes the team of six oxen to the plough on the south side or on the north side, as he chooses. Having given the order 'Yoke' he (the performer) utters the

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561 The grave is to be constructed in such a way that the four corners would lie in the direction of the four quarters, as Kāt. Sr. (21. 3. 28-29) states 'dikṣrakti puruṣamātram mimīte uttarataḥ pṛthu paścācca)'.

mantra (Vāj. S. 35. 2).[562] Having turned round the plough from right (south side) to the north, he ploughs the first furrow with Vāj. S. 35.3 ' May Vāyu purify ' along the north side towards the west; with ' May Savitṛ purify ' along the west side towards the south; with ' Agni's lustre ' along the south side towards the east; with ' Sūrya's brilliance ' along the front side towards the north. Four furrows he ploughs with a Yajus formula. He then ploughs across the body (of the sepulchral site) silently with an undefined number of furrows. He then unfastens the team of oxen. To the right side (south-west) he removes this (the plough and the team).

He then sows seeds of all kinds of herbs with a single verse (Vāj. S. 35.4); for long life he thereby prays for these (the performer's family) and accordingly each subsequent one of them dies of old age. He then pours out that (jar of bones). He does so before sunrise so that the sun should rise over him while he is doing it. He does so with Vāj. S. 35. 5-6. He then says to some one ' Proceed in that (southern) direction without drawing breath and having thrown down the jar, return hither without looking behind.' He then mutters Vāj. S. 35.7. He then arranges the dead man (the bones) limb by limb with Vāj. S. 35.8-9. Now thirteen unmarked [563] bricks each measuring a (human) foot (*pada*) have been made and are laid down

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562. It is not possible, owing to considerations of space, to set out all the verses of the Vāj. S. chap. 35 mentioned as mantras by the Sat. Br. Only a few are set out here in order to show how appropriate they are as referring to the actions prescribed by the Sat. Br. Verse 1 first half is 'अपेतो यन्तु पणयोऽसुम्ना देवपीयवः । '; सविता ते शरीरेभ्यः पृथिव्याँल्लोकमिच्छतु । तस्मै युज्यन्तामुस्रियाः ॥ वाज. सं. 35. 2; वायुः पुनातु सविता पुनात्वग्नेर्भ्राजसा सूर्यस्य वर्चसा । विमुच्यन्तामुस्रियाः ॥ वाज सं. 35. 3.

563. The bricks of the fire altar are marked with lines (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 1248). The bricks in Agnicayana are as long as the foot of the sacrificer. Thereon gods have to be worshipped. Here it is the fathers to be honoured. Throughout Śat. Br. XIII. 8.2-3 a distinction is drawn between what is done for the gods and what is to be done for pitṛs in order to keep the divine distinct from what belongs to the fathers. In Agnicayana a bird-like pattern is the most frequent (vide H. of Dh vol. II. p. 1249). It is hence that the Sat. Br. speaks of wings and tails. The heights prescribed for men of the several varṇas and for women are symbolic. Kṣatriyas, brāhmaṇas and vaiśyas represent the arms, the mouth and thighs of the Puruṣa (as stated in Ṛg. X. 90.12). The Kāt. Sr. (21.4 13-14) gives an option in the case of a kṣatriya viz. the mound may be as high as the ches or as high as a man with upstretched arms.

silently (and not with mantras as in the case of the Agnicayana). One of the thirteen he places in the middle, with the front towards the east (this represents the trunk); three are placed in front (representing the head); three on the right (that is the right wing); three on the left (that represents the left wing); three behind (representing the tail). He then directs them to bring some soil from a cleft in the ground. Some dig in the intermediate (south-eastern) quarter and fetch it from there; others dig in the south-west and fetch it northwards; he may do as he likes (there is an option). Let him not make the sepulchral mound too large. For a kṣatriya he may make it as high as a man with upstretched arms, for a brāhmaṇa reaching up to the mouth, for a woman up to the hips, for a vaiśya up to the thighs, for a śūdra up to the knee; or let him rather make it so high (for all) as to reach below the knee. While the mound is being made, they hold a bundle of reed grass to the north of it. Let him not throw it down after holding it up or after bringing it, but let him set it up in the house (as it represents offspring). Having prepared it he sows barley grain, thinking 'May they ward off (*yavaya*) sin from me!' He covers it over with Avakā plants in order that there may be moisture (*ka* or joy) for him and with *darbha* grass for softness.

They fix pegs round it, a palāśa one in front, a śamī one on the north corner, a *varaṇa* one behind and a vṛtra [564] peg on the right (south corner). On the south side they dig two somewhat curved furrows and fill them with milk and water and they dig seven on the left (north) side and fill them with water for sin not to pass beyond. They throw three stones each into the northern furrows and pass over them with Vāj. S. 35. 10 (= Ṛg. X. 53. 8). They cleanse themselves with Apāmārga [565] plants with Vāj. S. 35.11; they thereby wipe away sin. They bathe at any place where there is water. With Vāj. S. . 35. 12 he takes water with his joined hands and he throws it in the direction in which he who is hateful may be and thereby overthrows him.[566] Having bathed and put on garments that have never yet been washed they hold on to the tail of an ox and return to their

564. The meaning of Vṛtra-Saṅku cannot be stated. Kāt. Sr. 21 3.31 reads देहशङ्कु for वृत्रशङ्कु and the Com. explains वृत्रशङ्कु as पाषाणशङ्कु.

565. अपाघमप किल्बिषमप कृत्यामपो रपः। अपामार्ग त्वमस्मदप दुःष्वप्न्यं सुव॥ वाज. सं. 35. 11.

566. सुमित्रिया न आप ओषधयः सन्तु दुर्मित्रियास्तस्मै सन्तु योऽस्मान्द्वेष्टि यं च वयं द्विष्मः॥ वाज. सं. 35 12.

home. They proceed towards the village muttering Vāj. S. 35.14 (ud vayam). When they have arrived, ointments for their eyes and feet are given to them; such indeed are human means of embellishment and therewith they keep off death from themselves. Then in the house having kindled (domestic) fire and laid enclosing sticks of *varaṇa* wood round it he offers by means of a *sruva* (spoon) an oblation to Agni Āyuṣmat. Vāj. S. 35. 16 serves [567] as a *puronuvākyā* (invitatory formula). He then offers with Vāj. S. 35.17. He says this so that Agni may guard and protect these men. The sacrificial fee is an old ox, old barley, old chair with a head cushion. He may give more if he desires. This is the procedure in the case of one who has performed *Agnicayana.*[568] In the case of him who has not performed Agnicayana, there is the same procedure for selecting a site and the same performance save that of the fire-altar. Having fetched a clod from the boundary he deposits it midway between the sepulchral mound and the village with Vāj. S. 35. 15 (imam [569] jīvebhyaḥ). He then makes this a boundary between the Fathers and the living, so as not to commingle the two.

The Sat. Śr. 29. 1 3 ff. and Baud. P. S. I. 17–20 provide a lengthy procedure for erecting a mound over the bones of one who has performed the special rite of *agnicayana* which is passed over here. In building a mound the urn deposited under a tree is taken out and after the bones are purified in various ways (such as the spilling on them of curds mixed with *vājina* from a jar, the digging up of the clods by means of a plough to which a certain number of oxen are yoked). The Sat. Śr. (29. 1. 3–12) deals with one kind of procedure in which there is no *dhavana*, while 29.1. 13–32 deal with the procedure where *dhavana* is employed and sūtras from 33 deal with procedure common to both *pakṣas* (viz. one without *dhavana* and the other with *dhavana*) The building of a mound with clods (*loṣṭaciti*) in which there is *dhavana* is rather an obscure matter in its nature and had some symbolic significance which is now lost. It may be briefly described as follows :— The members of the deceased's house

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567. अग्न आयूंषि पवस आ सुवोर्जमिषं च नः। आरे बाधस्व दुच्छुनाम्॥ वाज. सं. 35. 16.

568. आयुष्मानग्ने हविषा वृधानो घृतप्रतीको घृतयोनिरेधि। घृतं पीत्वा मधु चारु गव्यं पितेव पुत्रमभिरक्षतादिमान् स्वाहा॥ वाज. सं. 35. 17.

569. इमं जीवेभ्यः परिधिं दधामि मैषां नु गादपरो अर्थमेतम्। शतं जीवन्तु शरदः पुरूचीरन्तर्मृत्युं दधतां पर्वतेन॥ वाज. सं. 35. 15.

build a shed or a seat for a bed. They drive in the eastern half or middle or western half of it a three-pronged palāśa peg. In front of it one born of a śūdra woman or a *brahmabandhu* (a brāhmaṇa only in name) sits down for a dialogue. He asks the principal wife (of the deceased) 'will you dwell with me.' That woman replies to him 'I shall not give (what you ask).' The same dialogue takes place on the 2nd day. Then on the third day she replies 'I shall give for one night.' Or if this peculiar practice (of talking about dhavana, which literally means 'sexual intercourse') was intended to last for more days than three she was to give a suitable reply (viz. for three nights or for five nights &c). When the words of the reply are uttered by the wife, the performer deposits the bones (of the deceased) at the root of the peg and places between the three prongs of the peg a jar having a hundred holes at the bottom. The mouth of the jar is covered with a hide and *kuśa* grass. On that jar he sprinkles curds mixed with *vājina* with the mantra 'Vaiśvānare haviridam' (Tai. Ā. VI. 6. 1). When the liquid oozes from the jar on the bones he invokes the two verses 'drapsaś-caskanda' and 'imam samudram' (Tai. Ā. VI. 6). Then the Sat Śr. (29.1. 26–29) provides that four *brahmacārins* or other brāhmaṇas, that are pure, tie up their locks on their heads that are to the right and keep dishevelled those on the left side of the head, they strike their right thighs and also the hide that is wound round the jar of bones, fan it with the fringes of their garments, go round the peg thrice with their left side towards the jar and the people living in the same house (with the deceased) and women also do the same,[570] that lutes (vīṇā) are played upon and also conches are blown and other instruments like *nālika*, *tūṇa*, *paṇava* are beaten and there is also dancing, singing and playing on musical instruments. This practice of *dhavana* (symbolic) may go on for five, seven, nine, eleven days, half a month, a month or a year during which time one has to donate food and money (gold &c.) according to one's ability or on the last day according to some.[571] If one may offer a conjecture, this rite was intended to assure the deceased man (represented by the charred bones) that his wife had remained faithful and

570. Compare कौशिकसूत्र 85.10–11 'कस्ये मृजाना इति त्रिः प्रसव्यं प्रकीर्णकेश्यः परियन्ति दक्षिणानूरूनाघ्नानाः। एवं मध्यरात्रे अपररात्रे च।'; कस्ये मृजाना is अथर्ववेद 18. 3. 17.

571. On एकरात्राय वसामीति तृतीये (सत्या. श्रौ. 29. 1. 19.) the वैजयन्ती remarks 'एतच्च वचनमात्रम्। न तु तेन सह वासः कार्य एवमेतेनाह'.

unattached to any one else even long after his death. The Baud. P. S. (I. 17.8) also states that female dancers dance in this rite. Various measurements are given in the sūtras for the mounds that are constructed over the bones. Sat. Śr. (29.1.5–6) says [572] that the site of the mound (*śmaśānāyatana*) is five *prakramas* on all four sides (or six on the east and five in the other directions, acc. to some). The height of the mound is variously given even in the same sūtra. [573] Sat. Śr. states that the height may be two finger-breadths, or three or four or a *prādeśa* (the distance between the thumb and index finger when both are stretched away) or a *vitasti* (twelve finger-breadths), or it may be up to the knee or thighs or buttocks. The Baud. P. S. I. 18 gives different [574] measurements. It states 'if the mound to be raised is as high as the neck towards the west, then it is up to the navel on the east; if it is as high as the navel on the west, then it is as high as the knee on the east; if up to the knee on the west then on the east it is level with the ankle'. The Kauśikasūtra [575] (85.4–10) gives certain options viz. the maṇḍapa on which the mound is to be erected is either 7, 7, 5, 3 prakramas on the south, north, east and west or 9, 9, 7, 5 on the same sides in order or 11, 11, 9, 7; that in the case of those who worshipped the gods, the length was eleven on all sides; that in the case of the Śaunakins the sides (of the mound) are to be measured in odd numbers (of prakramas) and the mounds are either round or four-cornered; that such mounds are seen (in those days) and that the grave built for one who had set up vedic fires was to be of the height of a man with arms upraised. These passages show that the graves were generally

572. अपराह्णे श्मशानायतनं विमिमीते पञ्च पञ्च प्रक्रमान् सर्वतः। षट् पुरस्तादित्येके। सत्या. श्रौ. 29. 1. 5–6; the Com. वैजयन्ती explains 'तथा च पञ्च प्रक्रमसंमितं समचतुरस्रं लोष्टचितेरायतनं भवति। प्रक्रमो द्विपदस्त्रिपदो वेत्युक्तं शुल्बेषु'.

573. श्मशानस्य मात्रा द्व्यङ्गुलं त्र्यङ्गुलं चतुरङ्गुलं प्रादेशो वितस्तिर्जानुदघ्नमूरुदघ्नं स्फिग्दघ्नं वैषोत्तमा मात्रा श्मशानस्य। सत्या. श्रौ. 29. 1. 70. The com. says 'इदानीमूर्ध्वप्रमाणमुच्यते। तत्र द्व्यङ्गुलादीनामष्टानामन्यतममूर्ध्वप्रमाणं स्थलस्य तस्योपरीष्टकाश्चेतव्याः।'.

574. तस्य मात्रा यदि ग्रीवदघ्नं पश्चात्पुरस्तान्नाभिदघ्नं यदि नाभिदघ्नं पश्चात्पुरस्ताज्जानुदघ्नं यदि जानुदघ्नं पश्चात्पुरस्ताद्गुल्फदघ्नं &c. । बौ. पि. सू. I. 18.6; Dr. Caland's text reads the exact opposite (I. 15 p. 21) 'यदि ग्रीवदघ्नं पुरस्तान्नाभिदघ्नं पश्चाद्यदि नाभिदघ्नं पुरस्ताज्जानुदघ्नं पश्चाद्यदि जानुदघ्नं पुरस्ताद्गुल्फदघ्नं पश्चात्'.

575. एकादशभिर्देवयाजिनाम्। अयुग्ममात्राणि परिमण्डलानि चतुरस्राणि वा शौनकिनाम्। तथाहि दृश्यन्ते। यावान्पुरुष ऊर्ध्वबाहुस्तावानग्निचितः। कौशिकसूत्र 85. 7–10.

quadrangular but sometimes round also (acc. to certain schools). The mounds at Lauriya referred to above are round.

Another feature to be noted is that clods were employed (and so the mound was called *loṣṭaciti*) or baked bricks in building the mound or grave over the bones by piling up layers of clay or bricks. In laying down the bricks first on the east, then on the north, then on the west and then on the south, the sūtras such as Sat. Śr. (29.1.53),[576] Baud. P. S. (I. 19.4–7) four verses were respectively employed that are (in order) Ṛg. X. 18.13, 10, 11, 12 (which are also A. V. XVIII. 3.52, 49 50, 51 and Tai. Ā. VI.7.1). One of these (Ṛg. X. 18.12) speaks of pillars and the other (Ṛg. X. 18.13) of a post (sthūṇā). Vide above p. 189. The discovery of two wooden posts in two mounds (at Lauriya above) in which the bones were deposited indicates that the Lauriya mounds followed a vedic custom which is mentioned by the śrautasūtras. The main difference between the Vedic and sūtra ritual on the one hand and the Lauriya mounds on the other is the height of the latter, which betokens a later age than that of the sūtras.

The Sat. Śr. describes in the 28th *praśna* what is called *pitṛmedha* while in praśna 29 it describes the *brahmamedha*. The difference between the two is pointed out in Sat. Śr. 29.3.4–18 and it is stated[577] (in Sat. Śr. 29.3. 20, 22) that the mantras called 'catur-hotārāḥ' are spoken of as *brahma* (in Tai. Br. III. 12.5) and that the procedure of Brahmamedha is to be employed only for an *ācārya* or a *śrotriya* and for no one else. The Vaijayantī by Mahādeva states (in the Introductory verses) that praśnas 28 and 29 of Sat. Śr. are taken from Bharadvāja. It may be stated here that the procedure of *dhavana* described above in Sat. Śr. is no longer followed in India in

576. विधृतिलोष्टान् प्रतिदिशमभ्यस्क्षिमाण उपदधात्युत्ते स्तभ्नोमीत्येतैः प्रतिमन्त्रं तिलमिश्राभिर्धानाभिः प्रदक्षिणं परिकिरत्येणीर्धाना इति। सत्या. श्रौ. 29. 1. 53, on which the Com. says अत्रापि पूर्वस्यां दिश्यारम्भः।; अथ क्षेत्रवितृष्णीं चतुरो लोष्टानुपदधात्युत्ते स्तभ्नोमि...मिनोत्विति पुरस्तादुपदधाति।...उच्छ्वञ्चमाना पृथिवी हि तिष्ठासि सहस्रं मित उप हि श्रयन्ताम्।...सम्स्वञ्चेति प्रक्षिणतः। बौ. पि. सू.

577. On 29. 3.2. (यं ब्रह्ममेध इत्याचक्षते) of सत्या. श्रौ. the वैजयन्ती explains 'अथ सहेतुकोऽधिकारः। यस्माद् ब्रह्मसंयुक्तो मेध इति विग्रहः। यज्ञशाखिना मेधशब्देन व्यपदेशसंस्तुतिः। चतुर्होतृसंयुक्तो यज्ञकल्प इत्यर्थः।'. On 'तान् परं ब्रह्मेत्याचक्षते' सत्या. श्रौ. 29. 3. 20, the वैजयन्ती says 'तांश्चतुर्होतॄन्। परब्रह्मशब्दः सारभूतमन्त्रवाची। ब्रह्म वै चतुर्होतार इति।.'

modern times. In the Baud. [578] P. S. I. 17 there are passages that bear a close resemblance to some passages of the Sat. Śr. on *dhavana*. Similarly, Kāt. Śr. [579] 21. 3. 6 provides (immediately after the months in which mounds were to be constructed) that as many jars should be taken as there are persons performing *dhavana* (or *dhuvana*) and the commentator explains that word as meaning 'fanning'.

It will be seen that the disposal of the dead in ancient India was divided into four stages viz. cremation, collecting the charred bones and depositing them underground in an urn, expiatory rites (called Śāntikarma) and erection of a monument over the bones. The last was not necessarily done in every case. The Andhau Inscription of the time of Rudradāman in the year 52 (probably of the śaka era) refers to the erection of a staff (laṣṭi i. e. yaṣṭi) as a funeral monument to the memory of a sister, brother and wife by Madana son of Sihila (vide E. I. Vol. 16 pp. 23–25). In a long passage of the Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (pp. 885–886) it is stated that the charred bones of a cremated person should be collected in an urn and deposited at the root of a tree or cast in the Ganges, that the place of cremation should be purified with cowdung and water, that a puṣkaraka tree should be planted there or an eḍūka (a structure) should be built over it. [580]

The Sat Śr. 28. 4. 28 and Baud. P. S. II. 3. 2 state as shown above that the rites immediately after death were performed only up to the depositing of the urn (containing the bones) underground in the case of those householders who had not set up the vedic fires and in the case of married women and that in the case of him who had performed the solemn rite of Agnicayana a mound with bricks or clods was built up on the bones.

578. एकाहं धुनुयुस्त्रीण्यहानि धुनुयुः पञ्चसप्तनवैकादशाहान्यर्धमासं धुनुयुरयुग्मा रात्रीरर्धमासान् मासानृतून् संवत्सरं वा संपाद्य संधुनुयुरिति ।...अथान्तरेण ग्रामं च श्मशानं चागारं वा विमितं वा कारितं भवति । बौ. पि. सू. I. 17. 1 and 3 ; compare सत्या. श्रौ. noted above p. 252.

579. यावन्तो धुविष्यन्तः स्युस्तावतः कुम्भानादाय छत्राणि चापरिमितानि । कात्या. श्रौ. 21. 3. 6. On this the com. says: 'अग्रे अमात्यानां पुत्रपौत्रादीनामुपवाजनं वक्ष्यति । उपवाजनं धवनम्'.

580. गृहीत्वास्थीनि तद्भस्म नीत्वा तोये विनिक्षिपेत् । ततः संमार्जनं भूमेः कर्तव्यं गोमयाम्बुभिः ।...भूमेराच्छादनार्थं तु वृक्षः पुष्करकोऽथवा । एडूको वा प्रकर्तव्यस्तत्र सर्वैः स्वबन्धुभिः ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by अपरार्क p. 886 ; the same passage is quoted in रघुनाथ's Commentary on त्रिशत्श्लोकी (verse 28. p. 253) which explains पुष्करकः as पुष्करिणी and reads पडूकः for एडूकः and explains it as चत्वरः,

It is remarkable that while slaves and even attendants were often buried with the master in Babylon and Celtic Britain, there is no similar reference to the burial or cremation of anybody with the deceased even in the ancient procedure found in the Śat. Br. It is only possible to say that in some cases in the pre-Vedic age the wife might have burnt herself along with the deceased husband on the funeral pyre. There is no doubt that later works like the Viṣṇudharmasūtra recommended to women the practice of *Satī* as an option to leading the life of perfect celibacy after the husband's death.

The persons entitled to perform the funeral rites after death (*antyakarmādhikārin*) are the same as those entitled to offer śrāddha. There is a good deal of difference as to the order of the persons so entitled. For example, Gautama (Dh. S. 15. 13–14) states 'On failure of sons the sapiṇḍas (e. g. brother, brother's son), the sapiṇḍas of the mother (e. g maternal uncle or his son) and pupils may perform śrāddha for the deceased; in default of these the family priest and the ācārya (veda teacher).' Śaṅkha says [581] 'The offering of piṇḍa and water should be done by the son for the father; in default (i. e. absence or death) of the son, the wife (of the deceased) should offer, but in default of her the full brother.' The Viṣṇupurāṇa [582] provides: 'the son, grand-son, great grandson (of the deceased), the offspring of the brother (of the deceased), the offspring of a sapiṇḍa become entitled to offer (piṇḍa).' The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa provides (30. 19–21, chap. 27. 19–23 of the Venk. ed.) 'On failure of the sons, sapiṇḍas, on failure of them the samānodakas, then the sapiṇḍas of the mother, and samānodakas of her, should perform these rites; a daughter's son should perform them (if the man dies sonless), the putrikāputra should perform them for his maternal grand-father; in default of all these, women should perform these rites for their husbands but without Vedic mantras; in default of wife the king should get the rites performed by some one belonging to the family (of the deceased)

581. पितुः पुत्रेण कर्तव्या पिण्डदानोदकक्रिया। पुत्राभावे तु पत्नी स्यात्पत्न्यभावे तु सोदरः॥ शङ्ख q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 335, निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 380.

582. पुत्रः पौत्रः प्रपौत्रो वा तद्वद्वा भ्रातृसन्ततिः। सपिण्डसन्ततिर्वापि क्रियार्हा नृप जायते॥ तेषामभावे सर्वेषां समानोदकसन्ततिः। मातृपक्षस्य पिण्डेन संबद्धा ये जलेन वा। कुलद्वयेपि चोत्सन्ने स्त्रीभिः कार्या क्रिया नृप। सङ्घातान्तर्गतैर्वापि कार्या प्रेतस्य च क्रिया। उत्सन्नबन्धुरिक्थानां कारयेदवनीपतिः। विष्णुपुराण III. 13. 31–33 q. by अपरार्क p. 433, स्मृतिच. II. p. 336, परा. मा. I. 2. p. 461, शुद्धितत्त्व p. 383. The विष्णुपुराण mentions the king as the अधिकारी in v. 34.

or by persons of his caste, since the king is the relative of all varṇas.'[583] There was a close connection between taking the estate of a man and performing the rites after death up to the 10th day. For the doctrines represented by the Mitākṣarā and the Dāyabhāga, vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 734–743. Even those that regarded that inheritance was based on relationship by blood and not on the capacity to offer piṇḍas held that it was obligatory on everyone who took the estate of another (including the king who took as the ultimate heir by escheat) to arrange for the rites after death and śrāddha. Viṣṇu[584] Dh. S. XV. 40 declares 'whoever inherits the estate of a deceased person has to offer piṇḍa to him.' Yāj. II. 127 says the same thing about the *Kṣetraja* son (ubhayorapyasau rikthī piṇḍa-dātā ca dharmataḥ).

The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 94) states the order of *adhikārins* as follows; a competent son is the first adhikārī for offering piṇḍa; in default of a son, husband, wife and co-wives; in default of these, the brother's son, the brother, daughter-in-law, daughter, daughter's son, any other *sagotra*, a *sapiṇḍa*, a fellow-student, a friend, a pupil, the teacher, any relative and anyone who takes the wealth of the deceased may offer *piṇḍa*. The father is not competent to perform śrāddha rites for his (deceased) son, an elder brother for his younger brother; these may even do so through affection but they cannot perform the sapiṇḍīkaraṇa. Parents may offer piṇḍa to unmarried daughters, and even to married daughters in the absence of another (proper) giver. The daughter's son and the maternal grandfather may offer to each other; the daughter's son to maternal grand-mother; the son-in-law and father-in-law to each other, the daughter-in-law to her mother-in-law, brothers among themselves, teacher and pupil to each other. For the order of śrāddhādhikārins, according to the Dāyabhāga, vide H. of Dh.

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583. पुत्राभावे सपिण्डास्तु तदभावे सहोदकाः। मातुः सपिण्डा ये च स्युर्ये वा मातुः सहोदकाः॥ कुर्युरेनं विधिं सम्यगपुत्रस्य सुतासुतः। कुर्युर्मातामहा येवं पुत्रिकातनयास्तथा। सर्वाभावे स्त्रियः कुर्युः स्वभर्तॄणाममन्त्रकम्। तदभावे च नृपतिः कारयेत् स्वकुटुम्बिना। तज्जातीयैर्नरैः सम्यग्दाहाद्याः सकलाः क्रियाः। सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां बान्धवो नृपतिर्यतः। मार्कण्डेयपुराण 30. 19–24 (B. I. ed.) q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 336, परा. मा. I 2. p. 463 (reads कारयेत्तस्य रिक्थतः). These verses (पुत्राभावे...नृपतिर्यतः) occur with the addition of a few half verses and variants in the ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 76–80 and the reading of the ब्रह्म० (नृपतिः कारयेत्स्वकुटुम्बिना by someone who does not belong to the family of the deceased) is better and makes good sense.

584. मृतस्य रिक्थग्राहिणा येन केनापि राजपर्यन्तेनौर्ध्वदेहिकं दशाहान्तं कार्यम्। तथा च विष्णुः। यश्चार्थहरः स पिण्डदायी स्मृत इति। व्यवहारमयूख p. 145.

vol. III p. 739. The Nirṇayasindhu[585] says that in the Kali age only two kinds of sons viz. *aurasa* and *dattaka* are allowed (out of the twelve mentioned by Yāj. II. 128–132) and the order of śrāddhādhikārins is given by it as follows: aurasa son, then grandson, then great grandson, then adopted son. If there are many sons then the eldest alone is the adhikārin; if the eldest be not present or is *patita*, then the son next to the eldest is the adhikārin (and not the youngest). If the sons are divided from each other, then all the rites up to sapiṇḍīkaraṇa are to be performed by the eldest alone who may make the other sons contribute to the expenses, but the yearly śrāddha may be performed by each son separately. If the sons (of the deceased) are not divided, then all rites including the yearly śrāddha also are to be performed by the eldest alone. When the eldest son not being present, the younger one or the youngest performs the cremation, he should perform all rites up to and including the sixteen śrāddhas, but not sapiṇḍīkaraṇa and he should wait for one year for the arrival of the eldest. If the eldest comes to know of the death within one year, he alone should perform the sapiṇḍīkaraṇa. If the eldest son does not come even at the end of one year, then even the youngest may perform sapiṇḍīkaraṇa. If before the expiry of one year the youngest son or some one other than a son performs the monthly, anumāsika, sapiṇḍīkaraṇa śrāddhas, then the eldest son or a son should again perform these. If there is a grandson who has his upanayana performed and there be a son whose upanayana is not performed it is the latter who is a preferable adhikārin, provided he is either three years old or has the *cūḍā* ceremony performed as stated by Sumantu[586]. Manu II. 172 states that a boy should not repeat the Veda before the performance of Upanayana except the mantras that are required for the śrāddha of his deceased father or mother. Such a son may perform with Vedic *mantras* the funeral rites on the death of his father or mother and their yearly and other śrāddhas. If he is unable to repeat the Vedic mantras, he may simply perform the cremation with mantras and the rest may be got performed through another person. In the

585. औरसाभावे पौत्रः तदभावे प्रपौत्रस्तदभावे दत्तकादय इति ज्ञेयम्। निर्णयसिन्धु p. 381, which relies on Manu IX. 137 (= Vas. 17.5 and Viṣṇu 15. 46) and Yāj. I. 78. This is opposed to the धर्मसिन्धु p. 368 'दत्तकाभावे पौत्रः पौत्राभावे प्रपौत्रः। अन्ये तु औरसाभावे पौत्रः तदभावे प्रपौत्रः प्रपौत्राभावे दत्तक इत्याहुः'.

586. अनुपेतोऽपि कुर्वीत मन्त्रवत् पैतृमेधिकम्। यद्यसौ कृतचूडः स्याद्यदि स्यात्त्रिवत्सरः॥ सुमन्तु q. by परा. मा. I. 2 p. 465; निर्णयसिन्धु p. 382, मद. पा. p. 403.

same way he should make only the declaration (*saṅkalpa*) of *darśaśrāddha* and *mahālaya* and the rest may be performed by some one else. An adopted son becomes an *adhikārin* for funeral rites and the like only if the upanayana has been performed. If there be no lineal descendant up to a great-grandson and also no adopted son, then the wife should perform with mantras the funeral rites and yearly and other śrāddhas but if she is unable to repeat the Vedic mantras, then the same rules apply as in the case of an *anupanīta* son. Even if the husband be not divided from his brother, or he be re-united with his brother, it is the wife and not the brother who is to be preferred as having *adhikāra* for śrāddha, though the brother gets all the property. Though some of the latest works on dharmaśāstra like the Nirṇayasindhu [587] and Dharmasindhu (bhāryayāpi samantrakam-eva-aurdhvadehikādikam kāryam) allowed the wife to perform rites after death with vedic mantras, several works such as the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa and the Brahmapurāṇa did not allow the wife to repeat Vedic mantras (vide note 583 above). In default of the wife, the daughter has the right to perform rites after death if the deceased was separated and not re-united. But if the deceased was joint then his full brother would be the proper adhikārin after the wife. Among daughters the married one is preferred, though an unmarried daughter is a preferable heir. In default of daughters, the daughter's son is an adhikārin; then a brother, then a brother's son. Among brothers a full brother is preferred to a half brother and if there be both elder and younger brothers, then the younger is preferred for performing rites after death (in order to make as near an approach as possible to the relation of father and son). If there be no younger brother, then even an elder one could be adhikārin; in default of full brother, a half brother. Some held that even if the deceased was separate from his brother and had a daughter or daughter's son as heir the funeral rites were to be performed by the brother (and not by the daughter or her son), since a sagotra is to be preferred as an adhikārin to one of a different gotra. If there be no brother, then a full brother's son was to be preferred, then the half brother's son, then father, then mother, then daughter-in-law, then sister. In case of there being

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587. असंस्कृतेन पत्न्या च ह्यग्निदानं समन्त्रकम्। कर्तव्यमितरत्सर्वं कारयेदन्यमेव हि॥ कात्यायन q. by मद. पा. pp. 402–403, which remarks 'यदा त्वनुपनीतः पुत्रः संस्कर्ता पत्नी वा तदाग्निदानमेव समन्त्रकं कार्यम्।'. This is opposed to the view of the निर्णयसिन्धु, धर्मसिन्धु and other works.

full sisters, half sisters, younger and older sisters the same rules apply as in the case of brothers; in default of any sister, sister's son. If there be many sister's sons, the rules as to brothers would apply. Then come paternal uncle, his son, other sapiṇḍas;[588] then samānodakas, then other persons born in the same family. In default of these, the sapiṇḍas of the mother, such as the maternal grand-father, maternal uncle, maternal uncle's son in that order; in default of the sapiṇḍas of the mother, the sons of the deceased's paternal or maternal aunt; in default of these the *pitṛ-bandhus* such as the sons of the father's father's sister, of the father's mother's sister, of father's maternal uncle; then the mātṛ-bandhus such as mother's father's sisters's son; in default of these, a disciple (of the deceased); in default of disciple, son-in-law of the deceased (or the father-in-law of the deceased); in default of these, a friend; in default, any one who takes the wealth of a brāhmaṇa (deceased); if the deceased was other than a brāhmaṇa the king (who took the wealth of everyone dying heirless, except the wealth of a brāhmaṇa) who arranges for funeral rites through another.

In the case of women the following order of those entitled to perform rites of a deceased woman is given in the Dharmasindhu (p. 370); If the female be unmarried then her father is the *adhikārin*, then her brother and the like; if the woman was married, her son, then her co-wife's son, then co-wife's grandson and then great-grandson; in default of these, the husband; in default of husband, daughter, then daughter's son; then husband's brother; then husband's brother's son; then daughter-in-law; then (the deceased) woman's father; then her brother; then her brother's son and the rest.

An adopted son should perform the śrāddha of his natural father if the latter left no son or other adhikārī. If a brahmacārin dies, his monthly, yearly and other śrāddhas should be performed by his father and mother. A brahmacārin may carry the dead body of his parents, or of his maternal grand-father, *upādhyāya* and ācārya and perform the cremation and other rites; but if another adhikārin is available, he should not do these even for the parents and the other three. A brahmacārin

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588. The word *sapiṇḍa* here means a man of the same gotra as the deceased but within seven degrees of the common ancestor, tracing relationship through males only; a *samānodaka* means one of the same gotra from 8th to the 14th degree descended from a common ancestor tracing descent through males only and *gotraja* means a relative of the same gotra as the deceased but beyond the 14th degree from the common ancestor.

should not at all carry the dead body of any one except of the above five or perform the cremation and other rites for any one else. If a brahmacārin performed all the rites for ten days he had to observe *āśauca* for ten days, but if he performed only the cremation he had to observe āśauca only for one day. Even while in mourning his obligatory acts do not stop; but he should not eat the food cooked for his relatives that are in mourning nor should he dwell among them; if he did (both these) he had to undergo prāyaścitta and perform *upanayana* again.

It is somewhat curious that Baudhāyana, the Liṅgapurāṇa (quoted in Śrāddhaprakāśa pp. 361–371), the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa, the Pitṛdayitā (p. 82) and several other works allow man himself while living to perform his own rites after death (antyeṣṭi).[589] This will be dealt with briefly later on under śrāddha. Further, if a man became *patita* and refused to undergo *prāyaścitta*, he was driven out of the Hindu fold by the procedure of ghaṭasphoṭa (vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 387–388), and Gaut. Dh. S. 20. 2 and Manu XI. 182–183 provide that such a man was to be held to be dead and his relatives were to perform all rites for him such as offering water and śrāddha and were also to observe āśauca for him.[590]

Many commentators and digests quote certain verses of the Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 13. 34–39) wherein the rites (*kriyāḥ*) after death performed for a person are enumerated as falling into three classes, viz. *pūrva*, *madhyama* and *uttara*. The rites from cremation up to the end of the 12th day are called pūrva, the śrāddhas performed monthly and *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* and ekoddiṣṭa are called madhyama rites and those that are performed after sapiṇḍīkaraṇa, when the deceased has reached the position of *pitṛ* after being a *preta*, are designated *uttara*.[591] The pūrva and

589. अन्त्येष्टिमात्मनः कृत्वा शाश्वतश्चौर्ध्वदेहिकम्॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 3.45 (B. I. ed).

590. तस्य विद्यागुरून्योनिसम्बन्धांश्च संनिपात्य सर्वाण्युदकादीनि प्रेतकार्याणि कुर्युः। गौ. ध. सू. 20 2.

591. पूर्वाः क्रिया मध्यमाश्च तथा चैवोत्तराः क्रियाः। त्रिप्रकाराः क्रिया ह्येतास्तासां भेदं शृणुष्व मे॥ आद्याहाद् द्वादशाहाच्च मध्ये याः स्युः क्रिया मताः। पूर्वास्ता मध्यमा मासि मास्येकोद्दिष्टसंज्ञिताः॥ प्रेते पितृत्वमापन्ने सपिण्डीकरणादनु। क्रियन्ते याः क्रियाः पित्र्याः प्रोच्यन्ते ता नृपोत्तराः॥ पितृमातृसपिण्डैश्च समानसलिलैस्तथा। तत्संघातगतैश्चैव राज्ञा वा धनहारिणा॥ पूर्वाः क्रिया मध्यमाश्च पुत्राद्यैरेव चोत्तराः। दौहित्रैर्वा नरश्रेष्ठ कार्यास्तत्तनयैस्तथा॥ मृताहनि च कर्तव्याः स्त्रीणामप्युत्तराः क्रियाः। प्रतिसंवत्सरं राजन्नेकोद्दिष्टविधानतः॥ विष्णुपुराण III. 13. 34–39, q. by अपरार्क pp. 433–434, स्मृतिच० II, p. 336; परा. मा. I. 2 p 464, मद. पा. pp 478–79, निर्णयसिन्धु p. 387. The printed विष्णुपुराण reads आद्याहृद्यार्यायुधादिस्पर्शाद्यन्तास्तु याः क्रियाः। It has been provided in विष्णुपुराण III 13. 21 that after the brāhmaṇas are fed on the 11th day after death the relatives should touch water, weapons, whip or a staff respectively according as they belong to the four varṇas and then they become pure,

madhyama rites of the deceased may be performed by the father, the mother, sapiṇḍas, samānodakas and those belonging to the deceased's group (gotra) or by the king if he takes the wealth of the deceased. But the rites called uttara are to be performed only by the son, grandson, great-grandson, daughter's son or the latter's sons. Even in the case of women, on the day of the anniversary of death every year an ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha may be performed for them. There is also another classification of śrāddhas viz. Navaśrāddha (those rites up to ten days after death), Navamiśra (those performed after ten days up to six seasons), Purāṇa (those performed after a year).[591a]

As stated above, for ten days after death a handful of water mixed with sesame was to be offered to the deceased on a stone (*aśman*) placed on kuśa grass and one large piṇḍa (called pūraka-piṇḍa) was to be offered on kuśa grass everyday with the face to the south and the sacred thread on the right shoulder (prācīnāvīti) for the purpose of freeing the departed from the state of being a *preta*. On the piṇḍa, water mixed with sesame was to be offered and leaves of Bhṛṅgarāja (called *mākā* in Marathi) and Tulasī also. The verse 'anādinidhano' was to be repeated[592]. The performer throws the piṇḍa in water and then bathes. Vide A. K. D. pp. 43–50 and Antyeṣṭi-paddhati of Nārāyaṇa for detailed treatment of the procedure of these ten days. Besides this, the Āśvalāyanagṛhyapariśiṣṭa[593] III. 6 speaks of five śrāddhas called 'nava-

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591 a. नवश्राद्धं दशाहानि नवमिश्रं तु षड्ऋतून्। अतःपरं पुराणं वै त्रिविधं श्राद्धमुच्यते॥ आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट q. by अपरार्क p. 525, निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 395. अपरार्क (p. 521) says: एकोद्दिष्टमुक्तं तच्च त्रिविधम्। नवं मिश्रं पुराणं च। तत्रैकादशाहान्तं नवम्॥ तदूर्ध्वमा संवत्सरान्मिश्रम्। तत उत्तरं पुराणम्।. The printed आश्व. गृ. परि. III. 9 (B. I. edition) reads अथैकोद्दिष्टं तत् त्रेधा भवति नवं मिश्रं पुराणं चेत्यन्तर्दशाहे नवं मिश्राणि मासिकानि चतुर्दश्यादौ पुराणानि।. The स्मृतिच. on आशौच p. 175 quotes प्रजापति 'नवश्राद्धं दशाहान्तं मिश्रं संवत्सरादधि। एकादशाहमारभ्य कुर्यात्प्रेतत्वमुक्तये॥.'

592. अनादिनिधनो देवः शङ्खचक्रगदाधरः। अक्षय्यः पुण्डरीकाक्षः प्रेतमोक्षप्रदो भव॥ quoted by अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति of नारायण.

593. अथ नवश्राद्धानि दशाहेषु विषमदिनेष्वामेन कुर्यात्प्रेतमभिसन्धाय ब्राह्मणमुदङ्मुखमुपवेश्य तस्मिंस्तूष्णीं तिलानवकीर्य काश्यपगोत्र देवदत्तामुष्मिन्नहानि एतदामं त्वामुपतिष्ठतामिति तदहःसम्बन्धेनोत्सृज्य पिण्डं चासंख्योक्तवत्प्रदाय स्मायादेष विधिरन्तर्दशाहकर्मणि। आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट III. 6. The नवश्राद्धs are एकोद्दिष्ट and several details which occur in other श्राद्धs are omitted here and the word पितृ is not to be employed, but only the word प्रेत. The गरुडपुराण (II. 29. 35–37) enumerates eighteen details that were to be omitted in प्रेतश्राद्धs. Vide शुद्धिप्रकाश pp. 215, 221; 'यथाचाङ्गिरसः। प्रथमेऽह्नि तृतीयेऽह्नि पञ्चमे सप्तमे तथा। नवमैकादशे चैव तन्नवश्राद्धमुच्यते।' q. by मद. पा. p. 618, the मिता. on या. I. 252 (without name) and भट्टोजि on चतुर्विंश॰ p. 168.

śrāddhas' (or Viṣamaśrāddhas) performed on the uneven days (i. e. 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th and 9th) with uncooked food. According to the Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa 34. 36 which speaks of six śrāddhas on uneven days from 1st day to 11th) and Āpastamba they are six (Dharmasindhu p. 464, Nirṇayasindhu p. 588, Śuddhiprakāśa pp. 214–216, Śrāddhatattva p. 619) and according to others there is an option. Aṅgiras and Vasiṣṭha speak of six Navaśrāddhas on uneven days from the 1st to the 11th, while Baud. Pitṛmedha S. II. 10. 6 speaks of five. Some prescribe the placing of some cooked food sprinkled with ghee on the hand of a brāhmaṇa. Others do not approve of this. They prescribe the placing of uncooked corn in front of a brāhmaṇa or in front of a figure of a brāhmaṇa made with kuśas (called *cata* in Marathi). The Garuḍapurāṇa (II. 5. 67 ff) holds that the navaśrāddhas are those performed at the place where a man died, where the funeral procession rested on the way, when the bones were collected and those performed on the 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th day. The Śuddhiprakāśa p. 214 quotes similar views from Kātyāyana and the view of Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha that the deceased does not become free from the status of a *preta*, unless the *navaśrāddhas* are performed. The Garuḍapurāṇa, Pretakhaṇḍa (chap. 34. 27–28, 44, 48) states that by the piṇḍas offered for ten days the several limbs of a subtle body are provided for the departed spirit which at first wanders like thin air. There are several differing views on the navaśrāddhas which are passed over here. On the uneven days if navaśrāddha is performed two piṇḍas will be offered (one the daily one and the other, of the navaśrāddha). The Padma (Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 10. 19) prescribes that one should not partake of the food at *navaśrāddha* and on doing so should undergo the cāndrāyaṇa expiation.

In modern times, after the rites of the first day of cremation and of the collection of the bones, the rites for the dead generally begin on the 10th day. The performer goes to the place where the rites of the first day were performed, makes a *saṅkalpa* and offers a piṇḍa with the words 'May this piṇḍa wait upon the *preta* named N. N. and of the gotra (Kāśyapa &c.) in order that hunger and thirst affecting the *preta* may be removed'. Then he offers water mixed with sesame, places leaves of *bhṛṅgarāja* and *tulasī*, repeats the verse 'anādinidhano' (note 592), removes the piṇḍa to another place from the place where it was offered. Then he prepares a *vedi* with

loose earth with a triangular shape, purifies it by means of cowdung, decks it with turmeric powder and places thereon five jars full of water and on each of them a ball of rice. Then he offers a request to the middle jar with the words 'May this piṇḍa together with the jar of water wait upon the *preta* by name N. N., of such and such a gotra in order that his hunger and thirst may be allayed'. There is a prayer before the jars to the east, south, west and north respectively to those whom the *preta* had befriended, to Yama, to crows, to Rudra respectively. There is a difference of view here, some prescribing four jars, some three, while others offer a piṇḍa with the jar of water only on the place meant for the *preta* and mere piṇḍa to others. Then water is offered over the piṇḍa and to each of the above he offers sandals, umbrella, banner, bread. Then the performer waits till a crow seizes or eats the piṇḍa placed to the west[594]. Then the *aśman* (stone) is anointed with oil and cast in water. Then the performer requests the relatives, who offer one handful or three handfuls of water to the *preta* on the bank of the reservoir of water. Then the sons and others according to usage cut their hair and nails. Then all persons of the same gotra, according to the custom of the country, bathe with sesame and myrobalan, wear pure and dried garments, go home and take their meals there.

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594. In modern times great importance is attached by many people to a crow touching and pecking at the piṇḍa food. There is a common belief that if a crow does not touch the piṇḍa then the deceased had some intense wish at his death that was unfulfilled and it is certainly heart-rending and a source of poignant sorrow even for passers-by to see the relatives waiting for hours and tempting the crow or crows to come down from trees with dainty pieces of *copra* and other things and also loudly declaring that they would do this or that and fulfil the last desire of the deceased. Often it so happens that no crow touches the piṇḍa food in honour of the deceased, a very old and venerable man, and relatives are very much distressed to find that their venerable ancestor who could have hardly any ambition or desire at the advanced age of 80 or 90 (except to die speedily), judging from the reluctance of the crow, had some unfulfilled desire. Often the crow immediately touches the piṇḍa offered to one who died very young (say 25 or 30 years old) and who would naturally be presumed to have many unfulfilled desires. In such cases the relatives feel very much relieved at the thought that their young relative passed away without any unfulfilled desires. The Śuddhikaumudī refers to this offering to crows as a usage. तथाचारात् काकबलिदानम् । पिण्डशेषमन्नं पात्रे कृत्वा अमुकगोत्रस्य प्रेतस्यामुकशर्मणो विशेषतृप्तये यमद्वारावस्थितवायसाय एष बलिर्न म इत्युत्सृज्य कृताञ्जलिः—काक त्वं यमदूतोऽसि गृहाण बलिमुत्तमम् । यमलोकगतं प्रेतं त्वमाप्याययितुमर्हसि ॥ काकाय काकपुरुषाय वायसाय महात्मने । इमं बलिं प्रयच्छामि प्रेतस्य तृप्तिहेतवे ॥ इति पठेत् । शुद्धिकौमुदी p. 135.

Some of the Purāṇas and medieval digests assert that after a man dies, the soul or spirit assumes what is called an *ātivāhika* [594 a] body consisting of three of the five elements (viz. fire, wind and ākāśa) that rise up from the dead body (while two viz. earth and water remain below), that such a body is obtained only by men and not by other beings, that with the aid of the piṇḍas that are offered to the departed at the time of cremation and during ten days thereafter, the soul secures another body called *bhogadeha* (a body for enjoying the piṇḍas offered) and that at the end of a year when *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* is performed, the soul secures a third body wherewith the spirit reaches heaven or hell according to the nature of his actions. The word 'ātivāhika' is comparatively an ancient one. It occurs in Vedāntasūtra IV. 3.4 (ātivāhikās-tal-liṅgāt). But there the meaning is somewhat different. The Upaniṣads speak of the soul as going by the path of *arcis*, day &c. The sūtra says that these (viz. *arcis*, *ahaḥ* &c.) are superintending deities that take the soul gradually onward by the path that leads to *Brahma*. Govindānanda in his commentary on the Prāyaścitta-viveka (pp. 13–14) holds that there are only two bodies (and not three as appears at first sight), viz. the *ātivāhika* or *pretadeha* and the *bhogadeha*. The belief was that the man on whose death no piṇḍa was offered or the sixteen śrāddhas (to be described below) were not performed remained for all time in the condi-

594 a. तत्क्षणादेव गृह्णाति शरीरमातिवाहिकम्। ऊर्ध्वं व्रजन्ति भूतानि त्रीण्यस्मात्तस्य विग्रहात्॥ आतिवाहिकसंज्ञोऽसौ देहो भवति भार्गव। केवलं तन्मनुष्याणां नान्येषां प्राणिनां क्वचित्॥ प्रेतपिण्डैस्ततो दत्तैर्देहमाप्नोति भार्गव। भोगदेहमिति प्रोक्तं क्रमादेव न संशयः। प्रेतपिण्डा न दीयन्ते यस्य तस्य विमोक्षणम्। श्मशानिकेभ्यो देवेभ्य आकल्पं नैव विद्यते॥ तत्रास्य यातना घोराः शीतवातातपोद्भवाः। ततः सपिण्डीकरणे बान्धवैः स कृते नरः। पूर्णे संवत्सरे देहमतोऽन्यं प्रतिपद्यते॥ ततः स नरके याति स्वर्गे वा स्वेन कर्मणा। विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण quoted by प्राय. वि. pp. 13–14, and शुद्धितत्त्व p. 324. गोविन्दानन्द explains त्रीणि भूतानि as 'पृथिव्यप्तेजांसि' and thus differs from रघुनन्दन. The गरुडपुराण (प्रेतखण्ड chap. 10. 79. ff) says the same: 'उत्क्रामन्तं...ज्ञानचक्षुषः॥ आतिवाहिकमित्येवं वायवीयं वदन्ति हि। ...पुत्रादिभिः कृताश्चेत्स्युः पिण्डा दश दशाहिकाः। पिण्डजेन तु देहेन वायुजश्चैकतां व्रजेत्। पिण्डतो यदि नैव स्याद्वायुजोऽर्हति यातनाम्॥.' The first verse (उत्क्रामन्तं) is गीता 15.10. The ब्रह्मपुराण states: विहाय सुमहत्कृत्स्नं शरीरं पाञ्चभौतिकम्॥ अन्यच्छरीरमादत्ते यातनीयं स्वकर्मजम्।...स्वशरीरं समुत्सृज्य वायुभूतस्तु गच्छति। chap. 214. 29–30 and 51; निमित्तं किंचिदासाद्य देही प्राणैर्विमुच्यते॥ अन्यच्छरीरमादत्ते यातनीयं स्वकर्मभिः। अग्निपुराण 230. 2–3; गृह्णाति तत्क्षणाद्योगे शरीरं चातिवाहिकम्। आकाशवायुतेजांसि विग्रहादूर्ध्वगामिनः॥ जलं मही च पञ्चत्वमापन्नः पुरुषः स्मृतः। आतिवाहिकदेहं तु यमदूता नयन्ति तम्॥ अग्नि. 371. 9–10. The मार्कण्डेय (10. 63–64) says 'वाय्वग्रसारी तद्रूपं देहमन्यं प्रपद्यते। तत्कर्मजं यातनार्थं न मातापितृसम्भवम्॥.'

tion of a *piśāca*, from which he would not be freed even if numerous other śrāddhas were later on offered for him.[595] The Brahmapurāṇa calls the body 'yātanīya' (i. e. one that has to undergo trials and torments), while the Agnipurāṇa calls it 'yātaniya' or 'ātivāhika' and asserts that this body is made up of the elements of *ākāśa*, *vāyu* and *tejas*. The Padmapurāṇa (II. 67. 98) states that persons who commit certain sins secure after death a body similar in shape to the physical body for undergoing torments. The underlying conception was that when the gross body was destroyed after death by cremation, burial or other methods an intermediate subtile body had to be built up before the departed soul was compelled to assume another body in a fresh incarnation. The subtile body was gradually built up, as stated by the Mārk. 10.73, by the rites performed on death and on several days after death. Though this conception is very clearly set forth in the Purāṇas it should not be supposed that it was altogether a new one. It had its roots deep down in the earliest Vedic period and was implicit in some of the hymns as indicated by Ṛg. X. 15. 14, X. 16. 4–5 translated above. Though in the Tai. S. I. 8. 5. 1–2 and in passages of the Tai. Br. and Śat. Br. to be set out later on it is said that the offerings are made to the paternal ancestors, it does not follow that the brāhmaṇas were not fed at the same time on the food prepared for being offered to the ancestors, just as in the solemn Vedic sacrifices offerings were made to the gods, Agni, Indra, Prajāpati, Viṣṇu and others and at the same time priests engaged in the sacrifices were fed and given presents (*dakṣiṇā*). Therefore, it need not be necessarily supposed that feeding the brāhmaṇas at śrāddha was a later idea and offering food to the dead was the original idea.

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595. यस्यैतानि न दीयन्ते प्रेतश्राद्धानि षोडश । पिशाचत्वं ध्रुवं तस्य दत्तैः श्राद्धशतैरपि ॥ यम q. by श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 362 and तत्त्वार्थकौमुदी on श्रा. वि. p. 14. Almost the same verse is लिखितस्मृति V. 16 and गरुडपुराण, प्रेतखण्ड 34. 131.

CHAPTER VIII

SUDDHI

Śuddhi (purification) is a very comprehensive topic including within it purification after āśauca (impurity on birth and death), purification of a person after contact with an impure object or on account of certain occurrences, purification of pots, wells, food &c., after they are polluted. Āśauca, however, is the most important subject under śuddhi and therefore the Śuddhi-kaumudī defines 'śuddhi' as 'the state of being fit for or capable of performing the rites that are understood from the Veda.'[596] The Smṛtis employ the word śuddhi in relation to purification after āśauca. For example, Manu V. 57 starts by saying that he will expound purification after a man is dead (pretaśuddhi) and purification of things (dravyaśuddhi). Manu V. 83 (= Dakṣa VI. 7) avers that a brāhmaṇa becomes pure after ten days (on the death or birth of a relative), a kṣatriya after twelve &c. The Parāśara-smṛti starts chapter three by declaring 'I shall expound śuddhi on birth and death.' Yāj. III. 14, 25 also employ the word śuddhi. Therefore āśauca on birth and death will be first dealt with.

The word *āśauca* is formed from śuci (pure) according to Pāṇ. V. 1. 131[596a] and Pāṇ. VII. 3. 30 (vide note below) with the negative particle *na* (a). In some smṛtis such as that of Devala the form 'āśucya' also is found (see Hāralatā pp. 2, 9, 36 in quotations from Devala[596b]). Another word which is often used as a synonym for āśauca is 'agha'. It has been seen above (p. 6) that the word *agha* means 'sin' in the Vedic Literature (as in Ṛg. I. 97. 1–8, X. 117.6). But in the Śān. Śr. IV. 15. 11,

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596 वेदबोधितकर्मार्हता शुद्धिः । शु. कौ. p. 1.

596 a. इगन्ताच्च लघुपूर्वात् । पा. V. 1. 131 (अण् अनुवर्तते)—शुचेर्भावः कर्म वा शौचम् । न शौचमशौचम् ।. This is one way of explaining the word. We may also explain न शुचि अशुचि, अशुचेर्भावः कर्म च आशौचं or अशौचं according to नञः शुचीश्वरक्षेत्रज्ञकुशलनिपुणानाम् । (पा. VII. 3. 30).

596 b. जनने मरणे नित्यमाशुच्यमनुधावति । देवल q. by हारलता p. 2 ; आशुच्यं दशरात्रं तु सर्वत्राप्यपरे विदुः । देवल q. by शुद्धिप्र. p. 41.

Manu V. 84 (na vardhayed-aghāhāni) the word 'agha' has come to mean the same thing as āśauca.[597] The Padmapurāṇa II. 66. 73–74 states that since the outlets of the body always emit mucus, urine &c. it is always impure.

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 1 defines[598] āśauca as an emergent attribute attaching to a person, which is got rid of by lapse of time or a bath and the like and which is the cause of the positive direction to offer (to a deceased person) piṇḍa, water and the like and of the cessation of Vedic study and other actions. The Mit. adds that āśauca is not merely the absence of the privilege or power to do religious acts, since even those who have incurred impurity (on death &c.) are enjoined to do certain religious acts such as offering water (to the deceased). This definition of the Mit. appears to be an echo of the Garuḍa-purāṇa (pretakhaṇḍa) 5. 9 and is probably based on a verse of the work called Saṅgraha. Haradatta[599] on Gautama 14. 1 states that āśauca may be defined as 'the absence of the privilege to perform religious acts, unfitness for being one whose food may be partaken of, untouchability and the loss of the privilege to make religious gifts.' A comparatively early writer Bhaṭṭācārya,[600] appears to have defined 'śuddhi' as the 'removal of sin' or as 'being fit for performing religious acts.' This was accepted by the Smṛti-candrikā, but rejected by Nandapaṇḍita, commentator of Ṣaḍaśīti (pp. 2–3). Even the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 18) emphasizes that āśauca has two characteristics, viz. it takes away the privilege of performing

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597. नाघाहानि वर्धयेयुरिति ह स्माह कौषीतकिः। शां. श्रौ. IV. 15.11. The com. says 'अघशब्देनात्र मरणमुच्यते। येष्वहःसु सपिण्डमरणं संवृत्तं तान्यघाहानि मरणादारभ्यैकरात्रादीनि यानि व्रतैर्व्यासान्युक्तानि तानि न वर्धयेयुः नाभ्यधिकानि कुर्युः। कर्मानधिकारव्रतैर्न व्याप्नुयुः।'.

598. आशौचशब्देन च कालस्नानाद्यपनोद्यः पिण्डोदकदानादिविधेः अध्ययनादिपर्युदासस्य च निमित्तभूतः पुरुषगतः कश्चनातिशयः कथ्यते न पुनः कर्मानधिकारमात्रम्। मिता. on या. III. 1; अपनोद्यं त्विदं कालादिभिराशु निषेधकृत्। पिण्डाध्ययनदानादेः पुंगतोतिशयो हि तत्॥ गरुड (प्रेतखण्ड 5.9); निमित्तं पिण्डदानादेः पुरुषस्यमशुद्धिकृत्। कालस्नानापनोद्यं यत्तदाशौचमितीर्यते॥ संग्रह q. by स्मृतिमु. (आशौच) p. 477.

599. किं पुनरिदमाशौचलक्षणम्। कर्मण्यनधिकारोऽभोज्यान्नताऽस्पृश्यता दानादिष्वनधिकारिता। हरदत्त on गौ. 14. 1.

600. शुद्धिशब्दार्थस्तु पापक्षयः शुद्धिर्धर्मयोग्यत्वमेव वा इति भट्टाचार्योक्तो द्रष्टव्यः। पापक्षयः सपिण्डादौ जनने मरणे वा तत्सम्बन्धयादाबुत्पन्नस्य पापविशेषस्य क्षयः। धर्मयोग्यत्वं वानादिधर्मानुष्ठानार्हत्वम्। एवं शुद्धिशब्दार्थो मतभेदेन द्विधा विवृतो भट्टाचार्यैः। स्मृतिच. (आशौचकाण्ड p. 2). स्मृतिमु. p. 477 mentions this view.

religious acts and it renders a person untouchable. The Smṛtimuktāphala follows this. Rudradhara in his Śuddhiviveka (D. C. ms. No. 309 of 1887–91 folio 1) says that śuddhi is a special attribute which brings about a capacity or privilege for the performance of all dharmas, while aśuddhi is an attribute opposed to śuddhi and arises on the occasion of the birth of a sapiṇḍa or the like.[601]

Āśauca is of two kinds, viz. that arising on birth[602] (and so called *jananāśauca* or *sūtaka*) and that arising on death (and therefore called *śāvāśauca* or *mṛtakāśauca* or *maraṇāśauca*). *Śāva* is derived from *śava* (meaning a corpse). The word sūtaka occurs in the[603] Ait. Br. (chap. 32. 8) and is there probably used in the sense of impurity on both birth and death. There it is said that if an āhitāgni partook of food from the house of him who was affected by sūtaka, then the prāyaścitta was to offer a *puroḍāśa* cooked on eight potsherds to Agni Tantumat. Tantu means also 'son or progeny' and so it may be argued that it is an indication that sūtaka is used in the Ait. Br. in the sense of impurity on birth. The word *sūtaka* is used in the smṛtis in three senses: (1) impurity on birth (vide Manu V. 58); (2) impurity both on birth and death, as in Gobhilasmṛti III. 60 and 63;[604] (3) impurity on death alone (as in Dakṣa VI. 1 and Gobhilasmṛti III. 48)[605]. In some of the modern vernaculars (such as Marathi) the word 'sūtaka' is used in the 3rd sense alone. In each of these two divisions there are two varieties viz. where the duration is brief or comparatively long (Ṣaḍaśīti, verse 2).

A question arises why birth and death should cause impurity to the members of the family or to relatives. Only a

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601. शुद्धिस्तावदखिलधर्माधिकारापादको धर्मविशेषः। अशुद्धिस्तु तद्विरोधी धर्मविशेष एव। स च सपिण्डजन्मादिनिमित्तकः। शुद्धिविवेक of रुद्रधर.

602. आशौचं द्विविधं कर्मानधिकारलक्षणं स्पृश्यत्वलक्षणं च। स्मृतिमु. (p. 477).

603. तदाहुर्य आहिताग्निर्यदि सूतकान्नं माश्नीयात्का तत्र प्रायश्चित्तिरिति। सोऽग्नये तन्तुमतेऽष्टाकपालं पुरोडाशं निर्वपेत्तस्य याज्यानुवाक्ये तन्तुं तन्वन्रजसो भानुमन्विह्य- क्षानहो नह्यतनोत सोम्या इति। आहुतिं वाहवनीये जुहुयादग्नये तन्तुमते स्वाहेति। ऐ. ब्रा. 32. 8. तन्तुं तन्वन् is Ṛg. X. 53 6 and अक्षानहो is Ṛg. X. 53. 7.

604. सूतके कर्मणां त्यागः सन्ध्यादीनां विधीयते। होमः श्रौतस्तु कर्तव्यः शुष्कान्नेनापि वा फलैः॥ गोभिलस्मृति called छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट q. by हारलता p. 6, शु. कौ., and श्राद्धप्र. p. 83.

605. सूतकं तु प्रवक्ष्यामि जन्ममृत्युनिमित्तकम्। यावज्जीवं तृतीयं तु यथावदनुपूर्वशः॥ दक्ष. VI. 1; अस्थ्नामलाभे पार्णानि शकलान्युक्तयावृता। भर्जयेदस्थिसंख्यानि ततः प्रभृति सूतकम्॥ गोभिल III. 48. The 4th pāda of the latter is q. by हारलता p. 2.

few have to say anything on this question. Hārīta says: 'the family incurs death impurity because by death the family feels overwhelmed (or frustrated), while when a new life appears the family increases (and there is gratification or joy)' [606].

The literature on Śuddhi (including āśauca) is very extensive. Apart from the sūtras, smṛtis and Purāṇas there are numerous digests dealing with the subject at great length. Some of them have been printed. The smṛtis contain a mass of contradictory dicta to such an extent and different from the usages of medieval times that the Mit. on Yāj. III. 22 after quoting the views of Parāśara, Śātātapa, Vasiṣṭha and Aṅgiras on the periods for which impurity had to be observed by persons belonging to the four varṇas refuses to evolve order out of them and remarks that the usages in its day were different from the dicta of those sages [607]. The Madana-pārijāta (p. 392) agrees with the Mit. and also suggests other modes of dealing with the conflict. Two examples may be cited of the way in which different smṛtis approach the same problem. Atri 83, Parāśara III. 5 and Dakṣa VI. 6 provide that a brāhmaṇa who has consecrated the three Vedic fires and has mastered the Veda becomes free from impurity (on birth and death) in one day, one who has merely mastered the Veda (but has not consecrated the śrauta fires) in three days and one who is devoid of both in ten days. Manu V. 59 gives various options viz. 10 days, 4 days, 3 days, 1 day but does not state explicitly to whom his remarks apply. Bṛhaspati [607a] (q.

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606. अस्य च कुलव्यापित्वे कारणमाह हारीतः । प्रेताभिभूतत्वाच्छावमाशौचं जाते वृद्धियोगेन कुलस्य भवति । इति । जायमानम्रियमाणयोः सम्बन्धिनां सन्तोषदासन्तोषदाभ्यां वृद्धिक्षययोगाद्वा कुलव्याप्याशौचं भवतीत्यर्थः। शुद्धिचन्द्रिका on षडशीति p. 4. The स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p. 11 reads somewhat differently "ननु घटपाशौचं सपिण्डव्यतिरिक्तानां न भवति कारणाभावादित्याशङ्क्याह हारीतः 'प्रेताभिभूतत्वाच्छावाशौचं जाते वृद्धियोगेन केनेति मीमांसन्ते नाभ्यच्छिन्नकालानामुच्छेदभूयस्त्वाच्च कुलस्याशौचं भवति' इति।."

607. इत्येवमनेकोच्चावचाशौचकल्पा दर्शिताः। तेषां लोके समाचाराभावान्नातीव व्यवस्थाप्रदर्शनमुपयोगीति नात्र व्यवस्था प्रदर्श्यते। मिता on या. III. 22 ; लोकसमाचाराद्वनादरणीयमिति केचन। अथवा देशाचारतो व्यवस्था। उत गुणवदगुणवद्विषये यथाक्रमं न्यूनाधिककल्पाश्रयेण निर्वाहः। किंवा आपदनापद्भेदेन व्यवस्था। मद. पा. p. 392.

607 a. त्रिरात्रेण विशुध्येत योऽग्निवेदसमन्वितः। पञ्चाहेनाग्निहीनस्तु दशाहाद् ब्राह्मणब्रुवः॥ बृहस्पति q. by कल्प० (शुद्धि) p. 4, हारलता p. 5 and शु. कौ. p.7. अङ्गिरस् defines ब्राह्मणब्रुव as 'गर्भाधानादिसंस्कारैर्युक्तश्च नियमव्रतैः। नाध्यापयति नाधीते विज्ञेयो ब्राह्मणब्रुवः॥'.

by Hāralatā p. 5 and Haradatta on Gautama 14. 1) states that a brāhmaṇa who is endowed with Veda and śrauta fires becomes pure after three days, one who is devoid of śrauta fires (but is master of the Veda) in five days and one who is only a brāhmaṇa by caste (has not studied the Veda or does not teach it) in ten days. The Śaṅ. Śr. and Manu[608] (both quoted above) urge a man not to increase through laziness the number of days for which impurity is to be observed. It is possible that persons claiming to be learned observed impurity for a few days only, while neighbours disputed their claim to this special dispensation in favour of Vedic learning and keeping śrauta fires. The result was that later on a flat number of ten days was prescribed for all brāhmaṇas whether learned or not and the provision for lesser number of days of impurity was relegated to *Kalivarjya* usages. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 941–42.

Another example of the dependence of the days of impurity on the caste of the deceased and of varying dicta thereon may be cited. Manu V. 83, Dakṣa VI. 7, Yāj. III. 22, Atri (verse 85), Śaṅkha (15. 2–3), Matsyapurāṇa (18. 2–3), Brahmapurāṇa 220. 63, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 1–4, all lay down periods of 10 days, 12 days, 15 days and a month for impurity among brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras respectively. Yaj. III.22 makes the virtuous śūdra observe impurity only for 15 days as a concession. Gaut. (15. 1–4) prescribes 10, 11, 12 days (or half month) and a month respectively for the four varṇas, while Vas. (4. 27–30) gives the periods of 10, 15, 20 and one month for the four *varṇas*. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, in his article on Nāgara brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas of Bengal, protests that the Kāyasthas of Bengal (owing to social tyranny) still observe āśauca for one month as if they are ordinary śūdras (I. A. for 1932 at p. 71). On the other hand, Aṅgiras (quoted by the Mit. on Yaj. III. 22) states that Śātātapa declared that all *varṇas* become purified after ten days whether the impurity is due to birth or death.[609] Parāśara (III. 9) quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 18

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608. On न वर्धयेदघाहानि (मनु. V. 84) कुल्लूक comments: यस्य तु श्रुतस्वाध्यायापेक्षया पूर्वमर्धाक्संचयनादस्थनाम्-इत्याद्याशौचसङ्कोच उक्तः स निष्कर्मा सुखमासिष्ये इति बुद्ध्या नाशौचदिनानि दशाहादिरूपतया वर्धयेत्संकुचिताशौचदिनेष्वपि।.

609. अङ्गिरास्त्वाह-सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां सूतके मृतके तथा। दशाहाच्छुद्धिरेतेषामिति शातातपोऽब्रवीत्॥ मिता. on या. III. 22.

provides that a *sapiṇḍa* who is 4th in descent from the common ancestor of the deceased and himself becomes pure after ten days, one who is 5th after 6 days, one who is 6th in descent after four days and one who is 7th after one day. The Mit. says that this should be discarded as it is in conflict with many other smṛtis and is disapproved of by people.[610] Some of the rules mentioned by Vijñāneśvara (about 1100 A. D.) themselves underwent changes in 500 years as noted by the Nirṇayasindhu (composed in 1612 A. D.[611]).

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 18 declares that when a child that has not completed two years dies, it is the parents that have to observe āśauca for ten days and not all sapiṇḍas and that their āśauca entails untouchability for them. The Nirṇayasindhu (p. 517) remarks that what Vijñāneśvara said is not now (in its time) the usage and that the Smṛtyarthasāra also did not accept Vijñāneśvara's view.

In view of the above-mentioned circumstances no useful purpose would be served by setting out in detail the varying dicta of the smṛtis, Purāṇas [612] and the digests upon the several matters that fall to be treated under āśauca. Digests on this subject are too numerous to mention. The following printed ones and a few mss. have been made use of in preparing the following account. In the first place, there are several works that deal with this subject in verse. The Aśaucāṣṭaka attributed to Vararuci (published in the Trivandrum series) with a

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610. यत्पुनः स्मृत्यन्तरवचनम्-चतुर्थे दशरात्रं स्यात्षण्निशाः पुंसि पञ्चमे। षष्ठे चतुरहाच्छुद्धिः सप्तमे त्वहरेव तु॥ इति तद्विगीतत्वान्नादरणीयम्। यद्यप्यविगीतं तथापि मधुपर्काङ्गपश्वालम्भनवल्लोकविद्विष्टत्वान्नानुष्ठेयम्। अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविद्विष्टं धर्म्यमप्याचरेन्न तु-इति मनुस्मरणात्। मिता. on या. III. 18. अस्वर्ग्यं° is the latter half of या. I. 156.

611. यत्तु विज्ञानेश्वरेणोक्तं-ऊनद्विवर्षे उभयोः सूतकं मातुरेव हीति याज्ञवल्क्योक्तेः गर्भस्थे प्रेते मातुर्दशाहं जात उभयोः कृते नाम्नि सोदराणां च इति पैङ्ग्योक्तेश्च पित्रोः सोदराणां च दशाहमस्पृश्यत्वमिति तन्नेदानीं प्रचरति। अत एव स्मृत्यर्थसारे तन्नादृतम्। निर्णयसिन्धु p. 517. The स्मृत्यर्थसार (p. 80) states 'अनुपनीतमरणे मातापित्रोर्दशाहाशौचपक्षोऽनादृतः''.

612. Several among the Purāṇas devote considerable space to āśauca. For example, the Kūrma (Uttarārdha Chap. 23), Liṅgapurāṇa (Purvārdha, Chapter 89. 77-92), Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa Chap. 5), Agnipurāṇa (Chapters 157-158), Vāmana (14. 96-102) do so. In the Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa 5) several verses are taken from Yājñavalkya, Manu and other smṛtis.

commentary by an anonymous writer that names the bhāṣya of Maskarin on Gautama-dharmasūtra (on p. 35) deals with the subject in eight *sragdharā* verses. The Āśaucadaśaka or Daśaślokī attributed to Vijñāneśvara seems to have been a very popular work. There are several commentaries on it. The one by Harihara is the earliest of them. In the Deccan College collection of Mss (now at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona) there are several Mss of it, two of which were copied in *saṁvat* 1539 (D. C. No. 216 of 1879–80) and *saṁvat* 1579 (D. C. No. 196 of 1884–87) and which expressly state that the work was composed by Vijñāneśvara-yogīndra. The ten Śārdūlavikrīḍita verses of the Āśaucadaśaka are set out in the appendix. The Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara has a section on śuddhi which has been recently published in the G. O. S. The Hāralatā of Aniruddha is very useful (B. I. Series). The Āśaucakāṇḍa of the Smṛticandrikā has been edited by the late Dr. Shamsastry and published as No. 56 of the Mysore University Sanskrit publications. The Triṁśacchlokī with the commentary of Raghunātha composed in *śake* 1645 has been published at the Poona Ānandāśrama press and contains 30 Sragdharā verses on āśauca. The Ṣaḍaśīti (86 verses in the Anuṣṭubh metre) of Kauśikāditya with the commentary Śuddhicandrikā by Vināyaka *alias* Nandapaṇḍita (composed about 1600 A. D.) has been published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series. The Śuddhikaumudī of Govindānanda (B. I. Series); the Śuddhitattva of Raghunandana (ed. by Jivananda pp. 233–412), the Śuddhiprakāśa (part of the Vīramitrodaya of Mitramiśra) published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series, the Śuddhimayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha (edited by Mr. J. R. Gharpure) and the Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha (edited by Mr. J. R. Gharpure) are compilations that are useful in their own way. These exhaustive treatises on āśauca show one thing unmistakably that brāhmaṇas of the medieval ages attached an extremely exaggerated importance to ceremonial purity of the body on birth and death.

The periods of impurity depended on many circumstances. There was a difference between impurity on birth and that on death; so also the duration depended upon whether the deceased was an infant or a male or a female or one whose *upanayana* had been performed or not performed; it depended on caste and also on the question whether the deceased died near the relative or far away; also upon the degree of relationship; and on the time that elapsed from the birth or death till it reached the ears

of the relative. The intensity of impurity was different in each of the following: a sūtikā (a freshly delivered woman), *rajasvalā* (woman in monthly illness), impurity on death, impurity on birth (the last being the least).

Dakṣa (VI. 2-3) states that there are ten varieties in impurity, viz. immediate purity (after taking a bath), one day, three days, four days, six days, ten days, twelve days, a fortnight, a month and till the end of one's life.[613] Dakṣa then explains in what cases these different periods apply. As to what is meant by impurity till life's end (lit. till he is reduced to ashes), Dakṣa (VI. 8-10) says: 'those who take their meals without bathing or offering to gods or without making gifts-all such persons are in impurity till life ends. One who is permanently afflicted with a disease, who is close-fisted (i. e. stints himself, wife and son and religious acts through greed), who is always in debt (i. e. who has not paid off his debts to gods, sages and manes), who is bereft of religious acts (*nitya* or *naimittika*), who is a fool and is under the thumb of his wife, whose mind is bent on vices (gambling, prostitution &c.), who is always dependent (a king's servant or the like), who is devoid of faith and benevolence (charitable gifts)—he incurs impurity which ends only with his ashes (i. e. only when he is cremated).[614] These words are not to be taken literally; what is meant is that such a man is to be shunned by others (i. e. it is an *arthavāda* conveying merely censure).

We shall now turn to the impurity on birth.

That the impurity on birth lasted for ten days even in Vedic times can be inferred from the story of Śunaḥ-śepa narrated in the Ait. Br. (chapter 33. 2), where occurs the passage 'when the animal is more than ten days from birth he becomes pure (and fit to be offered in sacrifice).' The same

613. सद्यःशौचं तथैकाहस्त्र्यहश्चतुरहस्तथा। षड्दशद्वादशाहाश्च पक्षो मासस्तथैव च॥ मरणान्तं तथा चान्यद् दश पक्षास्तु सूतके। दक्ष VI. 2-3, referred to by विश्वरूप on या. III. 30 and q. by कल्प० (on शुद्धि) p. 5, अपरार्क p. 894, परा. मा I, 2. p. 207.

614. अस्नात्वा चाप्यहुत्वा च अदत्त्वा ये तु भुञ्जते। एवंविधानां सर्वेषां यावज्जीवं तु सूतकम्॥ व्याधितस्य कदर्यस्य ऋणग्रस्तस्य सर्वदा। क्रियाहीनस्य मूर्खस्य स्त्रीजितस्य विशेषतः। व्यसनासक्तचित्तस्य पराधीनस्य नित्यशः। श्रद्धात्यागविहीनस्य भस्मान्तं सूतकं भवेत्॥ दक्ष VI. 8-10 q. by विश्वरूप on या. III. 30, कल्प० (on शुद्धि) p. 15, हारलता p. 14, अपरार्क p. 895. The last verse of षडशीति is to the same effect as the first verse quoted above. The कूर्म (उत्त.) 23. 9 provides 'क्रियाहीनस्य मूर्खस्य महारोगिण एव च। यथेष्टाचरणस्येह मरणान्तमशौचकम्॥' q. by हारलता p. 15.

inference can probably be drawn from Tai. Br. II. 1. 1.3, where it is said 'therefore people do not take the milk of a cow for ten nights when a calf is born.' [615]

Abortion in the first four months [616] of pregnancy is called *srāva*, abortion in the 5th or 6th month is called *pāta* and from the 7th month of pregnancy onwards it is called *prasūti* or *prasava* (according to Parāśara III. 16, Ṣaḍaśīti verse 9). When there is *srāva* the mother incurs impurity for three days, in the case of *pāta* the mother has to observe impurity for as many days as correspond to the months of pregnancy (i. e. 5 days or 6 days). The impurity consists in the mother being untouchable. The father alone has to bathe when there is *srāva*, but when there is *pāta* the father and sapiṇḍas have to observe impurity for three days (according to Madana-pārijāta p. 380–381 and others) but they don't incur impurity as on death. These rules hold good for all castes. But when the foetus comes out dead in any month from the 7th or the child is still-born, then the impurity is for ten days for both parents and the sapiṇḍas for all varṇas or for 10, 12, 15 and 30 days respectively for the four varṇas as laid down in Yāj. (III. 22) and the samānodakas have to observe āśauca for three days and sagotras for one day (Dharmasindhu p. 427). The above rules are more or less laid down by Gautama 14. 15–16, Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 136, Parāśara III. 24, Manu V. 66, Yāj. III. 20 (latter half) and the first verse of Āśaucadaśaka. The mother is untouchable for ten days on birth, still-birth or abortion in 7th, 8th or 9th month but the father and sapiṇḍas [617] when they take a bath after the *prasava* are not untouchable (Yāj. III. 19). In ancient times there were several differing views about *jananāśauca* for the father as vouched for by Baud.[618] Dh. S. I. 5. 125–128. Although a woman

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615. अजनि वै ते पुत्रो यजस्व माऽनेनेति। स होवाच यदा वै पशुर्निर्दशो भवत्यथ स मेध्यो भवति। ऐ. ब्रा 33.2; तस्माद्वत्सं जातं दशरात्रीर्न दुहन्ति। तै. ब्रा. II. 1.1.3.

616. आचतुर्थाद्भवेत्स्रावः पातः पञ्चमषष्ठयोः। अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रसूतिः स्याद् दशाहं सूतकं भवेत्॥ स्रावे मातुस्त्रिरात्रं स्यात्सपिण्डाशौचवर्जनम्॥ पाते मातुर्यथामासं पित्रादीनां दिनत्रयम्॥ मरीचि q. by मिता. on या. III. 20, हरदत्त on गौ. 14.15, स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p. 4. The first is पराशर III. 16 and is quoted as such in शुद्धिप्र. p. 16.

617. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 452–455 for the meaning of sapiṇḍa and samānodaka (H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 752–753). These words mean in this section generally (unless otherwise expressly stated) persons descended from a common male ancestor through unbroken male descent.

618. जनने तावन्मातापित्रोर्दशाहमाशौचम्। मातुरित्येके। तत्परिहरणात्। पितुरित्यपरे शुक्रप्राधान्यात्। अयोनिजा ह्यपि पुत्राः श्रूयन्ते मातापित्रोरेव तु संसर्गसामान्यात्। बौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 125–128 q. by स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p. 9.

becomes touchable in ten days after delivery she is not fit to take part in religious rites for 20 days after she becomes touchable (i. e. 30 days from birth) if she gave birth to a son but for 30 days (i. e. 40 days from birth) if a daughter was born.[619] Women of all varṇas become pure (i. e. touchable) ten days after delivery—says Pracetas.[620] Devala states that there is no āśauca on the ground of birth when the period of (ten or twelve) days has expired.[621] If a woman was delivered at her father's or brother's house, then her parents and her brothers staying with the father had to observe āśauca for one day (Dharmasindhu p. 427), but if a woman was delivered of a child at her husband's house then her father or brother had to observe no āśauca (on birth). Even when *sagotras* have to observe āśauca on birth they are not untouchable (Ṣaḍaśīti verse 6).

It would be better to state here certain general rules once for all. When any text employs the word day (*ahaḥ*) or night (*rātri*) in prescribing the duration of āśauca what is meant is *ahorātra* (both day[622] and night). When counting the days of āśauca one has to begin from the day of the cremation, if the deceased was an *āhitāgni*, but from the day of death in the case of one not an *āhitāgni*[623] (Āśauca-daśaka verse 4, Kūrma, Uttarārdha 23. 52). Birth and death are causes of āśauca only when they are known to the person who is to be affected by it and not by the mere fact of the birth or death. This follows from certain

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619. यथाह संवर्तः। जाते पुत्रे पितुः स्नानं सचैलं तु विधीयते। माता शुध्येद्दशाहेन स्नानात्तु स्पर्शनं पितुः। माता शुध्येद्दशाहेनेत्येतच्च संव्यवहारयोग्यतामात्रम्। अदृष्टार्थेषु पुनः कर्मसु पैठीनसिना विशेष उक्तः। सूतिकां पुत्रवतीं विंशतिरात्रेण कर्माणि कारयेत्। मासेन स्त्रीजननीम्। इति। मिता. on या. III. 19.

620. सूतिका सर्ववर्णानां दशाहेन विशुध्यति। ऋतौ तु न पृथक् शौचं सर्ववर्णेष्वयं विधिः। प्रचेतस् q. by हारलता p. 20, शुद्धिचन्द्रिका on verse 6. स्मृतिच. (आशौचकाण्ड) p. 5 quotes it but explains it differently.

621. नाशौचं प्रसवस्यास्ति व्यतीतेषु दिनेष्वपि। देवल. q. by कुल्लूक on मनु V. 76; रघुनाथ in his com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी verse 6 p. 27 reads 'नाशुद्धिः प्रसवाशौचे व्यतीतेषु दिनेष्वपि'.

622. अत्राशौचप्रकरणे अहर्ग्रहणं रात्रिग्रहणं चाहोरात्रोपलक्षणार्थम्। मिता. on या. III. 18.

623. इदं चाशौचमाहिताग्नेरुपरमे संस्कारदिवसप्रभृति कर्तव्यम्। अनाहिताग्नेस्तु मरणदिवसप्रभृति। मिता. on या. III.20; दाहाद्याहिताग्नौ मरणदिवसतोऽन्यत्र कुर्याद्दशाहम्। त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी verse 11 (second पाद); दाहाद्यशौचं कर्तव्यं द्विजानामग्निहोत्रिणाम्। सपिण्डानां च मरणे मरणादितरेषु च॥ कूर्म (उत्तरार्ध 23. 52).

passages of Pāraskara gr. III. 10 and Manu V. 75–76 and the Brahmapurāṇa. Pāraskara (III. 10) provides:[624] 'if one who had gone abroad dies, (his relatives) should on hearing (of his death) sit down and offer him water and should remain untouchable for the days that remain out of the proper period (viz. 10, 12, 15, 30 days); if the prescribed period (of āśauca) has expired they should observe āśauca for one night or three nights.' Manu (V. 75–76) is to the same effect. The Brahmapurāṇa states: 'if a donor makes a gift and the acceptor accepts it when both are not aware of there being a birth or death in their family, no blame attaches.'

We should now turn to āśauca on death. Here again there is no unanimity and therefore the views perferably of the latest works (such as the Dharmasindhu) will be set out after referring to a few smṛti passages. Āśauca on death renders those who incur it untouchable and unable to perform religious rites. Pār. gr. III. 10. 29–30 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 357) stated generally that the impurity caused by death lasts through three nights and that according to some teachers through ten nights. If a child dies within ten days of birth, the father and mother have to observe *Jananāśauca* and become purified by the end of the āśauca on birth and the father remains untouchable for those days (Kūrma-purāṇa q. by S. K. p. 21). If a child died before it struck teeth the *sapiṇḍas* had only to undergo a bath, while the parents had to observe āśauca for three days if the child was a son and for one day if a daughter (vide Yāj. III. 23, Śaṅkha 15. 4, Atri 95, Āśaucadaśaka verse 2). If the child died after striking teeth but before Cūḍā (or the end of the third year) the sapiṇḍas had to observe āśauca for one day and night (Yāj. III. 23, Śaṅkha 15. 5), but the parents had āśauca (of death) for three days. If the child was a girl the sapiṇḍas became pure by a bath up to the girl's third year. If death occurs between Cūḍā (or three years) and *upanayana* or marriage (in the case of girls) the sapiṇḍas including the father have to observe āśauca for three days and samānodakas become purified by a bath alone. After upanayana all sapiṇḍas have to observe āśauca (on death) for ten days (Gaut. 14. 1, Manu V. 59, Āśaucadaśaka 2) and all samānodakas for three days. In the case of a śūdra dying

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624. प्रोषितश्चेत्प्रेयात् श्रवणप्रभृति कृतोदकाः कालशेषमासीरन्नतीतश्चेदेकरात्रं त्रिरात्रं वा। पारस्करगृह्य III, 10.

after three and before marriage or 16 years the āśauca is three days for all sapiṇḍas. After sixteen years or marriage (in the case of a śūdra) it is the āśauca prescribed for his caste. In the case of a girl dying after three years and before *vāgdāna* (betrothal) the parents have āśauca for three days and the sapiṇḍas (up to three generations) one day. If a girl dies after vāgdāna and before marriage the sapiṇḍas of her father as well as of the proposed bridegroom had to observe āśauca for three days. In the case of women and śūdras if death takes place after marriage or after 16 years (if the Śūdra was unmarried) the period of āśauca for all sapiṇḍas is ten days. If a woman dies at her father's house after marriage, her parents, step-mother, full brothers and step-brothers have to observe āśauca for three days and her paternal uncle and the like that stay in the same house with her father for one day. Some say that if the married daughter dies in a village other than that of the father, the parents have to observe āśauca for a *pakṣiṇī* [625] (i. e. two nights with a day between or two days with a night between). There are other views on this point which are passed over. For example, Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra (22. 32–34) says that in the case of a married woman there is no āśauca on the parents' side; but when she is delivered of a child or dies in the father's house then the impurity is for one day or three days respectively. [626] A married woman has to observe āśauca for three days for the death of her parents or step-mother if ten days have not elapsed from the day of death or for the remaining days out of the period of ten (Yāj. III. 21 latter half). If the married daughter hears of the death of the parents or step-mother at a time more than ten days after the death or within one year she has to observe āśauca for a pakṣiṇī. If a brother whose upanayana has been performed dies at his married sister's house or *vice versa*, āśauca has to be observed for three days by them, but if they do not die at each other's house but in a different one

625. Gaut. Dh. S. 14.17 (श्रुत्वा चोर्ध्वं दशम्याः पक्षिणीम्), Manu. IV. 97 and V. 81 employ the word पक्षिणी. हरदत्त explains 'अहर्द्वयमध्यगता रात्रिः पक्षिणी रात्रिद्वयमध्यगतमहर्वा'. The अमरकोश gives only the first meaning 'आगामिवर्तमानाहर्युक्तायां निशि पक्षिणी'. The शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 36 remarks 'द्वावह्नावेकरात्रिश्च पक्षिणीत्यभिधीयते—इति भट्टनारायणधृतवचनात्। पक्षतुल्यौ दिवसौ पार्श्वयोः स्त इति पक्षिणी रात्रिरिति।'.

626. स्त्रीणां विवाहः संस्कारः। संस्कृतासु स्त्रीषु नाशौचं भवति पितृपक्षे। तत्प्रसवमरणे चेत्पितृगृहे स्यातां तदैकरात्रं त्रिरात्रं च। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22. 32-34.

then the āśauca is for a pakṣiṇī and if the death occurs in another village then there is āśauca only for one day. The same rules apply to step-brothers and step-sisters and also among sisters. A married woman on the death of her paternal grand-father or paternal uncle has to undergo only a bath. If a maternal uncle dies, the nephew and the niece have to observe āśauca for a pakṣiṇī. If the maternal uncle dies in the house of the nephew then there is āśauca for three days and for only one day if the maternal uncle had not his upanayana performed or died in another village; the same rules apply to one's mother's step-brother. If the wife of a maternal uncle dies, the nephew or the niece of the maternal uncle have to undergo āśauca for a pakṣiṇī. If a nephew whose thread ceremony has been performed dies, his maternal uncle and maternal aunt have āśauca for three days. The same rules apply if the deceased be the son of a step-sister of the maternal uncle. If the niece (sister's daughter) dies there is only a bath for the maternal uncle. If a maternal grandfather dies, the grandchild (the son or daughter of a daughter) has to observe āśauca for three days, but only for a pakṣiṇī if the maternal grandfather dies in a different village. On the death of the maternal grand-mother the grandchildren have to observe āśauca for a pakṣiṇī. Some works do not prescribe āśauca for a female descendant such as a niece or grand-daughter. If a daughter's son, whose *upanayana* had been performed, died, the maternal grandfather and grandmother had to observe āśauca for three days and for pakṣiṇī if the daughter's son had not upanayana performed for him. On the death of a daughter's daughter the maternal grandfather and mother incur no āśauca. In all these matters the general rule is that a male whose upanayana had been performed and a married woman alone are liable to undergo āśauca for any relative other than the parents (i. e. on the death of a parent a male though without upanayana and a woman though unmarried are liable to undergo āśauca).

If a man's father-in-law or mother-in-law die near (in the house of) the man, he has to undergo āśauca for three days, but only for pakṣiṇī if the death is elsewhere than with the son-in-law. On the death of a son-in-law, the father-in-law and the mother-in-law have to observe āśauca for one day or they have only to take a bath, but if the son-in-law dies in the house of the father-in-law then the āśauca is for three days. On the death of one's wife's brother, the āśauca is for one day i

upanayana had been performed; but if no upanayana was performed or if he died in another village a mere bath is enough.

On the death of one's mother's sisters (full or half) the person (whether man or woman) has to undergo āśauca for a pakṣiṇī; the same rule applies on the death of the father's sister. If it is a step-sister of the father then a mere bath is enough. The father's sister has to undergo a bath if the nephew dies. If one's father's sister or mother's sister dies in one's house then the āśauca is for three days.

In the case of *bandhus* (described by the Mit. on Yāj. II. 135 as bhinnagotra sapiṇḍas) of[627] the three kinds, the āśauca is for a pakṣiṇī, provided the bandhu is *upanīta* but if he died before upanayana then āśauca is for one day and if the bandhu died in one's house then for three days. If the daughter of the father's sister (and of the other bandhus enumerated in the three verses) dies married, the āśauca is one day, but if they die unmarried only a bath is necessary. Among the three kinds of bandhus, a man himself and his three *ātmabandhus* have to observe āśauca for each other's death; but the case is different as to *pitṛbandhus* and *mātṛbandhus*. If any one of these latter dies, there is āśauca for the man whose bandhus they are, but if a man dies, his pitṛbandhus and mātṛbandhus have to observe no āśauca.

If an adopted son dies, his natural father and adoptive father have to observe āśauca for three days (the Vyavahāramayūkha differs from this) and the sapiṇḍas for one day.

If the adoptive or natural father dies, the adopted son has to observe āśauca for three days and for one day for the sapiṇḍas of any one of them. On the death of the son and the grandson of an adopted son, the sapiṇḍas of the natural father and the adoptive father have to observe āśauca for one day and

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627. The bandhus are of three kinds, आत्मबन्धु, पितृबन्धु and मातृबन्धु. In three verses variously attributed to Baudhāyana or Śātātapa three illustrations of each of the three kinds of bandhus are given. आत्मपितृष्वसुः पुत्रा आत्ममातृष्वसुः सुताः। आत्ममातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया आत्मबान्धवाः॥ पितुः पितृष्वसुः पुत्राः पितुर्मातृष्वसुः सुताः। पितुर्मातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेयाः पितृबान्धवाः। मातुः पितृष्वसुः पुत्रा मातुर्मातृष्वसुः सुताः। मातुर्मातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया मातृबान्धवाः॥ q. by the मिता. on या. II. 135, व्यव. नि. p. 455, परा. मा. III. p. 528, मद. पा. p. 674. For further details, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 754-762.

vice versa. These rules apply if the son adopted is not a sapiṇḍa or samānodaka of the adopter, when he was in his family of birth. But if a sagotra sapiṇḍa or a samānodaka be adopted, then the āśauca is for ten or three days respectively.

If one's *ācārya*[628] dies, the pupil has to observe āśauca for three days, but only one day if he dies in another village (Gautama 14. 26, 52, Manu V. 80). On the death of the *ācārya's* wife or son the āśauca is for one day.[629] On the death of a *guru* (who instructs in Vedic mantras) the āśauca is three days and pakṣiṇī if he dies in another village. On the death of a teacher who imparted instruction in grammar, astronomy and other *aṅgas* (subsidiary lores) of the Veda, the āśauca is one day. Similar rules are laid down about the death of a pupil, *ṛtvik* (sacrificial priest), a sacrificer, a dependent śrotriya, a fellow-student, a friend, which are all passed over as not now useful. Vide Gaut. 14. 19–20 (which prescribe one day's āśauca on the death of a fellow-student or a dependent śrotriya).

These provisions about āśauca on the death of the ācārya and ṛtvik who were not sapiṇḍas show how closely the bond between teacher and pupil was thought to be in ancient times, almost equalling the tie of blood. When a *yati* (ascetic) dies,[630] all his sapiṇḍas have simply to undergo a bath (and nothing more). Conversely, a yati and brahmacārin have to observe no āśauca. Manu V. 82, Yāj. III. 25, Viṣṇu 22.45, Saṅkha 15. 15 provide that on the death of the ruler of the country in which one resides one has to observe āśauca up till

628. An ācārya is defined by Manu II. 140 as one who performs the upanayana of his pupil and teaches him the Veda together with the Kalpasūtra and Upaniṣads. Ṛtvik is defined by Manu II. 143 as one who is chosen for the performance of Agnyādheya, the *pākayajñas* and the solemn sacrifices like Agniṣṭoma.

629. आचार्यपत्नीपुत्रोपाध्यायमातुलश्वशुरश्वशुर्यसहाध्यायिशिष्येष्वतीतेष्वेकरात्रेण । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22. 44. श्वशुर्य means wife's brother. Manu (V. 80–81) prescribes three days' āśauca on the death of the ācārya, his wife and son, and śrotriya. Gaut. 14.26 does the same.

630. वानप्रस्थे यतौ चोपरमति कुलजे षण्डके चाप्लवः स्यात् । त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी 5th verse, 3rd पाद. Vide मनु V. 91 (= Viṣṇu 22.86) about a ब्रह्मचारिन् carrying the corpse of his parents.

the coming of the day or night next to that on which the king dies.[631]

As long as a corpse is not removed from the village in which a man dies, the whole village is in āśauca. Āp. Dh. S. 1. 3. 9. 14 declares that there is no Veda study till a corpse lies in the village. The Smṛti-muktāphala (p. 541) quotes[632] several smṛtis to the effect that in a village in which a corpse lies unremoved, there is to be no eating, no Vedic study and no sacrifice, but that this does not apply where in a village there are more than four hundred brāhmaṇas. The Dharmasindhu (p. 433) also says the same about a village, but adds that this rule does not apply to a town.

The ideas of ritualistic purity went so far as to provide (as stated in the Śuddhitattva quoted by the Nirṇayasindhu) that if a dog died in a brāhmaṇa's house the house became impure for ten days, that, if a śūdra,[633] a *patita* or a *mleccha* died in a brāhmaṇa's house, the house became impure for a month, two months or four months respectively and the house had to be abandoned if a *śvapāka* died therein.

Atikrāntāśauca (impurity on coming to know of birth or death after the several periods fixed). The general rule[634] is

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631. प्रेते राजनि सज्योतिर्यस्य स्याद्विषये स्थितः। मनु V. 82. सज्योतिः is explained by the मिता० as 'ज्योतिषा सह वर्तते इति सज्योतिराशौचम्। अह्नि चेद्यावत्सूर्यदर्शनं रात्रौ चेद्यावन्नक्षत्रदर्शनमित्यर्थः।'. या. III. 25 (निवासराजनि प्रेते तदहः शुद्धिकारणम्) is explained by the Mit. in the same sense as मनु V. 82, but the शुद्धिप्र. p. 36 holds that the āśauca for king's death is for a whole day and night provided he is a good king protecting his subjects.

632. स्मृत्यन्तरे। ग्रामस्थे शवचण्डाले शूद्राद्यशुचिसंनिधौ॥ नाध्येतव्यं न भोक्तव्यं न होतव्यं कदाचन॥ इति।...स्मृत्यन्तरे विशेषो दर्शितः। चतुःशताधिकैर्विप्रैः सम्पूर्णे ग्राममध्यके। विशेषं संप्रवक्ष्यामि जपहोमार्चनं प्रति। अन्तःशवस्य दोषस्तु नास्ति तत्र समाचरेत्। स्मृतिमु. (आशौच) p. 541.

633. शुद्धितत्त्वे बृहन्मनुः। श्वशूद्रपतिताश्चान्त्या मृताश्चेद् द्विजमन्दिरे। शौचं तत्र प्रवक्ष्यामि मनुना भाषितं यथा। दशरात्राच्छुनि मृते मासाच्छूद्रे भवेच्छुचिः। द्वाभ्यां तु पतिते गेहमन्त्ये मासचतुष्टयात्। अत्यन्त्ये वर्जयेद्गेहमित्येवं मनुरब्रवीत्। अन्त्यो म्लेच्छः। अत्यन्त्यः श्वपाक इति वाचस्पतिः। निर्णयसिन्धु III p. 528; these verses are quoted by शुद्धिप्र. p. 100 also.

634. देशान्तरगतः श्रुत्वा कुल्यानां मरणोद्भवौ। यच्छेषं दशरात्रस्य तावदेवाशुचिर्भवेत्॥ शङ्ख 15.11. The स्मृतिच० (आशौच) p. 47 reads 'कल्याणं मरणं तथा' in the 2nd पाद. The same verse occurs in अग्निपुराण 157.12–13 which reads देशान्तरस्थ श्रुत्वा तु; प्रोषितश्चेत्प्रेयाच्छ्रवणप्रभृति कालशेषमासीरन्नतीतश्चेदेकरात्रं त्रिरात्रं वा। पार. गृ. III. 10.

that, if a person stays in a different country and hears of a birth or death among his sapiṇḍas, he has to observe āśauca not for ten days after hearing but for that number of days that are short of the ten days (counting from birth or death) prescribed for sapiṇḍas. Vide Manu V. 75, Yāj. III. 21 (latter half), Śaṅkha 15.11, Pār. gṛ. III. 10. Āśauca interferes very much with one's activities and it is hence that often-times people send a closed letter to their relatives living in a different place stating thereon that it be opened on a particular day (which is the 10th day from the death of a sapiṇḍa). Everyone knows the meaning of such a direction and by such a subterfuge inconvenience is avoided and the dictates of the śāstra are deemed to be satisfied. If a son hears of the death of a parent he has to observe āśauca for ten days from the day of hearing, but if he hears of the death of a parent before the collection of bones then he has to observe āśauca only for the days that remain (Smṛti-muktāphala p. 534). There is great divergence about the period of āśauca if the death of a sapiṇḍa comes to one's ears more than ten days after the day of death. Manu V. 77 provides that on hearing of the death of a sapiṇḍa or the birth of a son after ten days (from the event) a man becomes pure after plunging into water with the clothes on and Yāj. III. 21 (last pāda, 'pūrṇe dattvodakam śuciḥ') states that he becomes pure after (a bath and) offering water when the period fixed has passed off. From the words of Manu that only the father, even if he hears of the birth of a son more than ten days after the event, has to take a bath the Mit. infers that there is no atikrāntāśauca for sapiṇḍas on birth[635]. The Mit. quotes Devala in support (vide note 621 above). The Dharmasindhu follows the Mit. Manu V. 76, Śaṅkha 15.12, Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha) 23.21 state that when ten days have passed after the event of death, the man who hears of the death is impure for three days and if he hears of the death more than a year after death, he becomes pure after a bath. In order to remove the conflict among smṛtis Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha lays down: 'āśauca is for three days if the news of death is heard within three months (but later than ten days after death), for a pakṣiṇī if it is heard within six months (but later than

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635. जन्मन्यतिक्रान्ताशौचं सपिण्डानां नास्तीति गम्यते। पितुस्तु निर्दशेऽपि जनने स्नानमस्त्येव श्रुत्वा पुत्रस्य जन्म च इति वचनात्। एतच्च पुत्रग्रहणं जन्मनि सपिण्डानामतिक्रान्ताशौचं नास्तीति ज्ञापकम्। अन्यथा 'निर्दशं ज्ञातिमरणं श्रुत्वा जन्म च निर्दशम्' इत्येवावक्ष्यत्। न चोक्तम्। मिता. on या. III. 21 (latter half).

three months), for one day if heard before nine months (but later than 6 months) and thereafter (i. e. up to one year but later than nine months) one becomes pure by a bath. But the Mit. says [636] that this holds good as to all except one's parents and quotes Paiṭhīnasi and another smṛti for the proposition that whenever a son staying in a distant country hears of the death of a parent whether within a year or after a year he has to observe āśauca for ten days from the day he becomes aware of it. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (20.88) lays down the same exception in the case of a son. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 21 last half) further says that the rules about *atikrāntāśauca* apply only to a deceased person whose upanayana had been performed. The Dharmasindhu (p. 433) remarks that there is no atikrāntāśauca as regards the periods of one day and three days prescribed on the death of one whose upanayana had not been performed or as regards the periods of pakṣiṇi and three days on the death of the maternal uncle and others of a different gotra. Similarly, there is no atikrāntāśauca with reference to the āśauca for three days prescribed in the case of samānodakas; but in these cases even after the lapse of the fixed time a bath is necessary. The rules about *atikrāntāśauca* apply only to āśauca on death for ten days. As in the case of the son, so in the cases of husband and wife and of co-wives among themselves even after the lapse of more than a year and even if the death is in a different country the husband or wife or co-wife has to observe āśauca for ten days. The parents, even when they hear of the death of an *aurasa* son after a year, have to observe āśauca for three days. On the news of the death of a sapiṇḍa living in the same country coming to a sapiṇḍa's ears after ten days but up to three months, the period of āśauca is three days, pakṣiṇī up to 6 months, up to nine months one day and up to one year a bath. Here also there are various views such as those of Mādhava and others. Vide Śuddhiprakāśa pp. 49–51 for various views.

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 21 (latter half) makes a distinction between knowledge of the death of a sapiṇḍa staying in the

636. तथा च वृद्धवसिष्ठः। मासत्रये त्रिरात्रं स्यात्षण्मासे पक्षिणी तथा। अहस्तु नवमादर्वागूर्ध्वं स्नानेन शुध्यति॥ इति। एतच्च मातापितृव्यतिरिक्तविषयम्।...संवत्सरादूर्ध्वमपि प्रेतकार्यमाशौचवदानादिकं कार्यं न पुनः स्नानमात्राच्छुद्धिरित्यर्थः। मिता. on या. III. 21 (latter half). The परा. मा. I. 2. p. 232 quotes a similar verse of देवल 'आ त्रिपक्षात् त्रिरात्रं स्यात्षण्मासात् पक्षिणी ततः। परमेकाहमा वर्षादूर्ध्वं स्नातो विशुध्यति॥ इति।. The षडशीति (34) includes the verse of वृद्धवसिष्ठ. The verse मासत्रये° occurs in Laghu-Āśvalāyana-smṛti 20.86.

same country coming to a person's ears after ten days from death and of the death of a sapiṇḍa staying in another country separated by a big river &c. In the latter case the sapiṇḍas coming to hear of the death after ten days but even before three months are purified by a mere bath. It quotes[637] a smṛti verse 'on hearing that a person (sapiṇḍa) died in another country and in the case of the death of an impotent person or a forest hermit or an ascetic purification follows after a bath and the same applies to *sagotra* sapiṇḍas in the case of abortion.' The Ṣaḍaśīti (35) has a similar verse.[638] The Mit. quotes two verses of Bṛhaspati which define what *deśāntara* (a different country) means:[639] 'Where there is a large river or there is a mountain which separates (one territory from another) or where the languages differ then there is *deśāntara.* Some say that a different country means the distance of sixty *yojanas,* while others put it down at forty *yojanas* and still others at thirty *yojanas.*' There is a difference of opinion as to whether in order to constitute a different country all three must co-exist (viz. a large river, a mountain and difference of speech) or any one of the three will suffice or whether 60, 40 or 30 yojanas would constitute a different country or whether the requirement of ten days for news to be carried to a place would constitute *deśāntara.* The Sm. C. and Ṣaḍaśīti 37 hold the view that any one of the above three is sufficient while others hold other views. The Śuddhiviveka[640] holds that a distance of 60 yojanas constituted deśāntara by itself, but even within sixty

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637. यस्तु नद्यादिव्यवहिते देशान्तरे मृतस्तत्सपिण्डानां दशाहादूर्ध्वं मासत्रयादर्वागपि सद्यः शौचम्। देशान्तरमृतं श्रुत्वा क्लीबे वैखानसे यतौ। मृते स्नानेन शुध्यन्ति गर्भस्रावे च गोत्रिणः॥ इति। मिता. on या. III. 21.

638. ज्ञातिमृत्यौ यदाशौचं दशाहात्तु भवेः श्रुतौ। एकदेश इदं प्रोक्तं स्नात्वा देशान्तरे शुचिः॥ षडशीति 35.

639. देशान्तरलक्षणं च बृहस्पतिनोक्तम्। महानद्यन्तरं यत्र गिरिर्वा व्यवधायकः। वाचो यत्र विभिद्यन्ते तद्देशान्तरमुच्यते॥ देशान्तरं वदन्त्येके षष्टियोजनमायतम्। चत्वारिंशद्वदन्त्यन्ये त्रिंशदन्ये तथैव च॥ इति। मिता. on या. III. 21. The first verse is ascribed to वृद्धमनु by अपरार्क p. 905, स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p. 52 and to बृहन्मनु by शुद्धिप्र. p. 51. The स्मृतिच. p. 53 adds one more verse and शुद्धिप्र. p. 51 and the com. on षडशीति 37 add the same and another half verse from बृहन्मनु viz. देशनामनदीभेदो निकटे यत्र वै भवेत्। तेन देशान्तरं प्रोक्तं स्वयमेव स्वयम्भुवा॥ दशरात्रेण या वार्ता यत्र न श्रूयतेऽथवा।; लघ्वाश्वलायन 20.67 is पर्वतश्च (स्य?) महानद्या व्यवधानं भवेद्यदि। त्रिंशद्योजनदूरं वा सद्यःस्नानेन शुध्यति॥.

640. एतेषां च पक्षाणां देशपरिग्रहेण व्यवस्था। शुद्धिविवेके तु षष्टियोजनान्तरत्वं तदन्यन्तरेऽपि भाषाभेदगिरिमहानदीव्यवधानानि चेति लक्षणद्वयमेव निष्कर्षेणोक्तम्। रघुनाथ on षडशीतिटीका verse 6 p. 29.

yojanas if a large river, a mountain and difference of speech occurred together, that could give rise to deśāntara. The Smṛtyarthasāra[641] avers that deśāntara is differently described in the Smṛtis, Purāṇas and the works on tīrthas. For yojana, vide H. of Dh. vol. III n. 185 pp. 145-146.

The Dharmasindhu (p. 435) provides that if the bones of an *āhitāgni* were not found and only an effigy of palāśa leaves were burnt, still the āśauca is for ten days even if he died in a different country and a long time had elapsed. Similarly, in the case of the effigy of one who is not an āhitāgni, the āśauca is for ten days for his son and wife if they have not already observed any āśauca for him but if they had observed it (on hearing of his death) then for three days (on the burning of the effigy). For other sapiṇḍas (than the son and wife) in the same circumstances three days and bath are respectively prescribed.

It is provided in the Gṛhya kārikas, the Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 94), Dharmasindhu (p. 435) and other works that if a man[642] went to a distant country and no news of his being alive was heard, then his son (or other relative), after the lapse of 20 years from the time when no news was heard if the man went away when he was young or 15 years if he left when he was of middle age or 12 years if he left later in life, should perform three cāndrāyaṇas or thirty kṛcchras, prepare an effigy of the man with kuśas (or with palāśa leaves), should burn it and then observe āśauca and perform śrāddhas &c.

To summarize the above discussion it is clear that as indicated by Medhātithi on Manu V. 58 there is a distinction as regards the periods of āśauca and the persons affected by it in several ways. (1) There is a distinction between āśauca on birth and āśauca on death; (2) As to āśauca on death numerous distinctions arise viz. (a) when there is abortion (garbhasrāva or garbhapāta, as in Śaṅkha 15. 4, Bṛhat-Parāśara VI. p. 186); (b) when the foetus comes out from the 7th to the 9th month of

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641. देशान्तरमनेकधा स्मृतं स्मृतिपुराणतीर्थकल्पेषु। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 90.

642. देशान्तरगतस्य तु जीववार्तानाकर्णने विशेषो गृह्यकारिकायाम्। दूरदेशान्तरगते जीववार्ता पुनः पुनः। इतस्ततः समन्विच्छेत्पर्यालोच्य गतागतैः॥ तस्यामश्रूयमाणायां वयःकालविशेषतः। तस्य पूर्ववयस्कस्य विंशत्यब्दोर्ध्वतः क्रिया॥ ऊर्ध्वं पञ्चदशाब्दात्तु मध्यमे वयसि स्मृता॥ चान्द्रायणत्रयं कृत्वा त्रिंशत्कृच्छ्राणि वा सुतैः। कुशैः प्रतिकृतिं तस्य दग्ध्वाशौचादिकाः क्रियाः॥ कार्या इति शेषः। रघुनाथ's com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी verse 15 p. 97.

pregnancy or the child is still-born or dies after being born but before the appearance of teeth (Yāj. III. 23, Atri 95); (c) after the appearance of teeth but before cūḍā or three years (Viṣṇu 22. 29, Yāj. III. 23); (d) after cūḍā or three years up to upanayana (Manu V. 67); (e) after upanayana (Yaj. III. 23, Manu V. 59, Gaut. 14. 1); (f) as to āśauca on death after upanayana the duration at one time depended in the case of brāhmaṇas on Vedic study, the performance of *śrauta* rites and whether the brāhmaṇa subsisted on ears of corn left in the field after the crops were harvested[643] (Parāśara III. 5, Śaṅkha 15. 1, Atri 83, Agnipurāṇa 158. 10-11); (g) the duration of āśauca depended on caste (Gaut. 14. 1-4, Yāj. III. 22 &c.); (h) the duration of āśauca depended on nearness of blood i. e. whether the person affected was a sapiṇḍa or a samānodaka (Gaut. 14. 1 and 18, Manu V. 59, 64); (i) the duration depended also on the nearness or distance from the place of death (Laghu-Āśvalāyana 20. 85, 89); (j) it also depended on whether the deceased died in a different country separated by a large river, a mountain or thirty yojanas (Laghu-Āśvalāyana 20.87); (k) duration depended on the time that elapsed before it came to the knowledge of the relative; (l) the duration depended upon whether another āśauca supervened when the period of the first was not over.

If a person is born or died at night or news thereof is received at night, a question arises as to from what day the periods of āśauca are to be calculated. For example, if a man died at 1 A. M. on Monday, was Monday to be included in counting ten days of āśauca or was it to be excluded? There are two views on this point.[643a] One view is that any time before midnight is to be counted as belonging to the previous day, while any time after midnight is to be taken as belonging to the next day. On this view in the above illustration Monday would be excluded in the calculation of ten days. The other view is that the night is to be divided into three

643. शिलोञ्छायाचितैर्जीवन् सद्यः शुध्येद् द्विजोत्तमः। संग्रहकार q. by परा मा. I. 2. p. 216. For शिलोञ्छवृत्ति vide मनु X. 112 and या. I. 128.

643. a. रात्रौ जननमरणे रात्रौ मरणज्ञाने वा रात्रिं त्रिभागां कृत्वा प्रथमभागद्वये पूर्वदिनं तृतीयभागे उत्तरदिनमारभ्याशौचम्। यद्वार्धरात्रात् प्राक् पूर्वदिनं परतः परादिनम्। अत्र देशाचारात्विना व्यवस्था। धर्मसिन्धु p. 435. This view is based on verses of पारस्कर and काश्यप 'अर्धरात्रादवस्ताच्चेत्सूतके मृतके तथा। पूर्वमेव दिनं ग्राह्यमूर्ध्वं चेदुत्तरेऽहनि॥ रात्रिं कुर्यात्त्रिभागां तु द्वौ भागौ पूर्ववासरः। उत्तरांशः परदिनं जातेषु च मृतेषु च॥ पारस्कर q. by स्मृतिच. (आशौच) pp. 118-119.

parts and if death occurs in the first two of the three parts then the day is to be included in the calculation; if the time of death falls in the 3rd part, the ten days are to be calculated from the next day. On this view Monday would be included in the ten days. The Dharmasindhu (p. 435) remarks that in this matter the usage of the country is to be followed. Vide Madanapārijāta pp. 394–395 also.

Several rules are mentioned in the smṛtis about the periods of āśauca for the relatives of higher castes when they marry women of lower varṇas (i. e. when there are anuloma marriages). For example, Dakṣa VI. 12 says that if a brāhmaṇa has married wives of the four varṇas, then the impurity on the delivery or death of these women respectively lasts for 10, 6, 3 or 1 day. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (22. 22–24) provides that when a kṣatriya has sapiṇḍas of the vaiśya or śūdra varṇa the āśauca on the birth and death of these lasts for six or three days, if a vaiśya has a śūdra as sapiṇḍa then impurity is removed after six days. But when people of lower varṇas have sapiṇḍas of higher varṇas then impurity on birth and death ceases when the impurity of the higher varṇa sapiṇḍas ceases. Laghu-Hārīta 84 (= Āpastambasmṛti IX verse 13) has similar provisions. Other smṛtis and purāṇas like the Kūrma (Uttarārdha 23. 30–36) mention differing views quoted in Hāralatā pp. 54–60, Smṛ. M. pp. 495–496. The Madanapārijāta remarks (pp. 425–426) that some say that these varying provisions may be discarded or that they may be assigned their proper place according to the usages of the several countries or they should somehow be explained as based upon the person affected being possessed of virtues or not or they may be held to be applicable to seasons of distress or otherwise.

According to the Mit. on Yāj.[644] III. 22 persons belonging to the *pratiloma* castes have no periods of āśauca, but they have to observe rules of purification similar to those relating to answering the call of nature. Others like the Smṛti-muktāphala[645] p. 495 aver, relying on Manu (X. 41), that the *pratiloma* castes are like śūdras and have to observe the āśauca prescribed for śūdras. The Hāralatā (p. 12) quotes Ādipurāṇa to the effect that varṇasaṅkaras (i. e. pratilomas)

644. प्रतिलोमानां त्वाशौचाभाव एव प्रतिलोमा धर्महीनाः—इति मनुस्मरणात्। केवलं मृतौ प्रसवे च मलापकर्षणार्थं मूत्रपुरीषोत्सर्गवत् शौचं भवत्येव। मिता. on या. III 22. प्रतिलोमास्तु धर्महीनाः is गौ. 4. 20.

645. सङ्करजातीनां शूद्रेष्वन्तर्भावात्तेषां शूद्रवदाशौचम्। स्मृतिमु. (आशौच) p. 495.

should follow the śūdras in the matter of āśauca and purification. The Smṛtyartha-sāra (p. 92) states that those born of pratiloma unions should observe āśauca if they perform prāyaścitta, but if they do not perform prāyaścitta then there is no āśauca for them.

It has already been stated (p. 215) how it was the duty of sapiṇḍas to take out the corpse and to cremate it and how carrying the dead body of a poor brāhmaṇa was highly eulogised (Parāśara III. 39–40). But, as Manu V. 101–102 provide, if a brāhmaṇa carried through affection the dead body of one[646] who was not his sapiṇḍa, as if he were a bandhu or carried (the dead body) of his mother's bandhus (such as mother's brother or sister) he became pure after three days; but if he partook of the food of those who were bereaved by death he became pure after ten days and if he does not stay in the house of those bereaved nor partakes of their food he becomes pure in a day (but if he stays in their house though not partaking of their food he has to observe āśauca for three days). Vide Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha 23. 37) and Viṣṇu 22. 7–9 also. Gautama (14. 21–25) has rules on the same subject but they somewhat differ and Haradatta remarks that this āśauca is somewhat different from the āśauca observed by sapiṇḍas, viz. he becomes untouchable but he need not follow the other rules such as sleeping on the ground &c. If a person carried a dead body through greed (for money), a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya or śūdra had to observe āśauca respectively for 10, 12, or 15 days or a month. This was called nirhārāśauca, the word 'nirhāra'[647] including the covering of the dead body with a garment, decking it with garlands, perfumes and ornaments, carrying it and cremating it. Sapiṇḍas who are observing āśauca for the death of the same person may dine in the same house and partake of the food cooked, but not others who are not undergoing the same āśauca.[648]

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646. असपिण्डं द्विजं प्रेतं विप्रो निर्हृत्य बन्धुवत्। अशित्वा च सहोषित्वा दशरात्रेण शुध्यति। कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 23.37); नाशौचे कस्यचिदन्नमश्नीयात्। ब्राह्मणादीनामाशौचे यः सकृदेवान्नमश्नाति तस्य तावदाशौचं यावत्तेषाम्। आशौचापगमे प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यात्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22.7–9.

647. निर्हारशब्दार्थः स्मृत्यन्तरे दर्शितः। प्रेतस्य वासःस्रग्गन्धभूषणाद्यैरलंक्रिया। वहनं दहनं चेति निर्हारार्थो निरुच्यते। इति। q. by स्मृतिमु. (आशौच) p. 544.

648. तथा सूतकान्नभोजनमपि न कार्यम्। उभयत्र दशाहानि कुलस्यान्नं न भुज्यते- इति यमस्मरणात्। उभयत्र जननमरणयोः...कुलस्य सूतकयुक्तस्य सम्बन्ध्यन्नमसकुल्यैर्न भोक्तव्यम्। सकुल्यानां पुनर्न दोषः। सूतके तु कुलस्यान्नमदोषं मनुरब्रवीत्-इति तेनैवोक्तत्वात्। मिता. on या. III. 17. कल्पतरु (on आशौच) p. 23 and अपरार्क ascribe (p. 892) the verse उभयत्र° to मनु. Vide Mit. on Yāj. III. 17.

Gaut. 14. 29, Manu V. 103, Yāj. III. 26, Parāśara III. 42 prescribe that a brāhmaṇa should not follow the funeral procession of a deceased brāhmaṇa, but if he does so, he has to bathe, touch fire, take in ghee and then he becomes pure. Parāśara III.43–46 and Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha 23.45) provide a rising scale of the days of āśauca if a brāhmaṇa follows the corpse of a kṣatriya (āśauca for one day and pañcagavya), a vaiśya (āśauca for two days and six prāṇāyāmas), a śūdra (āśauca for three days, bath in a river going to the sea, 100 prāṇāyāmas[649] and drinking of ghee). Vide Triṁśac-chlokī verse 13.

If a brāhmaṇa who is not a sapiṇḍa of the deceased went to the bereaved family and wept along with the relatives before the collection of bones he had to observe āśauca for a day and then a bath if the deceased was a kṣatriya or vaiśya, but āśauca for three days if the deceased was a śūdra; but he had to undergo only a bath if he went after the collection of the bones; when the deceased was a śūdra and the weeping took place after the collection of bones he had to observe āśauca for a whole day and night. Vide Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha 23.46–47), Agnipurāṇa 158.47–48, Par. M. 1.2. pp. 283–285, Smṛ. M. (āśauca) p. 543 and Āśāucadaśaka verse 9 (for *nirhāra*, following a funeral procession and weeping).

Persons[650] undergoing an āśauca on birth or death for one person were forbidden to touch other persons undergoing āśauca for the birth or death of another person altogether. If they did so they had to perform prāyaścitta (Prājāpatya or Sāntapana).

Even if a person's wife left him and lived in illicit relationship with a person of the same or higher caste he had to observe on her death āśauca for one day. But if she lived with one lower in varṇa than her husband, the latter had not, on her death, to observe any āśauca at all (Yāj. III.6). Similarly, one had to observe one day's āśauca on the death of sons that were not *aurasa* (such as kṣetraja). Vide Yāj. III.25 and Viṣṇu 22.42–43.

Certain exceptions were recognized to the above rules about partaking of food at the house of one who is afflicted with

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649. एकाहात्क्षत्रिये शुद्धिर्वैश्ये च स्याद् द्व्यहेन तु। शूद्रे दिनत्रयं प्रोक्तं प्राणायामशतं पुनः॥ कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 23.45) q. in शुद्धितत्त्व p. 293, शुद्धिप्र. p. 63.

650. आशौचिनामन्योन्यसंस्पर्शं निषेधति भृगुः। शावाशौचे समुत्पन्ने सूतके च द्विजातिभिः। अन्याशौचवतां स्पर्शो न कर्तव्यो द्विजन्मनाम्॥ आशौचेऽप्यन्यदाशौचं स्पृशेद्यदि च कामतः। चरेत् सान्तपनं कृच्छ्रं प्राजापत्यमकामतः॥ स्मृतिमु. (आशौच) p. 502.

āśauca. While a marriage[651] rite (as also *caula* and *upanayana*), festival in honour of a deity and a sacrifice (like Jyotiṣṭoma) are in progress, if impurity due to birth or death overtakes the performer, the materials (money and other things) already set apart for them may be dedicated or donated to the deity or brāhmaṇas and no fault is incurred. As regards food, a smṛti text[652] quoted by the Mit. says 'if in marriage, in a festival in honour of a deity or in a sacrifice āśauca on birth or death intervenes, the cooked food should be served through others (not affected by the āśauca) and the donor and the partaker of the food incur no blame. Acc. to Aṅgiras,[653] Paiṭhīnasi (q. by Sm. C.) and Viṣṇu Dh. S., when once a sacrifice (like a Somayāga), a marriage, a sacrifice or festival in honour of the mother Goddesses or a deity or the dedication or foundation of an idol or temple has been begun a supervening āśauca does not matter. Even in modern times this is followed as regards upanayana and marriage. When exactly a sacrifice or marriage ceremony may be said to have begun is laid down by Laghu-Viṣṇu as follows:[654] in the case of a sacrifice it may be said to begin when the priests are chosen, in the case of vratas and *japa* when the saṅkalpa (declaration) is made, in the case of marriage when the Nāndīśrāddha is performed, and in the case of a śrāddha when the food meant for the brāhmaṇas has been cooked completely. Certain things could be taken from the house of one who was undergoing āśauca[655] on birth or death and who was the owner thereof (though not actually

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651. विवाहोत्सवयज्ञेषु त्वन्तरा मृतसूतके। पूर्वसङ्कल्पितं द्रव्यं दीयमानं न दुष्यति॥ पराशर III. 27. The latter half is also ascribed to क्रतु by the मिता. on या. III. 29.

652. विवाहोत्सवयज्ञादिष्वन्तरा मृतसूतके। शेषमन्नं परैर्देयं दातृन्भोक्तृंश्च न स्पृशेत्॥ q. by मिता. on या. III. 29 and परा. मा. I. 2. p. 262. हारलता (pp. 105-106) quotes a very similar verse from आदिपुराण 'विवाहयज्ञयोर्मध्ये सूतकमाभे चान्तरा। शेष...स्पृशेत्'.

653. Vide स्मृतिच. (आशौच p. 70) for the verses of आङ्गिरस् and पैठीनसि; न देवप्रतिष्ठाविवाहयोः पूर्वसम्भृतयोः न देशविभ्रमे आपद्यपि च कष्टायाम्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22 53-55 q. by मिता. on या III. 29 (with variants).

654. व्रतयज्ञविवाहेषु श्राद्धे होमार्चने जपे। प्रारब्धे सूतकं न स्यादनारब्धे तु सूतकम्॥ प्रारम्भो वरणं यज्ञे संकल्पो व्रतजापयोः। नान्दीश्राद्धं विवाहादौ श्राद्धे पाकपरिक्रिया॥ लघुविष्णु q. by शुद्धिप्रकाश. p. 94, मद. पा. p. 423. The स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 17 begins प्रारम्भात्पूर्वमाशौचे विवाहः कार्य एव च, then has the verses प्रारम्भो वरणं...परिक्रिया and adds 'निमन्त्रणं वा श्राद्धे तु प्रारम्भः स्यादिति स्मृतिः।.'

655. फलानि पुष्पं शाकं च लवणं काष्ठमेव च। तक्रं दधि घृतं तैलमौषधं क्षीरमेव च। आशौचिनो गृहाद्ग्राह्यं शुष्कान्नं चैव नित्यशः। कूर्मपुराण, उत्तरार्ध 23.66 q. in हारलता p. 31.

from his hand, but with his permission). The Kūrmapurāṇa enumerates such articles. They are 'fruits, flowers, raw vegetables, salt, firewood, butter-milk, curds, ghee, oil, drugs, milk and dry food' (like *laddus*, lājas). Marīci (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 17) and Triṁśac-chlokī verse 20 present even longer lists of such things.

Some smṛtis and commentators lay down rules about the āśauca to be observed by slaves when their masters are in āśauca. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22.19, Devalasmṛti verse 6, Bṛhaspati quoted by Haradatta on Gaut. 14.4. But as slavery has long been abolished this topic is passed over here.

Āśaucasannipāta or *āśaucasampāta* (the knowledge of another āśauca coming to a person already observing one āśauca).[656] The rules about this matter were promulgated early enough and they are based on convenience and common sense. The rules try to give relief to persons who may be sorely tried if it were held that, when another āśauca supervenes while a person is already in the midst of one, he has to finish all the days of the first āśauca and then begin the period of the second āśauca. The Gaut. Dh. S. 14.5 starts by saying that if another āśauca supervenes on one already being undergone, purification results after the remaining days of the first āśauca are over. Then sūtras 6 and 7 provide that if the second āśauca supervenes in the last night of the first āśauca then purification results in two days after the first āśauca ends and if the second āśauca comes to be known in the last watch of the night of the last day of the first āśauca, the second ends in three days after the first ends. Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 123 appears to be similar to Gaut. 14.5–6. Manu V. 79, Yāj. III. 20, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 35–38, Śaṅkha 15. 10, Parāśara III. 28 lay down the general rule promulgated by Gautama 14.5.

Some general rules concerning this topic may first be stated. The first rule is that in a conflict between āśauca on death and āśauca on birth, that on death is stronger.[657] The

656. सम्पातो नामाशौचिनामेकाशौचित्वज्ञाने पराशौचित्वज्ञानम्। धर्मसिन्धु p. 436.

657. अघानां यौगपद्ये तु शुद्धिर्ज्ञेया गरीयसा। मरणोत्पत्तियोगे तु गरीयो मरणं भवेत्॥ देवल q. by शुद्धिकल्प. p. 31, स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p. 57, शुद्धिप्र. p. 74, and as from कूर्मपुराण by परा. मा. I. 2. p. 265; सूतकाद् द्विगुणं शावं शावाद् द्विगुणमार्तवम्। आर्तवाद् द्विगुणा सूतिः सूतेश्च शवदाहकः॥ लघ्वाश्व (Jiv. vol. I. p. 10) chap. V, आङ्गिरस according to हरदत्त on गौ. 14.5, वृद्धात्रि according to निर्णयसिन्धु p. 539; शावाशौचे समुत्पन्ने

(*Continued on the next page*)

2nd rule is that if both āśaucas are of the same kind and the second is of the same duration or of lesser duration than the first then a man gets rid of both at the end of the first, but if the second, though of the same kind, has a longer duration than the first, then purification follows at the end of the one that is of longer duration. It has to be remembered that birth and death give rise to āśauca[658] only when they are known by a person.

On this topic there is a good deal of divergence between the views of the followers of the Mitākṣarā, of the Gauḍas and Maithilas (vide Śuddhiprakāśa pp. 74–82, Nirṇayasindhu 536–540). Following the Nirṇayasindhu it may be said that twelve alternatives are possible, when another āśauca supervenes on an already existing one. They are set out here. (1 & 2) If both āśaucas are due to birth and the second is of the same duration as the first or of lesser duration, then at the end of the first āśauca there is purification from both (Viṣṇu 22.35, Śaṅkha 15.70); (3) If both āśaucas are due to birth and the second one is of longer duration than the first then purification results at the end of the second (Śaṅkha 15.10, Ṣaḍaśīti 19); (4 and 5) If both āśaucas arise on death and the second is of the same duration as the first or of lesser duration, then at the end of the period of the first āśauca there is purification from both; (6) If both āśaucas arise on death and the second that intervenes is of longer duration than the first then purification results at the end of the second (Ṣaḍaśīti 21); (7, 8 and 9) When the firt āśauca is one arising from birth and an āśauca due to deaths intervenes, the āśauca on death must run its full course (i. e. there is no purification by the lapse of the first āśauca due to birth), whether the āśauca for death is of lesser duration than the āśauca on birth, or whether it is of the same or of longer

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(Continued from the last page)

सूतकं तु यदा भवेत्। शावेन शुध्यते सूतिर्न सूतिः शावशोधनी ॥ लघुहारीत verse 80, षड्शीतिमत according to हरदत्त on गौ. 14 5 and परा. मा. I. 2 p. 264; यदि स्यात्सूतके सूतिर्मरणे वा मृतिर्भवेत्। शेषेणैव भवेच्छुद्धिरहःशेषे त्रिरात्रकम्। मरणोत्पत्तियोगे तु मरणेन समाप्यते। कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 23. 18–19) q. by शुद्धिप्र. p. 74 (reads द्विरात्रकम्); मृतके मृतकं चेत्स्यान्मृतके त्वथ सूतकम्। तत्राधिकृत्य मृतकं शौचं कुर्यान्न सूतकम् ॥ आङ्गिरस q. by परा. मा I. 2 p. 264, मद. पा. p. 438. This occurs in अग्निपुराण 158.64.

658. समानं लघ्वशौचं तु प्रथमेन समापयेत्। असमानं द्वितीयेन धर्मराजवचो यथा ॥ अग्निपुराण 157. 11–12. This echoes शङ्ख (q. by हारलता p. 65) 'समानाशौचं प्रथमे प्रथमेन...यथा', while परा. मा. I. 2 p. 265 reads शङ्ख as समानाशौचसम्पाते प्रथमेन ... and explains असमानं as दीर्घकालाशौचम् The reading समानं खलु शौचं तु printed in शुद्धिकल्प. p. 31 makes no sense.

duration (Ṣaḍaśīti 18); (10, 11) If the[659] first āśauca arises on death and the supervening one is due to birth and is of lesser duration than the one on death or of the same duration then both end at the expiration of the first āśauca on death (Ṣaḍaśīti 21); (12) If the first āśauca arises on death and the supervening one arises on birth and is of longer duration, then both run their proper courses (Ṣaḍaśīti 21).

The Dharmasindhu (p. 436) generally follows the Nirṇayasindhu but remarks: 'Āśauca on death cannot be done away with by āśauca on birth which is of the same or greater duration; āśauca on death of the extent of pakṣiṇī cannot get rid of āśauca on birth which is three or ten days in duration and āśauca on birth extending to ten days cannot be got rid of by āśauca on death which is of three days' duration.' These are the views of many writers. A certain writer says that āśauca on birth though longer in duration can be got rid of by āśauca on death which is of lesser extent.

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 20 (first half) states an exception to the above rules about āśauca-sannipāta. When a person's mother dies and then, while the period of āśauca for the mother's death is not over, the father dies, it does not follow that the āśauca for the father comes to an end with the end of the āśauca for the mother, but the son has to observe the full period of[660] the āśauca for father's death. Similarly, if the father died first and then, while the period of āśauca for the father was not over, the mother died, it does not follow that the āśauca for the mother's death comes to an end with the end of the first period of āśauca for the father, but the son after observing the period of the father's āśauca has to observe āśauca for the mother for one pakṣiṇī in addition. It may be remarked that Aparārka construes this verse differently by stating that if the father dies during the period of āśauca for the death of the mother, then the general rule applies, viz. that purification follows at the end of the āśauca for the mother.

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659. जातके नैव मृतकं क्षयं याति न संशयः । बृहद्यम IV. 20; जातके मृतकं वा स्यान्मृतके सूतकं तथा । सूतके मृतके शुद्धिर्मृते शुद्धिस्तु सूतके ॥ लघुहारीत 58.

660. तथा सजातीयान्तःपातित्वेपि शावस्य कश्चित्पूर्वशेषेण शुद्धेरभावः स्मृत्यन्तरे दर्शितः । मातर्यग्रे प्रमीतायामशुद्धौ म्रियते पिता । पितुः शेषेण शुद्धिः स्यात् मातुः कुर्यात्तु पक्षिणीम् ॥ मिता. on या. III. 20. The verse is ascribed to शङ्ख by अपरार्क p. 900, परा. मा. I, 2. p. 267, शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 76. Verses 24–25 of the षडशीति contain the same idea; मद. पा. p. 438 ascribes it to अङ्गिरस्.

If, while an āśauca on death is being undergone, an āśauca on birth arises, the father of the child born is able to perform the rites of Jātakarma and the like, because he is to be deemed to be purified for the nonce, according to Prajāpati.[661]

The Ṣaḍaśīti (verse 22) provides[662] that the rule about purification on the expiry of the first āśauca in the case of succeeding āśaucas on birth or death has three exceptions, viz. a woman who is delivered of a child, the person who actually cremates the body (of the deceased) and the sons of the deceased; that is, a *sūtikā* has to observe the proper period of untouchability and one who cremates a dead body has to observe āśauca for ten days, though the delivery or cremation takes place in the midst of an āśauca on death.

SADYAḤ—ŚAUCA (purification on the same day). It has already been seen (p. 274) that Dakṣa (VI. 2) speaks of ten kinds of impurity on birth or death, the first two of which are *sadyaḥ-śauca and ekāha.* Ekāha means day and night together (vide note 622 above). The ordinary meaning of 'sadyaḥ' is 'at once, immediately.' But when Yāj. III. 29, Parāśara III. 10, Atri 97 and other smṛtis employ the word 'sadyaḥ-śauca' what is meant is that there is no āśauca for a whole day or three days or ten days, but only up to the taking of a bath or up to the end of the day or the end of the night on which the event occurs. Pāṇini[663] mentions 'sadyaḥ' and thirteen other words in one sūtra as *nipātas* (irregularly formed). From Yāj. III. 23 (ādantajanmanaḥ sadya ācūḍānnaiśikī smṛtā) it impliedly follows that *sadyaḥ* has the meaning of 'a part of a day or a part of the night' (as the case may be) and 'naiśikī' means a whole day and night (as note 622 shows). The Śuddhitattva

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661. प्रेतक्रिया पुनः सूतकसंनिपातेऽपि न निवर्तत इति तेनैवोक्तम् (शातातपेन)। तथा शावाशौचयोः सन्निपातेपि प्रेतकृत्यं कार्यम्। तुल्यन्यायत्वात्। तथा जातकर्मादिकमपि पुत्रजन्मनिमित्तकमाशौचान्तरसन्निपातेऽपि कार्यमेव। तथाह प्रजापतिः। आशौचे तु समुत्पन्ने पुत्रजन्म यदा भवेत्। कर्तुस्तात्कालिकी शुद्धिः पूर्वाशौचेन शुध्यति। मिता. on या. III. 20, मद. पा. p. 439.

662. पूर्वशेषेण या शुद्धिः सूतिनां मृतिनां तथा। सूतिकामग्निदं हित्वा प्रेतस्य च सुतानपि॥ षडशीति 22; this is made clear by the verses of देवल and शातातप quoted by शुद्धिचन्द्रिका on षडशीति 'सूतिकानां भवेच्छुद्धिः कालेनैव रजःक्षये। नाशौचान्तरपातेन सूतके मृतकेपि च। सपिण्डानां तु यः कश्चिद्वहेताथ दहेत वा। तस्याशौचं दशाहं तु नान्याशौचेन शुध्यति॥'

663. सद्यःपरुत्परार्यैषमः परेद्यव्यद्यपूर्वेद्युरन्येद्युरन्यतरेद्युरितरेद्युरपरेद्युरधरेद्युरुभयेद्युरुत्तरेद्युः। पा. V. 3.22. 'समानस्य सभावो द्यस् चाहनि' is वार्तिक on the सूत्र. The महाभाष्य explains 'समानेऽहनि सद्यः'.

(pp. 340–341) explains [664] 'sadyaḥ' as meaning 'a portion of the day or of the night' and cites several authorities in support. The Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 92) explains that 'sadyaḥśauca' in some contexts means 'absence of āśauca,' while in others it means 'bath' and with reference to those killed in battle and the like (to whom piṇḍas have to be offered) it means 'a part of the day or of the night.' The Smṛtimuktāphala [665] (āśaucakāṇḍa) p.481 says that 'sadyaḥśauca' means 'impurity that comes to an end by a bath.' That piṇḍas have to be offered to those about whom there is 'sadyaḥśauca' is stated by the Ādipurāṇa.[666] According to the Śuddhikaumudī (p. 73) 'sadyaḥśauca' has two meanings, viz. (1) the entire absence of āśauca as in the cases of sacrificial priests &c. (Yāj. III. 28), (2) āśauca that is removed by a mere bath (as in Manu V. 76).

The rules about āśauca for several days do not operate in five classes of cases, viz. certain *persons* are exempted altogether, certain activities of certain persons who would ordinarily be untouchable owing to āśauca are allowed without causing pollution, certain *articles* can be taken by anybody without fear of pollution from those who are affected by āśauca, no asauca is to be observed *for certain deceased* persons owing to their faults, in the case of certain persons *express texts* say that no āśauca need be observed for them. These five classes will briefly be dealt with in order. In the principal texts these five classes of cases are rather mixed up. In the Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 13.7 it is provided that there is sadyaḥśauca on the death of a child, or of a person dying in another country, of a patita, or of an ascetic or on the death of a person committing suicide by water, fire or hanging. Vide also Gaut. 14.11 and 42 and Vāmanapurāṇa 14.99.

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664. अत्र सद्यःपदमहोरात्रार्धपरम्।...द्वे सन्ध्ये सद्य इत्याहुस्त्रिसन्ध्यैकाह्निकः स्मृतः। द्वावह्नावेकरात्रिश्च पक्षिणीत्यभिधीयते ॥ इति भट्टनारायणवचनात्। द्वे सन्ध्ये सद्य इत्याहुस्त्रिसन्ध्यैकाह उच्यते। दिनद्वयैकरात्रिस्तु पक्षिणीत्यभिधीयते इति मध्यवर्धमानधृतवचनाच्च। सद्य एकाहेनाशौचमिति पारिजाते सद्य एकाहेनेति स्मृतिसारे। एकमहः सद्य इति शुद्धिपञ्ज्यां दर्शनाच्चेति। तत्रार्धं दिनमात्रं रात्रिमात्रं च। एतदेव क्वचित् सज्योतिःपदेन व्यपदिश्यते। शुद्धितत्त्व pp 340–341. शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 93 states that the verse द्वे सन्ध्ये सद्य° occurs in the गोभिलभाष्य of नारायणभट्ट.

665. सद्यःशौचं नाम स्नानान्तमघम्। सद्यःशौचे तु तावत्स्यादाशौचं संस्थितस्य तु। यावत्स्नानं न कुर्वन्ति सचैलं बान्धवा बहिः॥ इत्याङ्गिरःस्मरणात्। स्मृतिमु. p. 481.

666. दिवसे दिवसे पिण्डो देय एवं क्रमेण तु। सद्यःशौचेपि दातव्याः सर्वेपि युगपत्तथा॥ आदिपुराण q. by हारलता p. 165. The latter half is cited as from ब्रह्मपुराण by रघुनाथ on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी verse 28 p. 249. It is not unlikely that the ब्रह्मपुराण which is mentioned in several works as the first of the 18 पुराणs was therefore called आदिपुराण.

Yāj. (III. 28-29) prescribes that there is sadyaḥśauca (purification after a bath) in case of birth or death (of a sapiṇḍa) for priests chosen for a sacrifice (after they are offered Madhuparka), for those who have undergone *dīkṣā* for a vedic sacrifice (like *Somayāga*) and those who are engaged in performing the constituent parts of a Vedic sacrifice, those who continuously distribute food at a charity house, those who are engaged in prāyaścittas like cāndrāyaṇa or the vows of *snātakas*, for brahmacārins (when performing the duties of their *āśrama*), for persons who everyday make gifts of a cow, gold etc. (at the time of making the gift), for those who have realized Brahman (ascetics); there is sadyaḥśauca at gifts (when once begun), at marriage, in a Vedic sacrifice, in battle (for those who are about to be engaged in it), when there is commotion in a country (through invasion), and in a severe calamity (like famine when one can accept food from any body). Gaut. (14. 43-44) says that there is sadyaḥśauca in the case of kings as otherwise there will be obstacles in their duties and also in the case of brāhmaṇas in order to prevent the cessation of their duties of teaching. Śaṅkhalikhita say the same '**Rāja** dharmāyatanam sarveṣām tasmādanavaruddhaḥ pretaprasavadoṣaiḥ ' (Śuddhikalpataru p. 62). It is stated in Manu V. 93 that kings,[667] those engaged in *vratas* and *sattras* (like *Gavām-ayana*) are not liable to undergo the blemish of āśauca, because they (kings) occupy the position of Indra (ruler) and are like Brahma (which is free from all taint) and Manu V. 94 clinches the matter further by observing 'sadyaḥśauca is ordained for the position of a king which can be obtained only by great merit (in past lives) for the sake of the protection of the subjects and the reason of this (rule) is the position that he occupies.' Similarly, Gobhilasmṛti [668]

667. न राज्ञामघदोषोऽस्ति व्रतिनां न च सत्रिणाम्। ऐन्द्रं स्थानमुपासीना ब्रह्मभूता हि ते सदा॥ राज्ञो माहात्मिके स्थाने सद्यःशौचं विधीयते। प्रजानां परिरक्षार्थमासनं चात्र कारणम्॥ मनु V. 93-94. The first verse is the same as Vasiṣṭha 19.48 (Furher's text is corrupt, which must be corrected into नाघदोषोऽस्ति) which cites it as Yama's. It is the position that he holds that renders the king (whether a kṣatriya, brāhmaṇa or śūdra) free from āśauca. The विष्णुधर्मसूत्र (22. 47-52) restricts the absence of āśauca by saying 'kings are free from āśauca when they are performing the duties of a king (such as administration of justice)': 'न राज्ञां राजकर्मणि न व्रतिनां व्रते न सत्रिणां सत्रे न कारूणां स्वकर्मणि न राजाज्ञाकारिणां तदिच्छया।.'

668. न त्यजेत्सूतके कर्म ब्रह्मचारी स्वकं क्वचित्। न दीक्षणात्परं यज्ञे न कृच्छ्रादि तपश्चरन्॥ पितर्यपि मृते नैषां दोषो भवति कर्हिचित्। गोभिलस्मृति III. 64-65 q. by हारलता p. 107, अपरार्क p. 919, शुद्धिकल्प. p 64.

(III. 64–65, often quoted as Chandogapariśiṣṭa of Kātyāyana) states 'in a sūtaka, a brahmacārin should not give up his peculiar duties (Veda study and vratas), a sacrificer his various actions (required) in a sacrifice after he has undergone dīkṣā, one who is practising penance should not give up kṛcchra and the like; these do not incur impurity even on the death of their father (or mother)'. The Kūrmapurāṇa [669] provides 'no impurity is declared on death in the case of perpetual or temporary brahmacārins, forest hermits or ascetics'. Similar rules are given by Atri 97–98, Liṅga-purāṇa, pūrvabhāga, chap. 89.77. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 28 remarks that in the case of the three āśramas of *brahmacārin*, *vānaprastha* and *yati* there is freedom from impurity in all cases and at all times; ascetics and brahmacārins have to undergo a bath with clothes on the death of their father or mother (Dharmasindhu p. 442); in the case of several others such as those who are continually making gifts or are observing vratas there is freedom from impurity only when they are engaged in those particular actions and not when they are engaged in any action whatever or when they mix up among others for everyday work. [670] Similar rules occur in Parāśara III.21–22. It has already been stated following Manu V. 91 (= Viṣṇu 22.86) that a brahmacārin was not to perform the last rites (of carrying the corpse, cremation) for anybody except for five persons (viz. his parents, upādhyāya, ācārya and guru). He did not incur āśauca by performing the funeral rites of his parents and offering water and piṇḍa to them. But if he did so for any one other than the five mentioned by Manu he had to observe āśauca for ten days, and to undergo prāyaścitta and had his *upanayana* performed again. A brahmacārin had to observe after *samāvartana* (returning from the Vedic teacher) āśauca for three days for all relatives that died during the period of his studenthood (Manu V. 88, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22.87). Gautama (14. 42–44) says generally [671] that on the death of child-

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669. नैष्ठिकानां व्रतस्थानां यतीनां ब्रह्मचारिणाम्। नाशौचं कीर्तितं सद्भिः पतिते च तथा मृते ॥ कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध) 23.61 q. by हारलता p. 114, परा. मा. I. 2. p. 254. देवल has almost the same verse. नैष्ठिकानां...शौचं सूतके प्रोक्तं शावे चापि तथैव च ॥ q. by परा. मा. I. 2. p. 254, निर्णयसिन्धु p. 543. A similar verse occurs in लिङ्गपुराण (पूर्वार्ध) chap. 89.77.

670. सत्रिणां व्रतिनां सत्रे व्रते च शुद्धिर्न कर्ममात्रे संव्यवहारे वा । ... ब्रह्मचारियतिः। एतेषां च त्रयाणमाश्रमिणां सर्वत्र शुद्धिः। विशेषे प्रमाणाभावात्। मिता. on या. III. 28.

671. बालदेशान्तरितप्रव्रजितासपिण्डानां सद्यःशौचम् । राज्ञां च कार्यविरोधात् । ब्राह्मणस्य च स्वाध्यायानिवृत्त्यर्थम्। गौ. 14.42–44. पराशर III. 10 and वामनपुराण 14.99–100 contain verses almost in the same words as the first sūtra.

ren (before the appearance of teeth or before Cūḍā), of those who are separated by a country, of ascetics and of those who are not sapiṇḍas, the relatives are purified by only a bath; so also there is sadyaḥśauca for kings, for otherwise there would be conflict with their duty (of protecting the subjects) and for a brāhmaṇa also in order that there may be no cessation of Vedic study.[672] The Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 93) remarks that though there is no āśauca (as stated by Yāj. III. 28) yet a sacrificial priest and a dīkṣita had to bathe on the death of a sapiṇḍa, a brahmacārin also would have to take a bath if he followed the funeral procession of his father or mother &c., but an ascetic would not have even to bathe and that usage was the same in its day.

The second class of exceptions refers to cases where certain persons, though they have incurred āśauca, are allowed to do certain acts or carry on their activities without bringing pollution to those with whom they deal or come in contact. For example, Parāśara (III. 20–21) says; 'craftsmen (such as those who draw pictures or washermen), workers (cooks and the like), physicians, male and female slaves, barbers, kings and *śrotriyas* are declared to be sadyaḥśauca, as also one observing a *vrata* (cāndrāyaṇa &c.), one purified by being engaged in a sattra (such as Gavām-ayana), a brāhmaṇa who has established śrauta fires; the king has not to observe āśauca and also any one (such as his purohita) whom the king for his own purpose desires not to observe it.' The Ādipurāṇa[673] gives the reason why craftsmen, physicians and others were allowed not to observe āśauca when engaged in their peculiar tasks, viz. what these people do cannot be done by any one else at all or at least so well or so easily.

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672. शिल्पिनः कारुका वैद्या दासीदासाश्च नापिताः। राजानः श्रोत्रियाश्चैव सद्यःशौचाः प्रकीर्तिताः॥ सव्रतः सत्रपूतश्च आहिताग्निश्च यो द्विजः। राज्ञश्च सूतकं नास्ति यस्य चेच्छति पार्थिवः॥ पराशर III.20–21.

673. तथा चादिपुराणे। शिल्पिनश्चित्रकाराद्याः कर्म यत्साधयन्त्यलम्। तत्कर्म नान्यो जानाति तस्माच्छुद्धाः स्वकर्मणि। सूपकारेण यत्कर्म करणीयं नरेष्विह। तदन्यो नैव जानाति तस्माच्छुद्धः स सूपकृत्॥ चिकित्सको यत्कुरुते तदन्येन न शक्यते। तस्माच्चिकित्सकः स्पर्शे शुद्धो भवति नित्यशः॥ दास्यो दासाश्च यत्किंचित् कुर्वन्त्यपि च लीलया। तदन्यो न क्षमः कर्तुं तस्मात्ते शुचयः सदा॥ राजा करोति यत्कर्म स्वप्नेऽप्यन्यस्य तत्कथम्। एवं सति नृपः शुद्धः संस्पर्शे मृतसूतके॥ यत्कर्म राजभृत्यानां हस्त्यश्वगमनादिकम्। तन्नास्ति यस्मादन्यस्य तस्मात्ते शुचयः स्मृताः॥ q. by परा. मा. I. 2. pp. 255–256. Three of these from सूपकारेण are quoted as from ब्रह्मपुराण by हारलता p. 110, as from आदिपुराण by शुद्धितत्त्व pp. 289–90 and all from सूपकारेण onwards are quoted from आदिपुराण by शुद्धिप्र. p. 95; the verse चिकित्सको० is q. by मिता. on या. III. 27.

It has [674] to be noted that the absence of āśauca in the case of craftsmen, physicians and the like has to be restricted to the peculiar activities of these and does not extend to all actions such as religious rites, śrāddhas and gifts. This is clear from the words of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra [675] 22. 48–52. The Triṁśacchlokī (verse 18) [676] gives a long list of such peculiar activities. The Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha 23. 57–64) has nine verses on this topic which are quoted by the Hāralatā (p. 114).

It has already been seen (pp. 238–240) that Pār. gṛ. III. 10 (nityāni vinivartante vaitānavarjam), Manu. V. 84, Yāj. III. 17 (latter half) provide that even those who have to undergo āśauca on death should not stop rites to be performed with śrauta fires, but should perform them themselves or get them performed through others. Thus certain religious rites were allowed to be done even by those who were *āśaucin*.

The Dharmasindhu (p. 552) emphasizes that this exception to āśauca should be availed of only when there is no other alternative or in a season of distress.

It has already been stated how certain materials and things can be received without any pollution from those who are undergoing āśauca. That is the third class of cases which are exceptions to the rules of āśauca.

The fourth class of cases where rules of āśauca do not apply relate to persons deceased to whom some fault or taint attaches. Gaut. (14. 11) [677] and Śaṅkha-Likhita provide that there is sadyahśauca for those who kill themselves (i. e. commit suicide) by starting on the great journey (to the Himālaya), by fasting, by a weapon (like a dagger), by fire or poison or water or by hanging or by falling down from a precipice.

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674. अयं चाशौचाभावस्तत्तदसाधारणकर्मण्यस्पृश्यत्वप्रतिषेधरूपो बोध्यः, न तु सर्वेषु दानश्राद्धादिधर्मकृत्येष्वाशौचाभावः। शुद्धिप्र. p. 95.

675. (आशौचं) न राज्ञां राजकर्मणि। न व्रतिनां व्रते। न सत्रिणां सत्रे। न कारूणां कारुकर्मणि। न राजाज्ञाकारिणां तदिच्छया। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22. 48–52.

676. तत्तत्कार्येषु सत्रिव्रतिनृपनृपवद्दीक्षितर्त्विक्स्ववेशभ्रंशापत्स्वप्यनेकश्रुतिपठनभिषक्कारुशिल्प्यातुराणाम्। संप्रारब्धेषु दानोपनयनयजनश्राद्धयुद्धप्रतिष्ठाचूडातीर्थयात्राजपपरिणयमाद्युत्सवेष्वेतदर्थे॥ त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी 18. नृपवत् means नृपसेवक.

677. For गौ. 14.11 vide note 522 above; प्रायाग्निविषोदकोद्बन्धनप्रपतनैश्चेच्छताम्। अथ शस्त्रानाशकाग्निरज्जु-भृगु-जल-विषप्रमापणेष्वेवमेव। शङ्खलिखितौ q. by हारलता p. 113; भृग्वग्निपाशकाम्भोभिर्मृतानामात्मघातिनाम्। पतितानां च नाशौचं विद्युच्छस्त्रहताश्च ये॥ अग्निपुराण 157.32. Vide वामनपुराण 14. 99–100.

Yāj. III. 6 provides [678] that women that have gone over to heterodox views and practices, that do not belong to any particular *āśrama*, that are thieves (of gold and the like), that (attempt to) kill their husbands, that are unchaste and the like, that drink liquor and that attempt suicide, do not deserve to have water offered to them (on death) and no āśauca should be observed for them. This verse applies to men also as far as possible. Manu V. 89–90 are to the same effect. The Kūrmapurāṇa also prescribes [679] that for him who kills himself by means of fire, poison and the like, no āśauca, no cremation and no offering of water is prescribed, there is no cremation for *patitas*, nor *antyeṣṭi* nor collection of bones, no shedding of tears and no piṇḍa and no śrāddha should be performed for them. It is provided by Aṅgiras quoted by Mit. on Yāj. III. 6 that 'death results to evil-minded men from cāṇḍālas (with whom a quarrel is purposely got up), from water, from a snake, from a brāhmaṇa, from lightning and from animals that have sharp fangs (like tigers). If water and piṇḍa are offered to such people (who die wilfully in these cases) they (water and piṇḍa) do not reach them and perish in mid air.' These verses refer to death in a wrathful fight with tigers, snakes and the like or suicide in water through wrath or sorrow. But, if one died in water or by fire through inadvertence or negligence, then Aṅgiras [680] himself provides that water should be offered and āśauca should be observed. Long passages are quoted from the Brahmapurāṇa by Haradatta on Gaut. 14. 11, Śuddhiprakāśa pp. 56–57, Nirṇayasindhu p. 550, which elaborate the same ideas as those of Yāj. III. 6, Aṅgiras and others and wind up by stating that if any one offers water or śrāddha to *patitas* through affection or cremates them, he has to undergo prāyaścitta (viz. two Taptakṛcchras).

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678. For या. III. 6 read p. 222 above; अपरार्क reads 'पाषण्डानाश्रिताः' and explains 'पाषण्डान्बौद्धादीनाश्रिताः तद्दीक्षायां प्रविष्टाः', while the मिता० reads पाषण्डय- नाश्रिताः and makes two different classes.

679. पतितानां न दाहः ; vide note 522 above ; the अग्निपुराण (159. 2–4) states 'आत्मनस्त्यागिनां नास्ति पतितानां तथा क्रिया। तेषामपि तथा गाङ्गे तोयेऽस्थ्नां पतनं हितम्। तेषां दत्तं जलं चान्नं गगने तत्प्रलीयते। अनुग्रहेण महता प्रेतस्य पतितस्य च। नारायणबलिः कार्यस्तेनानुग्रहमश्नुते॥.'

680. यदि कश्चित्प्रमादेन म्रियेताग्न्युदकादिभिः। तस्याशौचं विधातव्यं कर्तव्या चोदक- क्रिया॥ अङ्गिरस् q. by मिता. on या. III. 6. A similar verse is औशनसस्मृति (Jiv. vol. I p. 540), chap. VII.

If an *āhitāgni* were killed by cāṇḍālas in defiant fight with them or commits suicide, his corpse should be got cremated by śūdras without proper mantras and Gobhilasmṛti (III. 49–51) provides for the disposal of his śrauta fires and sacrificial implements. Though suicide was generally condemned, the smṛtis (such as Atri 218–219) and Purāṇas allowed certain exceptions, viz. very old men (above 70), very weak men who cannot observe the rules of bodily purification or those who have no desire left for the pleasures of the senses or who have carried out all tasks and duties, may start on *Mahāprasthāna* or die at Prayāga. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 926–928 for detailed treatment of this topic. If a man killed himself in the way allowed by the śāstra then there was no blemish and āśauca had to be observed and water and śrāddha had to be offered. It may be noted that starting on Mahāprasthāna and suicide on the part of old men by falling down from a precipice or in fire are forbidden in the Kali age. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 939 and pp. 958–959.

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 6 quotes Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya and Chāgaleya to the effect that in the case of those who commit suicide in any manner that is not sanctioned by the śāstras, Nārāyaṇabali should be performed one year after their death and then the rites of śrāddha may be performed thereafter. The Mit.[681] on Yāj. III. 6) relying on Viṣṇupurāṇa describes the Nārāyaṇabali as follows: On the 11th day of the bright half of a month, having worshipped Viṣṇu and Yama, one should with the face to the south offer near them on *darbhas* with ends turned towards the south ten piṇḍas laved with honey and ghee and mixed with sesame after bringing to mind the deceased[682] who should be looked upon as having the form of Viṣṇu and having uttered the name and gotra of the deceased; he should honour the piṇḍas with sandalwood paste and the rest and having performed all the rites up to the removal of piṇḍas, should cast them in a river and not give them to the

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681. एवं नारायणबलिः प्रेतस्य शुद्ध्यापादनद्वारेण श्राद्धादिसंप्रदानत्वे योग्यतां जनयतीति और्ध्वदैहिकमपि सर्वं कार्यमेव। अत एव षट्त्रिंशन्मतेऽपि और्ध्वदैहिकस्याभ्यनुज्ञा दृश्यते। गोब्राह्मणहतानां च पतितानां तथैव च। ऊर्ध्वं संवत्सरात्कुर्यात्सर्वमेवौर्ध्वदैहिकम् ॥ इति। एवं संवत्सरादूर्ध्वमेव नारायणबलिं कृत्वौर्ध्वदैहिकं कार्यम्। मिता. on या. III. 6. The same provisions are recommended by परा. मा. I. 2 pp. 226–227, स्मृतिमु. p. 489. Vide गरुड, प्रेतखण्ड, 40. 15-65 for नारायणबलि.

682. The सङ्कल्प will be अमुकगोत्रस्यामुकस्य दुर्मरणात्मप्रातजदोषनाशार्थमौर्ध्वदैहिकसंप्रदानत्वयोग्यतासिद्ध्यर्थं नारायणबलिं करिष्य इति संकल्प्य। निर्णयसिन्धु p. 559.

wife or to others. Then on the night of the same day he should invite an uneven number of brāhmaṇas, should observe a fast, should worship Viṣṇu the next day, in the noon he should perform all the rites from washing the feet of brāhmaṇas up to the query about the gratification of the brāhmaṇas (by the food served to them) according to the procedure of *ekoddiṣṭa* śrāddha, then he should silently go through all the rites from *ullekhana* (drawing lines) up to *avanejana* (anointing) by the procedure of Piṇḍa-pitṛyajña. He should offer four piṇḍas to (images of) Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva and Yama together with the attendants, should remember the deceased by name and gotra, should utter the name of Viṣṇu and then offer the 5th piṇḍa. Then having gratified the brāhmaṇas (after they have sipped water) with fee, he should bring to his mind one (of the brāhmaṇas) that is the most qualified of all as representing the deceased and having gratified him to the utmost with the gifts of cows, land and money, should then make the brāhmaṇas that have *pavitras* on their hands offer to the deceased water together with sesame and should then take his meal along with his relatives.

The passage quoted by the Mit. makes it clear that Nārāyaṇabali is meant only for those who commit suicide and is to be offered one year after the death of the person guilty of suicide. The Hāralatā[683] (p. 212) also says the same and explains a verse of Viṣṇu extending the performance of Nārāyaṇabali to those killed by cows and brāhmaṇas and those who become *patita* as a usage restricted to a certain country only.[684]

The Antyeṣṭipaddhati of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa describes (on folio 187) Nārāyaṇabali rite at greater length than in the Mitākṣarā. One or two details may be pointed out. Five kalaśas (jars) are to be placed over a quantity of rice or *yavas*, then filled with water, then have the three mantras 'Āpo hi ṣṭhā'

683. आत्मघातिन इत्यभिधानात् आत्मघातकमात्रस्यैवेदं विधानं न तु महापातक्यादीनामिति दर्शयति। विष्णुः। गोब्राह्मणहतानां च पतितानां तथैव च। ऊर्ध्वं संवत्सरात्कुर्यात् सर्वमेवौर्ध्वदेहिकम्॥ एतच्च देशविशेषव्यवस्थितमिति आदिपुराणवचन एवोक्तं न तु वास्या घटतोयदाननारायणबलिदानयोः प्रथमसंवत्सराभ्यन्तरविषयत्वं व्यवस्थाप्यम्। हारलता p. 212. A long passage is quoted from आदिपुराण in हारलता pp. 203-205, the last verses of which are: क्रियते पतितानां तु गते संवत्सरे क्वचित्। देशधर्मप्रमाणत्वात् गयाकूपेषु बन्धुभिः। मार्तण्डपादमूले वा श्राद्धं हरिहरं स्मरन्।.

684. Nārāyaṇabali is described in the Appendix B to the Sholapur District Gazetteer in Bom. Gaz. vol. XX. pp. 522-523.

(Ṛg. X 9. 1–3) repeated over them, then copper plates are to be placed over them on which five images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Yama and the deceased are to be drawn and the worship of these five is to be performed respectively with the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90), Ṛg. X. 121. 1–10, Ṛg. I. 43. 1 (= Tai. Ā. X. 17), Ṛg X. 14. 13 and the name and gotra of the deceased, sixteen oblations of cooked rice are to be offered to Nārāyaṇa with the sixteen verses of the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90). Ten piṇḍas [685] are to be offered on *darbhas* to the deceased after repeating his name and gotra (as stated in the note below). After the ten piṇḍas are cast in a river, there is *tarpaṇa* of the deceased sixteen times with the sixteen stanzas of the Puruṣasūkta. Then *bali* is offered separately to Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva and Yama with his servants.

In the Mitākṣarā, there is no homa nor bali, both of which are described in the Antyeṣṭipaddhati and the Smṛtyarthasāra (pp. 85–86) copies verbatim the procedure given in the Mit. Bṛhatparāśara (V. pp. 175–176) contains the same procedure that is set out by the Mit. from the Viṣṇupurāṇa. The Nirṇayasindhu first describes Nārāyaṇabali as gathered from Hemādri and the Garuḍapurāṇa (III. 4. 113–119). It then describes Nārāyaṇabali to be performed for a deceased ascetic on the 12th day (along with Pārvaṇaśrāddha), following the procedure laid down by Baudhāyana. It then describes another form of Nārāyaṇabali based on Śaunaka which is meant for all those who commit suicide or who are killed by cāṇḍālas, [686] snakes, lightning, animals with fangs or who die in a distant land or for ascetics and *yogins*. The Vṛddha-Hārītasmṛti (IX. 123–143) describes another method of Nārāyaṇabali for devotees of Viṣṇu.

The Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra (X. 9) sets out a rather brief procedure of Nārāyaṇabali which was intended for the benefit of men who committed suicide or were slain and for ascetics and provides that the same may be performed for those guilty of *mahāpātakas* after twelve years from their death. The

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685. अर्चितदेवसमीपे अमुकगोत्रायामुकशर्मणे प्रेताय विष्णुरूपिणेऽयं विष्णुः- इति मधुघृताप्लुतांस्तिलमिश्रान्दश पिण्डान् विष्णुरूपिणं प्रेतमनुस्मरन् प्रेतस्य नामगोत्रे उच्चार्य दक्षिणाग्रेषु दर्भेषु दक्षिणामुखोऽपसव्येन दत्त्वा। ततः पुरुषसूक्तेन प्रेतस्य नामगोत्रे उक्त्वा अमुकं नारायणरूपं तर्पयामीति षोडशवारं तर्पयेत्प्रत्यृचम्। अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति.

686. चाण्डालादुदकात्सर्पाद्ब्राह्मणाद्वैद्युतादपि। दंष्ट्रिभ्यश्च पशुभ्यश्च मरणं पापकर्मिणाम्॥ बौ. गृ. शेषसूत्र III. 21. The same is q. by अपरार्क p. 877 as यम's, as स्मृत्यन्तर by शुद्धिप्र. p. 56 and without name by the मिता. on या. III. 6.

Baudhāyana-gṛhya-śeṣasūtra III. 20 and 21 contain two different sets of the procedure of Nārāyaṇabali, the latter of which appears to be the later one. The latter contains the well-known verse about death at the hands of cāṇḍālas, from a snake &c.

The 5th class of exceptions to āśauca rules comprises those that are declared by express texts as not liable to observe an āśauca. Gautama (14. 8–10) provides [687] that (the sapiṇḍas) of those that met death for the sake of cows and brāhmaṇas, of those that met death through the wrath of the king and those that were killed in battle have to observe no āśauca but only 'sadyaḥśauca'. Manu V. 95 and 98 state [688] that (the sapiṇḍas) of those that are killed in a sudden affray or by lightning or by the king (for an offence) or of those that met death in protecting cows and brāhmaṇas and of one who was killed in the fashion of kṣatriyas in a battle by the sword have to observe no āśauca, as also he whom the king desires (for his purpose) to observe no āśauca. It is provided by Śātātapa [689] that as regards a *yati* dying, his sons and other sapiṇḍas are not to offer water or piṇḍa to him or to observe āśauca for him. The Dharmasindhu (p. 449) says that this applies to all ascetics, whether they be *tridaṇḍin* or *ekadaṇḍin*, *haṁsas* or *paramahaṁsas*. So also on the death of a vānaprastha there is no āśauca. In the case of one who has performed his own śrāddha while alive his sapiṇḍas have an option either to observe āśauca or not. On the death of a brahmacārin āśauca is to be observed. The Dharmasindhu further notes that in all works it is stated that there is no āśauca [690] for one killed in battle, but at least

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687. गोब्राह्मणहतानामन्वक्षम्। राजक्रोधाच्च। युद्धे। गौ. 14 8–10. हरदत्त explains 'अन्वक्ष्यते प्रत्यक्ष्यते शवस्तावत्संस्कारान्ते स्नात्वा शुध्येरन्निति', while the मिता. on या. III. 21 (first half) explains 'तत्सम्बन्धिनां चाप्यक्षमनुगतमक्षमन्वक्षं सद्यःशौचमित्यर्थः.' The मिताक्षरा takes the corresponding passage of Yāj. III. 21 (first half) to mean 'of those that were killed by the king, by bulls or brāhmaṇas'. The मिता॰ reads राजक्रोधाच्चायुद्धे, while हरदत्त says that he does not like to read अयुद्धे but would read आयुद्धे.

688. डिम्बाहवे हतानां च विद्युता पार्थिवेन च। गोब्राह्मणस्य चैवार्थे यस्य चेच्छति पार्थिवः॥ मनु V. 95. डिम्बाहव is explained by कुल्लूक and हारलता (p. 111) as 'नृपतिरहितं युद्धं,' while हरदत्त takes डिम्ब to mean जनसंमर्द and अपरार्क p. 916 explains डिम्बाहव as अशस्त्रकलह and शुद्धिकल्पतरु as अशस्त्रकलहः संमर्दो वा (p. 46).

689. एकोद्दिष्टं जलं पिण्डमाशौचं प्रेतसत्क्रियाम्। न कुर्यात्पार्वणादन्यद् ब्रह्मीभूताय भिक्षवे॥ शातातप. - स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p. 171 ascribes this to वसिष्ठ.

690. युद्धमृतेप्याशौचं नेति सर्वग्रन्थेषूपलभ्यते न त्वेवं ब्राह्मणेषु शिष्टाचार इति। धर्मसिन्धु p. 449.

among brāhmaṇas (i. e. as to brāhmaṇas killed in battle) the usage of the *śiṣṭas* is different (i. e. āśauca is observed).

Parāśara (III. 12-13) provides that, if a man has gone for many years to a distant land and it is ascertained that he died there but the exact date of his death is not known, then either of three *tithis* viz. the 8th or 11th day of the dark half or the amāvāsyā should be accepted as the day of his death and water, piṇḍa and śrāddha should be offered on that date and the Par. M. I. 2 p. 237 adds that āśauca also must be calculated from that date. On the other hand Laghu-Hārīta says that if there is some obstacle at the time of a śrāddha or when the date of death is not known, then the funeral rites should be performed on the 11th tithi of the following dark half (Śuddhikaumudī p. 17).

The digests lay particular emphasis on the fact that in matters of āśauca the usages of a country must be observed. The Hāralatā (pp. 55, 205) quotes passages from the Ādipurāṇa where special reference is made to the authority of the usages of a country (deśa-dharmapramāṇatvāt). The Śuddhitattva p. 275 quotes[691] a verse of Marīci 'one should not disregard the manner of observing *śauca* and religious usages that are current in particular localities; the dharma is of that sort alone in those localities'. On p. 276 it quotes a passage of the Vāmanapurāṇa to the same effect.

It deserves to be noted that Dakṣa[692] (VI. 15) states that all rules about āśauca apply when the times are easy and peaceful but when a man is overwhelmed by distress there is no (enforcement or application) of the (rules of) āśauca.

Viṣṇu (19. 18-19) provides[693] that at the end of the period of āśauca one should go out of the village, get himself shaved and take a bath after applying a thick paste of sesame or white mustard to the body, change garments and then re-enter the house. Then he should perform a *śānti* (propitiatory rite)

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691. तथा च मरीचिः। येषु स्थानेषु यच्छौचं धर्माचारश्च यादृशः। तत्र तन्नावमन्येत धर्मस्तत्रैव तादृशः॥ रुद्रधर in शुद्धिविवेक (D. C. ms. No 309 of 1887-91, folio 77 b), शु. कौ. p. 360, शुद्धितत्त्व p. 275; "तथा च वामनपुराणं 'देशानुशिष्टं कुलधर्ममग्र्यं स्वगोत्रधर्मं न हि संत्यजेच्च" शुद्धितत्त्व p, 276.

692. स्वस्थकाले तथा सर्वं सूतकं परिकीर्तितम्। आपद्ग्रस्तस्य सर्वस्य सूतकेपि न सूतकम्॥ दक्ष VI. 15.

693. ग्रामान्निष्क्रम्याशौचान्ते कृतश्मश्रुकर्माणस्तिलकल्कैः सर्षपकल्कैर्वा स्नाताः परिवर्तितवाससो गृहं प्रविशेयुः। तत्र शान्तिं कृत्वा ब्राह्मणानां च पूजनं कुर्युः। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 19.18-19.

and honour brāhmaṇas. Many medieval digests provide for a more elaborate procedure. For example, the Śuddhikaumudī (pp. 155–164) sets out the procedure of the 11th day separately for the followers of the three Vedas. A few salient points may be mentioned. After a bath for the whole body, the sapiṇḍas should touch a cow, gold, fire, *dūrvā*, clarified butter and repeat the name of Govinda, then engage brāhmaṇas to sprinkle śānti water over them and say 'svasti'. If a brāhmaṇa cannot be had one should himself perform śānti. The Hāralatā and others say that without śānti water āśauca is not completely removed. The followers of Sāmaveda should sing the Vāmadevagāna for śānti or should repeat the four Vāmadevya verses viz. 'kayā naścitra,' 'kastvā satyo,' 'abhī ṣū ṇaḥ' (No. 682–684 of the Sāmaveda) together with the last verse of the Sāmaveda ('svasti na Indro') preceded and followed by the sacred Gāyatrī; these form the śānti mantras for Sāmavedins. For followers of Yajurveda seventeen mantras beginning with 'ṛcam vācam prapadye' and ending with 'dyauḥ śāntiḥ', preceded and followed by the Gāyatrī form the śānti mantras; the Ṛgvedins should employ for śānti Ṛg. X. 9. 4, VII, 35. 1, V. 47. 7 &c. preceded and followed by the Gāyatrī. Then some gold with silver as dakṣiṇā should be donated to a brāhmaṇa, then the Vaitaraṇī cow should be donated, if one was not given at the approach of death, then a gift of the bedstead &c. should be made.

We have seen (p. 270) that originally the sūtras (like Śāṅ. Śr.) and smṛtis (like Manu) emphasized that one should not increase the number of the days of āśauca and that men learned in the Veda and consecrating śrauta fires had to undergo only one day's āśauca (Parāśara III. 5, Dakṣa VI. 6). But ultimately a flat period of ten days of āśauca (Manu V. 59) for all sapiṇḍas came to be prescribed. In the old days the means of communication were very limited, and hence the news of a birth or death must have taken considerable time to reach relatives staying even at a short distance and hence the restrictions imposed by the rules of āśauca were not felt to be very irksome. It is on account of this reason and also the great *penchant* of dharmaśāstra writers for all sorts of divisions, sub-divisions and classifications that we find medieval writers bestowing an enormously exaggerated attention in very exuberant and enthusiastic style on such a subject as āśauca. Most nations have their own usages to indicate that a person (male or female) or a family is in mourning. But probably no country in the world

can equal (much less surpass) the Dharmaśāstra writers in the elaborate rules evolved in books about āśauca on birth and death. In these days when there is a State postal system and the means of communication abound owing to railways, air-mail, telegraph and wireless, the ancient and medieval rules of āśauca are felt by all people to be most galling and troublesome. Mischievous people sometimes create trouble in the celebration of marriages by sending information about a death or a birth to persons against whom they have a grudge. Devices have to be employed for dodging the inconvenience due to rules of āśauca. It is therefore necessary to introduce substantial changes in the rules about āśauca that will prevent trouble, loss of time and work and would at the same time be more or less in agreement with the spirit of the dicta of the smṛtis and the sentiments of most common people. At the end in the appendix note 693a is added which gives the text of the Āśauca-daśaka with Sanskrit explanation.

As regards *āśauca* on birth I would recommend that hereafter in the changed set-up of society in these days one simple rule should be observed, viz. it is only the mother that has to observe impurity for ten days and no one else has to observe impurity on birth. This is in general accordance with the ancient smṛtis set out above.

As regards impurity on death four rules should ordinarily suffice.[693a]

(1) *Āśauca* for ten days on death should be observed by the father and the mother for the son and by the son for the parents, by the wife for the husband and *vice versa* and by one who performs the rites of cremation and the rites after death.

(2) For others (than the above) staying near the deceased as members of a joint family āśauca for only three days should suffice.

(3) For all other relatives of the deceased whenever the news of death may reach them within a year after death, only a bath should be enough.

(4) When the death occurred more than a year before the news reached the relatives not even a bath should be required in the case of any relative except those mentioned in the first rule, who should be held clean after a bath.

693 a. Vide appendix.

Practices observed among ancient and modern primitive tribes show that the most important *tabus* were those on the dead, on women in child-birth and women in their monthly illness. Among the ancient Israelites all that were unclean through the dead were put outside the camp and they were not allowed to offer an offering at the Passover (Numbers V. 1–4 and IX. 6). Among the Syrians those who belonged to the family of the dead man were *tabu* for 30 days and could then enter only with shaven heads. Child-birth made a woman unclean and the number of days that she was to be unclean depended on whether the child was a male or a female (Leviticus 12. 2–5). In India also the ancient Aryans probably inherited their ideas about uncleanness on death and child-birth from their remote ancestors. If one may surmise one can say this: it must have been found out by the remote ancestors of the Vedic Aryans that if a person touched a dead body or used the clothes worn by the dead man when living, he also suffered from the same disease (particularly in the case of contagious diseases like plague, cholera, typhoid &c.) and that segregating such a person for ten days from other members of the tribe or community made the latter immune from the attack of such diseases. Therefore, those who touched the dead or carried the corpse for cremation or burial and the members of the family were thought to be unclean and were segregated for ten days. Gradually the ideas about the uncleanness on death and the necessity of segregation were made applicable to death due to all diseases or causes whatever. The uncleanness on child-birth might have been a case of extension by analogy derived from the *tabu* on death. At all events smṛti writers put both on the same level (e. g. Manu V. 61 "Just as impurity on death is ordained for ten days in the case of sapiṇḍas the same holds good in the case of birth"). Rules about women in their monthly illness were prescribed as early as the Tai. S. and have been already dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 802–805.

We have now to turn to the subject of *śuddhi* apart from *āśauca*. Śuddhi of a *dravya* means the[694] removal of a taint attaching to a thing and it is of two kinds, purification of the body and the purification of an external object (Manu V. 110 and Aparārka p. 253). It has already been seen (note 555

694. द्रव्यस्य दोषापगमः शुद्धिः। तत्र द्विविधा शुद्धिः शरीरशुद्धिर्बाह्यद्रव्यशुद्धिश्च। अपरार्क pp. 252–253 ; तत्राशुद्धिर्नाम द्रव्यादेः स्पर्शनाद्यनर्हतापादको दोषविशेषः। शुद्धिस्तु संस्कारविशेषोत्पादिता तत्रिवृत्तिः। हेमाद्रि (on श्राद्ध p. 787).

above) how even the Ṛg. lays great emphasis on śuddhi and being pure (śuci). There are Vedic[695] passages laying down that the cups (*grahas*) used in Jyotiṣṭoma and other sacrifices were to be cleansed with a strainer of wool, but not the *camasas.* In the Ait. Br. 32.4 it is provided that if the milk of an *agnihotrin* that was heated by him for the *homa* became impure (*amedhya*, by an ant or worm falling therein), the milk is to be taken up in an agnihotrahavaṇī and was to be poured upon the ashes near the Āhavanīya fire. This shows that great care was taken about the purity of vessels to be used in sacrifices and about the offerings to be made. *Śauca* is one of the eight qualities of the soul (*ātmaguṇas*) mentioned by Gaut. 8.24, Atri (verses 33, 35), Matsyapurāṇa 52. 8–10, Bṛhaspati (q. by Aparārka p. 164). Haradatta on Gautama quotes a verse that śauca is of four kinds viz. monetary purity, mental purity, bodily purity and purity in speech; while Atri and Bṛhaspati[696] (q. by Aparārka p. 164), aver that śauca is constituted by avoiding what ought not to be eaten, by associating (only) with those who are not censured (i. e. are not reprehensible) and by firmly abiding by one's own prescribed duties. Many works divide *śauca* into two varieties viz. *bāhya* (external) and *āntara* or *ābhyantara* (internal). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 651–52 for passages from Baudhāyana Dh. S. (I. 5. 3–4), Hārīta, Dakṣa and others defining and subdividing these. Agni 372. (17–18) is the same as Dakṣa V. 3. The Vanaparva 200. 52 speaks of purity in speech, in actions and that brought about by water. The Padma (II. 66. 86–87) emphasizes that it is the mental attitude that is the highest thing and illustrates it by saying that a woman embraces her son and her husband with different mental states. There is an interesting passage in the Liṅgapurāṇa 8. 34–36 (not quoted there) which after stating that *ābhyantara* śauca is superior to *bāhya śauca* (verse 31) remarks[697] that one void of inner purity is dirty even after a

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695. अस्ति ज्योतिष्टोमः। तत्र श्रूयते दशापवित्रेण ग्रहं संमार्ष्टि इति। तत्रैषोर्थः समधिगतः सर्वे ग्रहाः संमार्जितव्या इति। इदमिदानीं सन्दिह्यते किं चमसा अपि संमार्ष्टव्या उत नेति। शबर on जै. III. 1. 16.

696. अभक्ष्यपरिहारश्च संसर्गश्चाप्यनिन्दितैः। स्वधर्मे च व्यवस्थानं शौचमेतत्प्रकीर्तितम्॥ बृहस्पति (q. by अपरार्क p 164). अत्रि verse 35 (reads आचारेषु व्यवस्थानं).

697. अवगाह्यापि मलिनो ह्यन्तःशौचविवर्जितः। शैवला झषका मत्स्याः सत्त्वा मत्स्योपजीविनः॥ सदावगाह्य सलिले विशुद्धाः किं द्विजोत्तमाः। तस्मादाभ्यन्तरं शौचं सदा कार्यं विधानतः॥ आत्मज्ञानाम्भसि स्नात्वा सकृदालिप्य भावतः। सुवैराग्यमृदा शुद्धाः शौचमेवं प्रकीर्तितम्॥ लिङ्गपुराण 8. 34–36; भावशुद्धिः परं शौचं प्रमाणं सर्वकर्मसु। अन्यथालिङ्गते कान्ता भावेन दुहितान्यथा...अन्यथैव ततः पुत्रं भावयत्यन्यथा पतिम्॥ पद्म (भूमिखण्ड 66. 86–87).

bath, that moss, fish and animals subsisting on fish are always immersed in water, that in spite of that no one would call them pure, that therefore one must always endeavour to secure inner purity and that one should bathe in the water of correct knowledge of the Self, apply once the sandal paste of faith and purify oneself by the clay in the form of desirelessness and that this is declared to be (the real) *śauca*. Manu V. 106 provides that of all kinds of purity mental purity is the highest. He who is pure as to wealth (i. e. who does not deprive another of wealth by unjust means) is the (only) pure man and not he who is purified by water and earth. Viṣṇu 22. 89 is the same except that for wealth (*artha*) it substitutes food (*anna*). The Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana (prakīrṇaka 21) has the same verse as Manu V. 106. Vide also Anuśāsana 108. 12 (for purity of conduct, of mind, of a holy place, purity due to correct philosophical knowledge); Brahmāṇḍa III. 14. 60 (śucikāmā hi devā vai), and Yogasūtra II. 32 (for śauca as one of the five niyamas).

External purity of the body by various means (rinsing the mouth, bath & c.) has already been described in detail in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 648–668. The ancient and medieval Indians insisted on a daily bath for all, recommended two baths · day in certain cases and three baths to a hermit and did not subscribe to the view of some of the early Christians. St. Agnes was canonized primarily for her refusal to bathe and St. Francis of Assisi considered dirt as one of the proper insignia of holy poverty.[698]

In śrauta rites (such as Agniṣṭoma) the sacrificer had to undergo a severe discipline of consecration (or dīkṣā), one item of which was the purification of the intending sacrificer's body by the *adhvaryu* priest by rubbing the former's body twice with three bunches of seven darbhas each (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1136). Śātātapa q. by Sm. C. I. p. 120, Śuddhiprakāśa p. 147 provide bath for one who has sexual intercourse with his wife during the period from the 5th to the 16th day after monthly illness begins, but for intercourse after these days the purification is the same as for urination and voiding ordure; bath is also prescribed for vomiting after sunrise, after shaving, after a bad dream, on the touch of foul men (such as cāṇḍālas).

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698. Vide Reginald Reynolds' work on 'Cleanliness and godliness' p. 36 (chapter IV).

The Āp. Śr. II. 12 provides[699] that *Pavitreṣṭi* should be performed by him who is desirous of *śuddhi* and that if one performs in each season the three *iṣṭis*, viz. Vaiśvānarī (to Agni Vaiśvānara), Vrātapati (to Agni Vratapati) and the Pavitreṣṭi one purifies ten generations (of his family).

The following pages will deal with the purification of things (*dravyaśuddhi*). But a few general observations must first be made. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 15. 17–20) states that infants do not become polluted or impure (by the touch of a woman in her monthly course) up to the time the *saṁskāra* of *annaprāśana* (taking cooked food for the first time), that, according to some, up to one year or as long as they cannot distinguish between the different directions or up to the time of *Upanayana* according to others. Manu V. 127–133, Yāj. I. 186, 191–193, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 47–52, Baud. Dh. I. 5. 56–57, 64, 65, Śaṅkha 16. 12–16, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 35. 19–21 state that the following are always pure :—what is not seen to be polluted; what is cleansed with water; what is commended expressly (by a brāhmaṇa as pure, when there is a doubt), water collected on (pure) ground that is not visibly polluted by an impure thing and that in quantity is so much that a cow can slake its thirst therein and that has the smell, colour and taste (of pure water); the hand of a craftsman (such as a washerman or a cook while engaged in his peculiar work); articles exposed for sale in a market such as rice and barley (though touched by many intending buyers); alms (collected by a *brahmacārin* though walking from house to house on the road); the mouth of a woman (at the time of dalliance); meat of animals seized or killed even by dogs, cāṇḍālas, and carnivorous birds; rays (of the sun), fire, dust, the shadow (of a tree or the like), a cow, a horse, land, wind, dew drops, flies, a calf at the time of making the cow flow with milk from the udder–these latter are pure when they come in contact with a person. Then it was said that certain birds and animals were either always pure or as to certain parts of the body e. g. Yāj. I. 194 says that the mouths of goats and horses are pure but not of the cow. Baudhāyana[700] quoted by Aparārka p. 276 provides that

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699. शुद्धिकामो वा। तदेषाभियज्ञगाथा गीयते। वैश्वानरीं व्रातपतीं पवित्रेष्टिं तथैव च। ऋतावृतौ प्रयुञ्जानो पुनाति दशपौरुषम्॥ इति। आश्व. श्रौ. II. 12.

700. मुखवर्जं तु गौर्मेध्या मार्जारश्चङ्क्रमे (? श्चाक्रमे) शुचिः। बौधायन q. by अपरार्क p. 276; almost the same words occur in शङ्ख 16.14 (latter half).

the cow is pure except as to its mouth, and a cat when it is leaping or moving about. Bṛhaspati[701] and Yama (q. by Aparārka p. 276) state: 'the feet of brāhmaṇas, and the mouth of goats and horses, the backs of cows and all limbs of women are pure; the cow as to its back, the elephant as to its shoulder, the horse as to all its limbs and the dung and urine of cows, all these are pure'. Atri (240, 241) contains several verses[702] on this point. 'Things taken out from a mine or from kitchens (or places where grain is pounded &c.) are never impure, since all such places (where anything is prepared in the mass) except a place for the manufacture of liquor are pure. All fried (or roasted) things, fried barley and grain, dates, camphor, whatever else is well fried is pure'. In Atri V. 13 we read[703] 'flies, a continuous stream (of any liquid), the earth, water, fire, a cat, a wooden ladle and a mongoose are always pure'. Parāśara (X. 41) states:[704] 'space (ākāśa), wind, fire, water fallen on the earth, darbhas are not to be deemed polluted just as *camasas* in sacrifices are held to be not polluted.' Par. M. quotes a verse of Caturviṁśatimata[705] that raw meat, ghee, honey, oils extracted from fruits—these even when contained in vessels belonging to caṇḍālas become free from taint the moment they are taken out of these vessels. Bṛhaspati provides:[706] 'machines for crushing grapes and sugarcane stalks, mines, the hands of craftsmen, the milk pail, fluids that come

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701. बृहस्पतिः। पादौ शुची ब्राह्मणानामजाश्वस्य मुखं शुचि। गवां पृष्ठानि मेध्यानि सर्वगात्राणि योषिताम्॥ यमः। पृष्ठतो गौर्गजः स्कन्धे सर्वतोऽश्वः शुचिस्तथा। गोः पुरीषं च मूत्रं च सर्वं मेध्यमिति स्थितिः॥ पृष्ठशब्दोऽत्र मुखव्यतिरिक्तविषयः। अपरार्क p. 276.

702. आकराहृतवस्तूनि नाशुचीनि कदाचन। आकराः शुचयः सर्वे वर्जयित्वा सुराकरम्॥ भृष्टा भृष्टयवाश्चैव तथैव चणकाः स्मृताः। खर्जूरं चैव कर्पूरमन्यद् भृष्टतरं शुचि॥ अत्रि 240–241. आकराः...करम् occurs in बौ. ध. सू. I. 5.58. The शु. कौ. (p. 258) after quoting शङ्ख 16.13 (शुद्धं नदीगतं तोयं सर्व एव तथाकराः) explains: सर्वे एवाकरा धान्यादिमर्दनस्थानानि तथा अपूपलाजादिनिष्पत्तिस्थानानि चेत्यर्थः।.

703. मक्षिका सन्ततिर्धारा भूमिस्तोयं हुताशनः। मार्जारश्चैव दर्वी च नकुलश्च सदा शुचिः॥ अत्रि V. 13. विश्वरूप on या. I. 195 quotes it without name as मक्षिका विप्रुषो नार्यो भूमि...दर्वी च मारुतश्च etc. मार्जारश्च...मारुतश्च—occurs in लघुहारीत 43. शुद्धिकौमुदी p. 357 explains: सन्ततिः शिशुः पञ्चवर्षाभ्यन्तरवयस्कः धारा तु पतन्ती।.

704. आकाशं वायुरग्निश्च मेध्यं भूमिगतं जलम्। न प्रदुष्यन्ति दर्भाश्च यज्ञेषु चमसा यथा॥ पराशर X. 41.

705. आमं मांसं घृतं क्षौद्रं स्नेहाश्च फलसम्भवाः। अन्त्यभाण्डस्थिता ह्येते निष्क्रान्ताः शुचयः स्मृताः॥ चतुर्विंशतिमत q. by परा. मा. II. 1. p. 115. प्राय. विवेक p. 328 quotes the verse as यम's reading म्लेच्छभाण्ड°. शु. कौ. p. 318 also ascribes it to यम.

706. द्राक्षेक्षु यन्त्राकरकारुहस्ता गोदोहनी यन्त्रविनिःसृतानि। बालैरथ स्त्रीभिरनुष्ठितानि प्रत्यक्षदृष्टानि शुचीनि तानि॥ बृहस्पति q. by शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 106.

out from crushing machines, actions (such as cooking) done by women and children when they are impure (by walking barefooted on the road) and are seen to be so, are still free from taint. One's[707] own bed, garment, wife, child, water pot—these are free from taint for oneself, but these are impure to others. Śaṅkha 16.15 is to the same effect.

Śaṅkha[708] states that whatever removes the dirt (or pollution) that is natural to a substance or arises from contact with another polluting substance must be declared to be its purifier. Śaṅkha-Likhita[709] declare that the substances that bring about purification of all (polluted things) are water, clay, the powder (or paste) of soap berries, bilva fruit, rice and mustard cake, salts (ashes), cow's urine and dung and that according to some when a substance is heaped up in a big mass, sprinkling with water. Manu V. 118, Yāj. I. 184, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23.13 also provide that sprinkling with water is the mode of purification when large quantities of corn or clothes are polluted, but when the quantity is small they must be washed with water. The quantity is said to be large when it is more than what one man can carry as a load (according to Kullūka on Manu V. 118).

The general rule laid down by Gaut. I. 45-46, Manu V. 126 (= Viṣṇu 23. 39), Yāj. I. 191 about the purification of things or bodies that are smeared with foul matter is that water and earth are to be employed for purification till the foul odour and the contact of the foul thing is entirely removed[710]. Devala (q. by Aparārka p. 270) defines *śauca* as the removal by means of clay, water, cowdung and the like of the besmearing, the oiliness and odour of a thing that cause impurity.

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707. आत्मशय्या च वस्त्रं च जायापत्यं कमण्डलुः। आत्मनः शुचीन्येतानि परेषामशुचीनि तु॥ आपस्तम्बस्मृति II. 4, बौधायन I. 5. 61 (reads शय्यासनं वस्त्रं) : अपरार्क p. 257 quotes it as बौधायन's.

708. मलं संयोगजं तज्जं यस्य येनोपहन्यते। तस्य तच्छोधनं प्रोक्तं सामान्यं द्रव्यशुद्धिकृत्॥ शङ्ख q. by अपरार्क p. 256, दीपकलिका on या. I. 191. मद. पा. p. 451 reads मलसंयोगजम्.

709. सर्वेषामापो मृदरिष्टकेङ्गुदबिल्वतण्डुलसर्षपकल्कक्षारगोमूत्रगोमयादीनि शौचद्रव्याणि संहतानां प्रोक्षणमित्येके। शङ्खलिखितौ q. by चतुर्वर्ग॰ vol. III. part 1 p. 817.

710. लेपगन्धापकर्षणं शौचममेध्याक्तस्य। तदद्भिः पूर्वं मृदा च। गौ. ध. सू. I. 45-46. Almost the same words occur in वसिष्ठ III.48: यावन्नापैत्यमेध्याक्ताद्गन्धो लेपश्च तत्कृतः। तावन्मृद्वारि चादेयं सर्वासु द्रव्यशुद्धिषु॥ मनु V. 126=विष्णु 23.39.

Gaut. Dh. S. (I. 28–33) briefly deals[710a] with the purification of things as follows: Purification of metallic substances (like bell-metal), earthenware, substances manufactured from wood, cloth made of threads or yarn is brought about respectively by rubbing (or scouring) them, by baking in fire, by chiselling or planing, by washing in water; objects made of stones, jewels, shells and pearls are purified by the same means as metallic substances; bones (ivory and the like) and mud (floor of houses) are purified in the same way as wooden substances; and earth (when polluted) is also purified by adding to it earth (brought from another pure spot); ropes, chips of bamboos and reeds, leather are purified by the same means as cloth or they may be abandoned when they are extremely polluted (as by the spilling of wine or urine or ordure). Vas. (III. 49–53) has almost the same words, employing the word 'bhasmaparimārjana' (scouring with ashes and washing) for 'parimārjana'. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 5. 17. 10–13)[711] provides: 'If one gets a used vessel only, he shall eat from it after having heated it thoroughly; a vessel made of metal is purified by being scoured with ashes and the like; a wooden vessel becomes pure by being scraped; at a sacrifice, vessels must be cleaned according to the precepts of the Veda.' Yāj. (III. 31–34) states; time (lapse of ten days or a year as to āśauca), fire, religious rites (like Aśvamedha or performing of *sandhyā*), clay, wind, mind, spiritual knowledge, austerities (such as kṛcchra), water, repentance (in the case of sins), fasting—all these are the causes of purification. Gifts are the (main) cause of purification for those who do what is forbidden, flow of water in the case of a river, clay and water are means of *śuddhi* in the case of substances that are not clean, *sannyāsa* (order of asceticism) in the case of the twice-born, austerities in the case of those that have studied the Veda when they commit a sin (through ignorance), forbearance in the case of those who know the Self, water in the case of dirty limbs, silent recital of Vedic mantras (*japa*) is the means of purifica-

710 a. द्रव्यशुद्धिः परिमार्जनप्रदाहतक्षणनिर्णेजनानि तैजसमार्तिकदारवतान्तवानाम्। तैजसवदुपलमणिशङ्खशुक्तानाम्। दारुवदस्थिभूम्योः। आवपनं च भूमेः। चैलवद्रज्जुविदलचर्मणाम्। उत्सर्गो वात्यन्तोपहतानाम्। गौ. 1.28–33. अत्यन्तोपहत is explained by विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 23.1 as 'शारीरैर्मलैः सुराभिर्मद्यैर्वा यदुपहतं तदत्यन्तोपहतम्'.

711. अनाप्रीते मृण्मये भोक्तव्यम्। आप्रीतं चेदभिदग्धे। परिमृष्टं लौहं प्रयतम्। निर्लिखितं दारुमयम्। यथागमं यज्ञे। आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 17. 9–13. हरदत्त explains; 'आप्रीतं कश्चित्कार्ये पाकाद्युपयुक्तम्..अग्निहोत्रहवणी दर्भैरद्भिः प्रक्षालिता सोमपात्राणि मार्जालीये प्रक्षालितानि आज्यपात्राण्युष्णेन वारिणा'.

tion for those guilty of secret sins, truth in the case of the mind (that is full of or is polluted by sinful thoughts), austerities and esoteric knowledge in the case of the man who identifies his soul with the body, correct knowledge in the case of intelligence, knowledge of God is the pre-eminent purifier of the soul. Manu V. 107-109 (= Viṣṇu 22.90-92) contain almost the same idea in almost the same words.

In prescribing the methods of cleaning polluted objects certain matters have to be considered according to a verse ascribed to Baudhāyana [712] by the Mit. (on Yāj. I. 190) which states: 'One should prescribe means of purification after considering the time, the place, the body (or himself), the thing (to be purified), the purpose for which the thing is to be used, origin (of defilement), the condition (of the thing or person defiled).'

There is some divergence of views about the means of purifying or cleansing certain objects. It is unnecessary to set out in detail these differences. It is proposed to take certain objects one after another and to specify how they were rendered pure according to several of the smṛtis and digests.

Certain foul things were said by the Smṛtyarthasāra p. 70 to be the causes of extreme pollution and certain others as causes of lesser or insignificant pollution. For example, excreta, urine, semen, blood, fat, marrow, liquor and intoxicants were the causes of great pollution; while dogs, village swine, cats, their urine, the wax from the ear, nails, phlegm, discharge from the eyes, perspiration are the causes of insignificant pollution.

Baud. Dh. S. I. 5.66 provides [713] that the purification of the ground is brought about by means of sweeping with a (faultless) broom, by sprinkling (cow's milk, urine or water), by smearing with cowdung, by scattering (pure clay on it) and by scrubbing away (or scraping) some of the soil, when these are employed according to the situation of the ground and the particular impurity (of which it is to be purified). Baud. Dh.

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712. देशं कालं तथात्मानं द्रव्यं द्रव्यप्रयोजनम्। उपपत्तिमवस्थां च ज्ञात्वा शौचं प्रकल्पयेत्॥ बौधायन q. also by विश्वरूप on या. I. 195 and मेधातिथि on मनु V. 118. बौधायनधर्मसूत्र I. 5.55 reads देशं...वस्थां च विज्ञाय शौचं शौचज्ञः कुशलो धर्मेप्सुः समाचरेत्।. The verse is लघुहारीत 55 which reads काले देशं. The मिता. reads तथा मानं which means 'the bulk' (or extent of the thing to be purified).

713. भूमेस्तु संमार्जनप्रोक्षणोपलेपनावस्तरणोल्लेखनैर्यथास्थानं दोषविशेषात्प्रायत्यम्। बौ. ध. सू. I. 5 66. वसिष्ठ III. 56 is almost the same.

S. in another place states:[714] when firm soil is polluted it is purified by smearing it with cowdung, hollow ground (one having holes) is purified by ploughing, ground wet (with impurity) by covering it (with pure clay brought from elsewhere) after removing the impure thing. Land is purified by means of four viz., being trodden under the foot of cows, by digging it up, by burning (firewood or grass thereon), by pouring over it (water, cow's urine or milk &c.) and fifthly, by smearing it (with cowdung) and sixthly, by the lapse of time. Vasiṣṭha III. 57 quotes a verse which mentions five means of purification almost in the same words as those of Baudhāyana (except the sixth viz. time). Manu V. 124 mentions five means of purification, viz. sweeping with a broom, smearing with cowdung, sprinkling, digging (and removing), the stay of cows thereon (for one day and night). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23.57 adds *dāha* (burning) to the five of Manu. Yāj. I. 188 mentions seven means of the purification of the ground by adding *dāha* (burning) and kāla (lapse of time) to the five mentioned by Manu. According to[715] the Vāmanapurāṇa the ground is purified by digging, burning, sweeping, treading by cows, smearing of cowdung, scrubbing and by sprinkling water. Devala quoted by the Mit. and Aparārka on Yāj. I. 188 gives a more elaborate treatment. According to him polluted ground (*bhūmi*) is of three kinds, viz. *amedhyā* (impure), *duṣṭā* (soiled), and *malinā* (dirty). Where a woman is delivered of a child or dies or is cremated or where a spot has been inhabited by cāṇḍālas or where there are heaps of ordure and the like, ground that is full of foul things in this way is declared to be *amedhyā*.[716] That ground which is polluted by the contact of dogs, pigs, asses, camels and the like becomes *duṣṭā* (soiled) and it becomes *malinā* (dirty) by charcoal, husk, hair, bones or ashes. Then

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714. घनाया भूमेरुपघात उपलेपनम्। सुषिरायाः कर्षणम्। क्लिन्नाया मेध्यमाहृत्य प्रच्छादनम्। चतुर्भिः शुध्यते भूमिर्गोभिराक्रमणात्खननाद् दहनादभिवर्षणात्। पञ्चमाच्चोपलेपनात्षष्ठात्कालात्। बौ. ध. सू. I. 6.17–21 quoted and explained by शु. कौ. p. 100.

715. भूमिर्विशुध्यते खातदाहमार्जनगोक्रमैः। लेपादुल्लेखनात्सेकाद्वेश्मसंमार्जनार्चनात्॥ वामनपुराण 14.68.

716. यत्र प्रसूयते नारी म्रियते दह्यतेपि वा। चण्डालाध्युषितं यत्र यत्र विष्ठादिसंहतिः॥ एवं कश्मलभूयिष्ठा भूरमेध्या प्रकीर्तिता। श्वसूकरखरोष्ट्रादिसंस्पृष्टा दुष्टतां व्रजेत्। अङ्गारतुषकेशास्थिभस्माद्यैर्मलिना भवेत्। मिता. on या. I. 188. अपरार्क reads यत्रारिष्टादिसङ्कृतिः in the first verse and धूम for तुष. शु. कौ. p. 101 reads प्रसूते गर्भिणी यत्र म्रियते यत्र मानुषः।...यत्र वा दह्यते शवः॥ विण्मूत्रोपहतं यत्र कुणपो यत्र दृश्यते। एवं कश्मल°'. The definitions of दुष्टा and मलिना as quoted from देवल by शु. कौ. p. 101 and शुद्धिप्र. p. 99 are different.

Devala[717] prescribes the purification of the three kinds of ground: 'Purity is of five kinds, viz. digging up, burning (with wood or grass), smearing (with cowdung), washing (with water) or the fall of rain. Even *amedhyā* ground may be purified by these five means employed together (where a corpse is cremated or caṇḍālas dwell) or by four (i. e. omitting rainfall or burning in other cases of amedhyā); ground that is duṣṭā is purified by three (digging up, burning and smearing with cowdung) or two (viz. digging up and burning) and *malinā* ground is purified by one (i. e. by digging up).

The Smṛtyarthasāra (pp. 73–74) provides that if an idol made of iron or other metal is slightly polluted (as defined above) then it can be purified by means of *pañcagavya* after rubbing it with ashes; similarly a stone idol, when slightly polluted, should be washed with water mixed with the clay from an ant-hill and becomes pure after being treated with *pañcagavya*. Any idol, if polluted with ordure, urine or village mud would become pure after first being flooded for five days with pañcagavya, after being well washed with cow's urine, cowdung and clay from an ant-hill and by being again installed (with all installation rites). Questions about the pollution of temples by the entry of the so-called untouchables or by the entrance of persons other than brāhmaṇas in the inmost shrine (garbhagṛha) have come before the courts e. g. in *Gopala Muppanar* v. *Dharmakarta Subramania* 27 Madras Law Journal p. 253 at p. 258, where reference is made to the ceremonies for the removal of pollution according to the *Āgamas* and *Tantras*. In *S. K. Wodeyar* v. *Ganapati* (37 Bom. L. R. 584) the point arose whether, when a custom was alleged that in a temple at Banavasi in the Canara district none could enter the inner sanctum except persons belonging to the ten sub-divisions of brāhmaṇas and a Lingayat entered it in spite of the protests of the worshippers in charge of the temple, his entry polluted the temple and whether he was liable to pay for the sum spent over the purification of the temple, the High Court of Bombay held that the custom alleged viz. of excluding from the inner sanctum all that were not brāhmaṇas was proved and that the Lingayat gentleman who entered it in spite of protests was liable to pay damages for the wrongful entry. In the Nirṇayasindhu (III

717. दहनं खननं भूमेरवलेपनवापने। पर्जन्यवर्षणं चेति शौचं पञ्चविधं स्मृतम्॥ पञ्चधा वा चतुर्धा वा भूरमेध्या विशुध्यति। द्विधा त्रिधा वा दुष्टा तु शुध्यते मलिनैकधा॥ देवल q. by शु. कौ. p. 101 which explains वापनं as सुवस्तरेण पूरणम्.

pūrvārdha pp. 351–52), the Dharmasindhu (III p. 324) and other medieval digests provision is made for the re-consecration (punaḥ-pratiṣṭhā) of an idol in a temple when the idol is polluted by the touch of cāṇḍālas or wine or is burnt by fire or is defiled by the touch of sinners or the blood of a brāhmaṇa.[718] If the idol be broken in two or more pieces or if it becomes broken (irregularly), if it be burnt or falls from its pedestal or be insulted, is without worship or is touched by an ass or the like animal, or falls on foul ground or is worshipped with the mantras of other gods,–in these ten circumstances Godhood ceases to indwell in the idol. If an idol be touched by robbers, cāṇḍālas, *patita* people, by a dog or a woman in her courses or if it be polluted by the touch of a corpse re-consecration is necessary.

The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra (23. 34) provides that idols when polluted should be purified in the same way in which the substance of which they are made (such as stone or copper &c.) is purified and then they should be re-consecrated. If the worship of an idol already consecrated is stopped for a day, two days, a month, or two months or it is touched by śūdras or a woman in her monthly course, then at a proper time *puṇyāhavācana* should be performed, an even number of brāhmaṇas should be fed, the idol should be submerged in water for a night and next day bathed with *pañca-gavya* from a jar full of it to the accompaniment of the respective *mantras*, then another jar should be filled with pure water and therein the nine kinds of precious stones should be cast, the jar should then have the

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718. अथ पुनःप्रतिष्ठा । तामधिकृत्य हयशीर्षपञ्चरात्रे । चाण्डालमद्यसंस्पर्शदूषिता वह्निनाथवा । अपुण्यजनसंस्पृष्टा विप्रक्षतजदूषिता ॥ संस्कार्येति शेषः । पदार्थादर्शे ब्राह्मे । खण्डिते स्फुटिते दग्धे भ्रष्टे मानविवर्जिते । यागहीने पशुस्पृष्टे पतिते दुष्टभूमिषु । अन्यमन्त्रार्चिते चैव पतितस्पर्शदूषिते । दशस्वेतेषु नो चक्रुः संनिधानं दिवौकसः॥ यागः पूजा पशुः गर्दभादिः।... सिद्धान्तशेखरे । चौरचण्डालपतितश्वोदक्यास्पर्शने सति । शवाद्युपहतौ चैव प्रतिष्ठां पुनराचरेत् ॥ ...शुद्धिविवेके विष्णुः । द्रव्यवत्कृतशौचानां देवतार्चानां भूयः प्रतिष्ठापनेन शुद्धिरिति । अर्चाः प्रतिमाः । तद्द्रव्यस्य ताम्रादिवक्तशौचं कृत्वा पुनः प्रतिष्ठां कुर्यादित्यर्थः । तद्विधिर्बौधायनसूत्रे । पूर्वप्रतिष्ठितस्याशुद्धिपूर्वकमेकरात्रं द्विरात्रमेकमासं द्विमासं वा अर्चनादिविच्छेदे शूद्ररजस्वलाद्युपस्पर्शने पूर्वोक्ते काले पुण्याहं वाचयित्वा युग्मान् ब्राह्मणान् भोजयित्वा निशायां जलाधिवासं कृत्वा श्वोभूते कलशपूर्णेन पञ्चगव्येन तत्तन्मन्त्रैः स्नापयित्वा अन्यं कलशं शुद्धोदकेनापूर्य तस्मिन्नवरत्नानि प्रक्षिप्य तं कलशं तत्तद्गायत्र्याष्टसहस्रमष्टशतमष्टाविंशतिवारं वाभिमन्त्र्य तेनोदकेन देवं स्नापयेत्ततः शुद्धोदकेन स्नापयेदष्टसहस्रमष्टशतमष्टाविंशतिवारं वा पुरुषसूक्तेन मूलमन्त्रेण च । ततः पुष्पाणि दत्त्वा यथासम्भवमर्चयित्वा शुद्धोदनं निवेदयेदिति । शुद्धिपूर्वं तु विच्छेदे पूर्वोक्ता प्रतिष्ठा पुनः कुर्यात् । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध pp. 351–52 The passage from पूर्वप्रतिष्ठितस्याशुद्धि° to the end is a quotation (with some omissions and additions) from बौधायनगृह्यशेषसूत्र II.19 (Mysore Un. ed.)

Gāyatrī mantra appropriate to the idol repeated over it 1008 or 108 or 28 times and the idol should then be bathed with that water, it should be bathed with pure water to the accompaniment of the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90) and the *mūlamantra* 1008, or 108 or 28 times. Then flowers should be offered and worship of the idol should be performed and a *naivedya* of boiled rice and jaggery should be offered.

Recently after the attainment of Independence some of the Provincial Legislatures in India have passed laws (e. g. Bombay Act 35 of 1947, C. P. and Berar Act 41 of 1947) throwing open all Hindu public temples to people who were once called untouchable. This is not the place to discuss in detail the arguments for and against these measures. Many orthodox Hindus hold that their inmost feelings are hurt by this tyranny of the majority in the Legislatures. They feel that these measures are contrary to the four freedoms that are promised in many constitutions viz. freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear. These measures are likely to be followed by serious consequences. It is felt that the younger generation now being educated has hardly any faith in religion or in anything being sacred, that the so-called untouchables themselves when once they have asserted their right of entering Hindu temples scarcely ever care to frequent them and the orthodox Hindus also often cease to worship therein. There is the further fear that, if religious feelings even when unreasonable according to progressive views could be trampled upon by the views of the majority, there is no knowing where the process would stop. There would be temptation for the majority in a country to say that the sacred places of other religions should either not exist at all or be opened for any one not belonging to the faith of the minorities. It would have been far better that, while removing all the disabilities of the so-called untouchables as to employment, public places, courts and education, temples had been left alone for some years to come. The entrance of one set of people into the temples often entails the departure of another set, as said by P. C. in *Saklat v. Bella* 28 Bom. L. R. 161, which is not a very desirable thing. The equality of the former untouchables in all secular matters is sure to spread in a generation or so to other non-secular matters and so to entry into temples. Adjustments on an unprecedented scale are taking place in modern India with regard to usages cherished for ages and the entry into temples of the so-called untouchables would have been effected in a few years without recourse to the threat of

punishments and without bitterness and rancour in the hearts of many people.

From very ancient times water has been regarded as a great purifier. Ṛg. VII. 47 and 49 are hymns addressed to waters as divinities and they are there described as themselves pure and as purifying others (as in Ṛg. VII. 49. 2 and 3 'śucayaḥ pāvakāḥ'). Similarly Ṛg. X. 9 and 30 are hymns addressed to waters, in the former of which the waters are invoked to remove whatever sin or wrong one may have committed (Ṛg. X. 9. 8 'idam-āpaḥ pra vahata yat kiñca duritam mayi'). Atharva-veda I. 33 is a hymn addressed to waters, wherein also they are described as '*śucayaḥ pāvakāḥ*' (in A. V. I. 33. 1 and 4). The Vāj. S. VI. 17 (closely following Ṛg. X. 9. 8) invokes waters to remove whatever is censurable and dirty.[719] In Vāj. S. IV. 2 the sage prays 'May the Waters, our mothers, purify us!'[720] The Śat. Br. I. 7. 4. 17 (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 213) states 'water is a means of purification.' Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 191 quotes a long Vedic passage[721] wherein it is said "whatever creates doubt (whether it is pure or impure) should be touched with waters; then it becomes pure." It is therefore that water (hot or cold) is said to be the purifier of various kinds of vessels and of the ground in Yāj. I. 182–183, 188, Manu V. 109, 112, 126. Gobhila (I. 31–32)[722] lays down that when a man engaged in any religious rite hears a mantra addressed to the *pitṛs*, scratches his body, looks at a man of the lowest caste, or allows the wind to escape from his intestines, laughs loudly or speaks an untruth, touches a cat or a mouse, or uses harsh language, has a fit of anger, he should perform *ācamana* (or touch water).

According to Yāj. I. 187 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23.56 a polluted house is purified by being swept and cowdunged. But more stringent rules were laid down if a dog, a śūdra, a *patita*, a *mleccha* or a caṇḍāla died in a brāhmaṇa's house (vide note 633 above). After keeping the house vacant for the periods

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719. इदमापः प्रवहतावद्यं च मलं च यत्। यच्चाभिदुद्रोहानृतं यच्च शेपे अभीरुणम्। आपो मा तस्मादेनसः पवमानश्च मुञ्चतु। वाज. सं VI. 17.

720. आपो अस्मान्मातरः शुन्धयन्तु घृतेन नो घृतप्वः पुनन्तु। वाज. सं. IV. 2.

721. तथा चाम्नायः। वाग्वै देवेभ्योऽपाक्रामत्...तस्माद्यदमीमांस्यं स्यात्तदद्भिः स्पृशेत् शुच्येव भवति। विश्वरूप on या. I. 191.

722. पित्र्यमन्त्रानुद्रवण आत्मालम्भेऽधमेक्षणे। अधोवायुसमुत्सर्गे प्रहासेऽनृतभाषणे॥ मार्जारमूषकस्पर्शे आक्रुष्टे क्रोधसम्भवे। निमित्तेष्वेषु सर्वत्र कर्म कुर्वन्नपः स्पृशेत्॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 31–32, quoted by कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 50.

stated in note 633, it is provided by Saṁvarta[723] that a house that is polluted by the existence of a corpse inside it should be dealt with as follows: earthen pots and cooked food should be cast away and thrown out of the house which should then be smeared with cowdung and then a goat should be made to go about in it smelling it and then the whole house should be sprinkled over with water in which gold and *kuśas* are put in by brāhmaṇas rendered holy by the repetition of the Gāyatrī mantra; then the house becomes pure. Marīci prescribes[724] that if a caṇḍāla (merely) entered a house, it can be purified by plastering it with cowdung, but if he were to stay in it long, purification can be had only by heating it and making flames of fire lick its walls.

The ground in a brāhmaṇa's house, in a temple, in a cow-pen should, says Yama, always be regarded as pure (unless it has been polluted).

A great deal is said in the smṛtis and digests about the purification of water. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 2 says[725] in a general way that a person after sipping water from what is collected on the ground becomes pure. But the Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 65, Manu V. 128, Yāj. I. 192, Śaṅkha 16. 12–13, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 35.19 and others add that water collected on the ground that is of such volume that a cow can slake its thirst therein, that is in its natural state and is not polluted by any thing impure and that has natural colour (is transparent) and taste and odour (either no odour or a fragrant odour) is pure. Śaṅkha says[726] the same about water collected on a stony surface and adds that the water of a flowing river is always pure. Devala states[727] that water brought in clean vessels is

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723. संवर्तः । गृहशुद्धिं प्रवक्ष्यामि अन्तःस्थशवदूषणे । प्रोत्सृज्य मृन्मयं भाण्डं सिद्धमन्नं तथैव च ॥ गृहादपास्य तत्सर्वं गोमयेनोपलेपयेत् । गोमयेनोपलिप्याथ छागेनाघ्रापयेद् बुधः । ब्राह्मणैर्मन्त्रपूतैश्च हिरण्यकुशवारिणा । सर्वमभ्युक्षयेद्वेश्म ततः शुध्यत्यसंशयम् ॥ अपरार्क p. 265, शुद्धिप्र. pp. 100–101, शुद्धिकौ. pp. 303–304.

724. गृहेऽन्त्यजातिसंवेशे शुद्धिः स्यादुपलेपनात् । संवासो यदि जायेत दाहतापैर्विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ मरीचि q. by अपरार्क p. 266, शुद्धिप्र. p. 101, शु. कौ. p. 303 (reads दाहलेपैः).

725. भूमिगतास्वप्स्वाचम्य प्रयतो भवति । आप. ध. सू. I.5.15.2.

726. भूमिष्ठमुदकं शुद्धं शुचि तोयं शिलागतम् । वर्णगन्धरसैर्दुष्टैर्वर्जितं यदि तद्भवेत् ॥ शङ्ख 16.12–13 q. by शु. कौ. p. 297, शु. प्र. p. 102.

727. उद्धृताश्चापि शुध्यन्ति शुद्धैः पात्रैः समुद्धृताः । एकरात्रोषिता आपस्त्याज्याः शुद्धा अपि स्वयम् ॥ देवल q. by मिता and अपरार्क on या. I. 192.

pure but when it is (stale owing to its being stored) for one night (or more) it should be thrown though it was pure (when originally brought). There [728] is no taint in water that cannot be agitated by any beings and in the water of springs (that flow from hills). Tanks (that are so deep) that they cannot be agitated, rivers, wells and lakes (that are similar) should not be used by the usual way of descent (the *ghat*) if they come in contact with caṇḍālas and other impure persons or things. In *Narhari* v. *Bhimrao*, the Bombay High Court had to deal with the question whether a certain tank at Mahad in the Kolaba District could not be resorted to by untouchables for taking water and held that the untouchables were not prevented from using it (vide 39 Bombay L. R. p. 1295).

Bṛhaspati provides that if in a well the dead body of an animal with five nails (man or beast) is found or if the well is otherwise extremely polluted all the water of the well should be taken out and the rest should be dried up by means of clothes, then if the well be built with burnt bricks flames of fire should be made (to lick the surface of the walls), and then *pañcagavya* should be poured over when fresh water begins to flow in (from the springs) [729]. Āpastamba (q. by Śuddhikaumudī p. 299) states the circumstances when a well may be said to be extremely polluted: 'hair, excrements and urine, menstrual discharge, a dead body—when a well is defiled by these one should take a hundred jars of water from it' (and further purification by putting pañcagavya in it should be resorted to if there is more water). Parāśara VII. 3 says the same about wells (with steps), wells without steps and tanks.

Yāj. I. 197 (=Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 41) provides that mud and water on roads which come in contact with lowest castes (like caṇḍālas), dogs and crows and buildings (like *maṭhas*) constructed with burnt bricks are purified by the wind alone

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728. अक्षोभ्याणि तडागानि नदीवापीसरांसि च । चण्डालाद्यशुचिस्पर्शे तीर्थतः परिवर्जयेत् । अक्षोभ्याणामपां नास्ति प्रसुतानां च दूषणम् । देवल q. by अपरार्क p. 272 शु. प्र. p. 102 (reads कश्मलाशुचियुक्तानि) and explains कश्मलं as शवादि and अशुचि as विण्मूत्रम्.

729. मृतपञ्चनखात्कूपादत्यन्तोपहतात्तथा । अपः समुद्धरेत्सर्वाः शेषं वस्त्रेण शोधयेत् ॥ वह्निप्रज्वालनं कृत्वा कूपे पक्वेष्टकाचिते । पञ्चगव्यं न्यसेत् पश्चान्नवतोयसमुद्भवे ॥ बृहस्पति q. by अपरार्क p. 272. The first is quoted as a text of *Uśanas* by शु. कौ. p. 298 and reads शास्त्रेण (शास्त्रविधिना) for वस्त्रेण. The two verses are विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 23.44-45.

(blowing on them). Parāśara VII. 34 states[730] that mud and water on roads, boats, paths, grass and whatever is constructed with burnt bricks are rendered pure by the wind and the sun.

Rain water after it fell on the ground was supposed to be impure[731] for ten days. Similarly Yogiyājñavalkya (q. by S. K. p. 291) remarks that water of a river (dried up in summer) coming down in a flood for the first time (after rains) should not be taken (as pure) and also water that is agitated by some one (with the feet &c.) and waters that start in a separate stream by themselves from a holy river (like the Ganges). Even when a well (without steps) or a well (with a flight of steps) or a reservoir with a dam is constructed by men of the lowest castes, no prāyaścitta is prescribed for bathing therein or for drinking water therefrom.[732]

Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 46 provides[733] that the purification of small reservoirs of water that are static (i. e. from which no streams flow down) is made in the same way as that of wells (without steps), while in the case of large reservoirs no pollution is recognised. It is declared that waters are purified by the rays of the sun and the moon and the contact of the wind and by cowdung and the urine of cows; some of these ideas are supported by modern scientific discoveries.

A verse q. by Aparārka p. 273 provides[734] that even the water at a *prapā* (a shed where water is distributed gratis to

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730. रथ्याकर्दमतोयानि नावः पन्थास्तृणानि च । मरुतार्केण शुध्यन्ति पक्वेष्टकाचितानि च ॥ पराशर VII. 34. दीपकलिका on या. I. 197 and शु. कौ. p. 304 quote it but read स्पर्शनात् प्रशुध्यन्ति पक्वे० and the latter explains 'स्पर्शनाद्न्त्यजातीनामित्यर्थः.' विश्वरूप does not comment on या. I. 197 saying that it is superfluous; for the verse रथ्याकर्दमतोयानि नावः पथि तृणानि च मारुतेनैव शुध्यन्ति vide वामनपुराण 14. 73.

731. अजा गावो महिष्यश्च ब्राह्मणी च प्रसूतिका । दशरात्रेण शुध्यन्ति भूमिष्ठं च नवोदकम् ॥ यम q. by शु. कौ. p. 297, while अपरार्क p. 293 ascribes it to मनु.

732. अन्त्यैरपि कृते कूपे सेतौ वाप्यादिके तथा । तत्र स्नात्वा च पीत्वा च प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते ॥ शातातप q. by मिता. and अपरार्क on या. I. 192. शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 106 remarks 'इति स्वल्पत्तापविषयमिति शूलपाणिः.'

733. जलाशयेष्वथाल्पेषु स्थावरेषु महीतले । कूपवत्कथिता शुद्धिर्महत्सु च न दूषणम् । सोमसूर्यांशुपातेन मारुतस्पर्शनेन च । गवां मूत्रपुरीषेण शुध्यन्त्यापः इति स्मृतम् ॥ विष्णु q. by अपरार्क p. 273. The first is विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 23.46 and the 2nd is almost like आपस्तम्ब (in verse) II. 7.

734. प्रपास्वरण्ये घटगं च कूपे द्रोण्यां जलं कोशगतास्तथापः । ऋतेऽपि शूद्रात्तदपेयमाहुरापद्गतः कांक्षितवत् पिबेत्तु ॥ यम q. by अपरार्क p. 273 and शु. प्र. p. 104 (which reads 'भूमिगताः पिबेत्तु'). This reading would mean that he should pour such water on the ground and when it is as much in volume as would slake a cow's thirst he may drink it. The first half occurs in अत्रि 233, आपस्तम्बस्मृति II. 2. शु. प्र. p. 103 quotes शङ्खलिखित to the same effect.

thirsty travellers) in a forest or from a jar placed near a well (for drawing water by any body) or the water in (a stone or wooden) trough (meant for all and sundry) and water from a leather bag even though these may not belong to a śūdra are unfit for drinking, but one may drink even such water as much as he desires when in distress. This shows that even in ancient times water was carried in leather bags or drums where there was scarcity of water and was allowed to be used even by twice-born people.

We may now turn to the purification of metals and vessels. Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 34–35 and I. 6. 37–41, Vasiṣṭha III. 58 and 61–63, Manu V. 111–114, Yāj. I. 182 and 190, Viṣṇu 23. 2, 7, 23–24, Śaṅkha 16. 3–4, Smṛtyarthasāra p. 70 and others lay down rules about the purification of metals which do not agree in details. Therefore it is proposed to set out only what is said by Manu and one or two others. Manu (V. 113 ff.) says 'The wise declare that the purification of metals (like gold), of precious stones (like emerald), of all articles of stone is brought about by ashes, water and clay. Articles of gold that are not smeared (with dirty things like leavings of food &c.) become pure by means of water alone; the same holds good of articles that are found in water (coral and shells), that are made of stone and are made of silver on which no craftsmanship (such as drawing lines or figures) has been expended. Gold and silver sprang forth through the union of water and fire; therefore their purification is brought about best by their causes, viz. water (in case of slight pollution) and fire (in case of extreme pollution). The purification of copper, iron, bell-metal, brass, tin and lead should be brought about by salts (ashes), acids and water according to circumstances (i. e. pollution caused). Vasiṣṭha (III. 58, 61–63) says: 'bell-metal is purified with ashes, gold and silver with water alone and copper with acids.' Yāj. I. 190 says 'the purification of tin, lead and copper is brought about by salt water, acids and ordinary water, of bell-metal and iron by ashes and water.' The Liṅgapurāṇa (pūrvārdha, 189. 58) says: bell-metal is purified by ashes, iron articles by salt; copper, tin and lead by acids; golden and silver vessels are purified by water and jewels, stones, conches and pearls are purified in the same way as metallic vessels. Vide Vāmanapurāṇa (14. 70) which states that copper pots are purified by acids, tin and lead ones by salts, bell-metal by ashes and water. Medhātithi on Manu V. 114

quotes a verse [735] which says 'vessels of bell-metal (or brass) when licked (or breathed over) by cows, in which śūdras have taken their food and which have been defiled by dogs and crows are purified by being scoured ten times with ashes (salts).' Śātātapa has a similar verse (vide Par. M. vol. II part 1 p. 172).

Elaborate rules are laid down about the purification of polluted pots and vessels used in ordinary life, in Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 34–50, I. 6. 33–42, Yāj. I. 182–183, Viṣṇu 23. 2–5, Śaṅkha 16. 1–5 and others. There is some variation in all these, but, as the Mit. on Yāj. I. 190 remarks, it is not an absolute rule that copper must be purified by acids alone but if purification is possible by other means, they may be resorted to. It is not necessary to set out the different modes of purifying vessels. A passage from the Śuddhi-prakāśa pp. 117–118 would be sufficient to indicate how this matter of *pātraśuddhi* (cleansing of polluted vessels) was dealt with in medieval India: "vessels made of gold, silver, conches, shells, stones, precious stones, bell metal, brass, tin, lead are purified by mere water, provided they have no dirt or pollution sticking to them; if these vessels are polluted by the contact of leavings of food &c. they are purified by ashes and water or acids and water according as anyone of these is appropriate; the vessels made of the above substances that are polluted for a long time owing to being used by śūdras or owing to contact with leavings of food should first be scoured with salts (ashes) and water three times and should be then cast into fire so long as it can be borne (without the vessels being broken, melted or burnt up) and then they become pure. Vessels of bell metal when polluted by only dogs, crows, śūdras and leavings of food only once or licked by cows become pure by being scoured ten times with salts and water; but if they are polluted by the above several times then they have to be scoured 21 times for becoming pure. If in a vessel belonging to the three higher *varṇas* a śūdra takes his meal, it becomes pure after being washed four times with salts and being cast in fire and then taken up with hands that are washed clean with water. A vessel of bell-metal that is polluted once by the leavings of a

735. गवाघ्रातानि कांस्यानि शूद्रोच्छिष्टानि यानि च। शुध्यन्ति दशभिः क्षारैः श्वकाकोपहतानि च॥ q. by मेधा. on मनु V. 113 and मिता. on या. I. 190. This is लघुशातातप 141. This verse is ascribed to अङ्गिरस् by शु. कौ. p. 307 and to शातातप by शु. प्र. 116. This occurs in पराशर VII. 23, where the words शूद्रोच्छिष्टानि and श्वकाकोपहतानि are transposed.

woman freshly delivered or by intoxicants or liquors becomes pure after being heated in fire; but if it is polluted several times then it becomes pure by being again manufactured. A vessel of bell-metal that is polluted by being frequently used for holding the water expelled from the mouth after rinsing it or the water in which the feet are washed should be buried in the ground for six months, then heated in fire and then it becomes pure (compare Parāśara VII. 24–25); but if it is polluted thus only once it becomes pure after (being buried in the ground) for ten days. All metal vessels polluted for a short time by the bodily dirts such as urine, excrement, semen become pure after being placed for seven nights in cow's urine or in a great river; but if they are polluted as above many times or are polluted by the contact of a corpse, a freshly delivered woman or a woman in her monthly course they become pure after being thrice washed with salts, acids and water and after being heated in fire till they can bear it, but if these are polluted by urine and for a long time and frequently they become pure by being beaten into shape (manufactured) again.

Viṣṇu (23. 2 and 5) provides that all metal vessels when extremely polluted (as stated in note 710) are purified by being cast into fire and that vessels of wood or clay when extremely polluted should be given up, but Devala[736] and others provide that wooden vessels when slightly polluted become pure by being planed or chiselled or by means of clay, cowdung or water and that earthen vessels if not extremely polluted become pure by being baked in fire[737] (also Yāj. I. 187). But Vas. III. 59 provides that an earthen vessel if polluted by the contact of wines, urine, excrement, phlegm, tears, pus and blood is not purified even by being burnt in fire.[738]

Special rules are provided for the purification of vessels and implements used in Vedic sacrifices. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 5. 51–52)[739] remarks that the *camasa* vessels used in sacrifices

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736. काष्ठानां तक्षणाच्छुद्धिर्मृद्गोमयजलैरपि । मृण्मयानां तु पात्राणां दहनाच्छुद्धिरिष्यते॥ देवल q. by शुद्धिप्र. p. 118. Vide मनु. V. 115 for the same rule about wooden vessels.

737. Vide Leviticus 11. 32–33 about unclean vessels of wood and earthenware and their purification.

738. मद्यैर्मूत्रैः पुरीषैर्वा श्लेष्मपूयाश्रुशोणितैः । संस्पृष्टं नैव शुध्येत पुनःपाकेन मृण्मयम्॥ वसिष्ठ III. 59 = मनु V. 123. It may be noted that मेधातिथि does not comment on this verse and quotes it on मनु V. 122 without naming the source.

739. वचनाद्यज्ञे चमसपात्राणाम् । न सोमेनोच्छिष्टा भवन्तीति श्रुतिः । बौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 51–52. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1177 n. 2598, for the drinking of soma from *camasas* by the priests one after another.

are purified according to the special Vedic texts, since the Veda says that *camasa* vessels do not incur the fault of being *ucchiṣṭa* when it is soma liquid that is drunk from them. Manu V. 116–117, Yāj. I. 183–185, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 8–11, Śaṅkha 16. 6, Parāśara VII. 2–3 and others lay down rules about the purification of sacrificial implements. For example, Manu (V. 116–117) provides 'sacrificial vessels should be first rubbed with the right hand (or with darbhas or strainer) and then *camasas* and cups are to be washed with water before using them in the sacrifice; the *carusthālī* (the vessel in which the oblation of boiled rice is prepared), *sruc* (a wooden vessel used for pouring clarified butter on sacrificial fire), and sruva (wooden ladle of a semicircular shape) are purified by being washed with hot water; the *sphya* (wooden sword), the winnowing basket, the cart (for bringing the soma plant), wooden mortar and pestle, are purified with water (or sprinkling water according to Yāj. I. 184).

Several rules were laid down about the purification of polluted corn and polluted cooked food. A reference has already been made to the purification of heaps of corn. Common sense, convenience and the loss that may be caused by very stringent provisions are the considerations which prompt the rules on this subject. Viṣṇu 23.25 provides[740] that where a heap of rice (or other grain) is polluted, one should throw away only that portion of it which is actually defiled and should submit the rest to pounding and washing with water; cooked food that exceeds in volume one *droṇa* and that has been defiled does not all become tainted, but that throwing away the defiled portion alone, one should sprinkle over the rest water mixed with gold on which the sacred Gāyatrī verse has been repeated and should hold it before a goat to see it and should also bring fire near it. Vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 6. 44–48. 'If grains of rice are polluted they should be washed and dried. But if it is a large quantity then sprinkling with water is enough; husked rice (if polluted) should be cast away. The same rule applies to cooked offerings. But in the case of large heaps of cooked food that portion which is polluted by dogs or crows should be cast away and the rest should be sprinkled with the *Anuvāka*

740. असिद्धस्यान्नस्य यावन्मात्रमुपहतं तन्मात्रं परित्यज्य शेषस्य कण्डनप्रक्षालने कुर्यात्। द्रोणाधिकं सिद्धमन्नमुपहतं न दुष्यति। तस्योपहतमात्रमपास्य गायत्र्याभिमन्त्रितं सुवर्णाम्भः प्रक्षिपेद् बस्तस्य च प्रदर्शयेदग्नेश्च। विष्णु० 23.11. The शुद्धिकौ. p. 317 reads 'सूर्यस्य दर्शयेदग्नेश्च'

pavamānaḥ suvarjanaḥ' (Tai. Br. I. 4.8). Gaut. 17. 9–10 provide[741] that one should not partake of food that was cooked along with hair and insects (like ants), nor food that is polluted by the contact of a woman in her monthly illness, by a crow or by being struck with the foot (of some one). But where food is already cooked and then it is smelt by a cow or it is polluted by the falling into it of hair, insects, flies, then Yāj. I. 189 and Parāśara VI. 64–65 provide that in order to purify it water, ashes (with water) or loose earth (with water) should be cast over it. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5.16. 24–29 provide that one should not partake of food in which hair exists (i. e. it was there from the beginning) or anything else (like nails) that is impure or of food that is touched with an unclean substance or in which an insect that subsists on impure things exists or food which is struck by the feet of any person or in which the excrement or the tail (or limb) of a rat is found.

The general rule is stated by Manu V. 118 which applies not only to corn and clothes but to many other articles viz. if there is a heap or a large quantity then sprinkling with water (*prokṣaṇa*) suffices for purification but if the quantity is small then washing with water is necessary. Manu V. 125 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23.38) provides that (a small quantity of) cooked food part of which is pecked by birds (whose flesh is eaten by men), which is smelt by a cow, which is struck with the foot (by a man) and over which some one has sneezed or which is polluted by the falling in of hair and insects becomes pure by casting into it loose earth (and water). Parāśara (VI. 71–74) puts the matter[742] thus: "food licked by dogs and crows or smelt by a cow or ass, if little in quantity, should be thrown away by a brāhmaṇa, but purification should be resorted to if it is a droṇa or āḍhaka in quantity. That portion which is defiled by the saliva of a dog or crow should be thrown away and water in which gold is put should be sprinkled over the remaining portion, then flames of fire should lick the remaining

741. नित्यमभोज्यम् । केशकीटावपन्नम् । रजस्वलाकृष्णशकुनिपदोपहतम् । गौ. 17. 8-10.

742. काकश्वानावलीढं तु गवाघ्रातं खरेण वा । स्वल्पमन्नं त्यजेद्विप्रः शुद्धिर्द्रोणाढके भवेत्॥ अन्नस्योद्धृत्य तन्मात्रं यच्च लालाहतं भवेत्। सुवर्णोदकमभ्युक्ष्य हुताशेनैव तापयेत्। हुताशनेन संस्पृष्टं सुवर्णसलिलेन च। विप्राणां ब्रह्मघोषेण भोज्यं भवति तत्क्षणात्॥ पराशर VI. 71–74, q. by शुद्धिप्रकाश pp. 128–129 (which reads यच्च लालाकृतिर्भवेत् in the 2nd verse).

food and brāhmaṇas should loudly recite Vedic hymns (like the Pavamānasūkta) over it and then the food becomes fit for eating". The Śuddhiprakāśa explains that the wealthy should not throw away food if it is more than a droṇa in quantity and a poor man if it is more than an āḍhaka[743].

Manu V. 115[744] says that in the case of all liquids (such as oils, ghee &c.) purification (when they are little in quantity) is brought about by means of two kuśas dipped into them (or by straining them through a piece of cloth into another pot) and if the quantity is large then by sprinkling (water). Śaṅkha provides[745] that purification is brought about by mere prokṣaṇa in the case of all exudations (Asafoetida &c.), jaggery, salts, safflower, saffron and in the case of wool and cotton. Vide note 705 above about certain articles being pure the moment they are transferred from the pots of even mlecchas &c.

A few words may be said about the purification of different kinds of cloth and garments and the materials of which they are made. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (I. 28–30) provides that a white garment is always commended for wearing (as a *dhoti*), but they are commended for wearing as upper garments and both are not defiled by the touch of anybody. Men may take their food or answer calls of nature while covered with both; *trasara* is purified by being washed while a silken garment is always pure. Manu V. 120–121, Yāj. I. 186–187 and Viṣṇu (23. 19–22) provide almost in the same words that silken and woollen cloth is cleansed by saline earth (and with water and cow's urine), Nepalese blankets by the powder of soap berry, clothes made of tree bark with Bilva fruit and linen cloth by (paste of) white mustard. Viṣṇu 23. 6 says[746] that when a garment is extremely polluted that portion thereof which when washed with water loses its colour should be cut off. Śaṅkha[747] quoted by Viśva-

743. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 124 for the measures of capacity called *droṇa* and *āḍhaka*. According to most writers four *āḍhakas* are equal to a *droṇa*.

744. द्रवाणां चैव सर्वेषां शुद्धिरुत्पवनं स्मृतम्। प्रोक्षणं संहतानां च दारवाणां च तक्षणम्॥ मनु V. 115. कुल्लूक explains 'प्रादेशप्रमाणकुशपत्रद्वयाभ्यामुत्पवनेन शुद्धिः।', while the शुद्धिप्र. p. 133 remarks उत्पवनं वस्त्रान्तरितपात्रप्रक्षेपेण कीटाद्यपनयनमित्युक्तम्.'

745. निर्यासानां गुडानां च लवणानां तथैव च। कुसुम्भकुङ्कुमानां च ऊर्णाकार्पासयोस्तथा। प्रोक्षणात्कथिता शुद्धिरित्याह भगवान्यमः॥ शङ्ख 16. 11–12.

746. अत्यन्तोपहतस्य वस्त्रस्य यत्प्रक्षालितं विरज्येत तच्छिन्द्यात्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र. 23.6.

747. चेलानामुत्स्वेदनं प्रक्षालनं तस्मात्प्रच्छेदो वा। शङ्ख. q. by विश्वरूप on या. I. 182.

rūpa on Yāj. I. 182 prescribes that garments are purified by being submitted to hot steam, by washing with water or by cutting off only that portion that is defiled. Parāśara VII. 28 provides that garments made from bamboos and barks of trees, linen and cotton garments, garments of wool and birch bark are purified by mere *prokṣaṇa*.

The smṛtis speak of purification of many other things, which is of little importance and is passed over here. Only a few illustrations are given here. Manu. V. 119 provides that skins and things made of split bamboos (or canes) are cleaned in the same way as clothes, while vegetables, roots and fruits are purified on the analogy of grain. Manu V. 120–121 state that the purification of conches, horns (of buffaloes and rams) and bones and tusks (of the elephant or boar) is to be caused in the same way as that of linen or with cow's urine or water and that grass, wood and straw become pure by being sprinkled with water. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 15, 16, 23 and Yāj. I. 185 are very similar.

From the above it will be clear that purification of substances depends on many circumstances, viz. whether they are metallic or are earthen, whether they are solid or liquid, whether a polluted substance is small in quantity or is a big heap, whether the pollution is extreme or insignificant and so on.

In Manu the purification of substances follows (V. 110) the means of purifying one's own body. Purification of the body by means of *ācamana* and *snāna* (bath) has already been described in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 315–316 and 652–653 (about ācamana), 656–668 (about *snāna*). Purification by bath on āśauca has already been dealt with before. Special rules were prescribed for women guilty of adultery (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 594, vol. III. pp. 647–649), as also for women raped (vide vol. II p. 575). *Snāna* (bath) with the clothes on was prescribed for purification of the body when a person touches one who is *patita* (murderer of a brāhmaṇa &c.), a caṇḍāla, a woman freshly delivered, a woman in her monthly illness, a corpse or one who has touched a corpse; also when a man follows a funeral procession or touches a dog (vide Gaut. 14. 28–30, Manu V. 85 and 103, Aṅgiras verse 152, Āp. Dh. S. I.. 5. 15. 15–16, Yāj. III. 30). Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 140 provides that on touching one who sells the Veda (teaches it for money), a *yūpa*, a funeral pyre, a *patita*, a dog and a cāṇḍāla one should

undergo a bath.[748] Parāśara also has a similar verse.[749] It has already been stated elsewhere (in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 175–176) how the rules about touching untouchables were relaxed when people congregated in a temple or in a religious procession, at marriages and festivals and at holy places. It is said by some that this refers not to the so-called untouchables, but to men who are untouchable owing to āśauca. But this is not correct. The explanation of the Śuddhi-kaumudī and Śuddhiprakāśa given below makes it clear that the untouchables are meant. In the first place, the words are quite general and not restricted. In the second place, there is no untouchability (except for the mother) on the ground of *Jananāśauca* and it is most unlikely that a person who has incurred mourning on death should visit a temple or go to a marriage or enter a religious procession, or festival. In the third place, looking to the several occasions mentioned together (particularly pilgrimages, battles, fire in a town or village and commotion or invasion of a country) it appears most unlikely that the verse refers only to āśauca on birth and death.[750]

The ancient and medieval Indians put very great emphasis on purity of mind, of body, of the place where they resided or performed religious rites, of the vessels used by them and of the ingredients of their food and worship. Many of the rules about purification of substances may appear to modern minds as very stringent; but it should not be forgotten that the ancient Indians were imbued with the thought that purity of the mind followed from purity of food

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748. वेदविक्रयिणं यूपं पतितं चितिमेव च। स्पृष्ट्वा समाचरेत्स्नानं श्वानं चण्डालमेव च॥ बौ. ध. सू. I. 5.140.

749. चैत्यवृक्षश्चितिर्यूपश्चाण्डालः सोमविक्रयी। एतांस्तु ब्राह्मणः स्पृष्ट्वा सचेलो जलमाविशेत्॥ पराशर q. by शु. कौ. p. 327, which explains 'चैत्यवृक्षो ग्राममध्ये देवपूजावृक्षः, यूपोऽन्त्येष्टिकर्मयूपाश्चितिसंनिधानात्.'

750. तीर्थे विवाहे यात्रायां संग्रामे देशविप्लवे। नगरग्रामदाहे च स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न दुष्यति। बृहस्पति q. by शु. कौ. p. 323, शु. प्र. p. 130. शु. कौ. explains 'स्पृष्टः अस्पृष्टिः अस्पृश्यो येन स तथा' and शु. प्र. remarks अस्पृष्टिरस्पृश्यं स्पृष्टमस्पृष्टिर्येनेति च बहुव्रीहिः। तेन तीर्थादौ अस्पृश्यस्पर्शने नाचमनस्नानादि॥". The स्मृतिच. I. pp. 121–122 quotes this verse and two others 'ग्रामे तु यत्र संस्पृष्टिर्यात्रायां कलहादिषु। ग्रामसंदूषणे चैव स्पृष्टिदोषो न विद्यते'॥ and 'देवयात्राविवाहेषु यज्ञेषु प्रकृतेषु च। उत्सवेषु च सर्वेषु स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न विद्यते॥' from शातातप and षट्त्रिंशन्मत respectively and explains ग्रामे राजमार्गादौ।......एतच्च वाक्यत्रयं यत्राहमनेन स्पृष्ट इति ज्ञानं नास्ति तद्विषयमिति केचित्। अबुद्धिपूर्वास्पृश्यस्पर्शविषयमित्यन्ये।.

(as stated in the Chāndogyopaniṣad VII. 26.2 'āhāraśuddhau sattvaśuddhiḥ' and by Hārīta). It would be conceded that some of their rules about purification (such as about large quantities of corn or heaps of cooked food) are based on common sense and convenience. We are probably going to the other extreme in taking our food anywhere and in any surroundings.

SECTION III

CHAPTER IX

ŚRĀDDHA

This subject is of great practical importance from several points of view.

The Brahmapurāṇa defines śrāddha as follows: 'whatever is given with faith to brāhmaṇas intending it to be for the (benefit of) *pitṛs* at a proper time, in a proper place, to deserving persons and in accordance with the prescribed procedure is called śrāddha[751]. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 217 defines śrāddha as 'abandonment with faith of an article of food or some substitute thereof, intending it for (the benefit of) the departed'. The Kalpataru on śrāddha defined it as 'the giving up of sacrificial material intending it for *pitṛs* and its acceptance by brāhmaṇas'. The Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara and the Śrāddhaprakāśa define śrāddha in the same way as the Mit. but in a more involved manner. Yāj. I. 268 (= Agnipurāṇa 163. 40–41) states that the *pitṛs* viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas that are the deities of śrāddha, being gratified by śrāddha, give gratification to the ancestors of human beings. This verse and Manu III. 284 make it clear that the three ancestors of a man,

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751. देशे काले च पात्रे च श्रद्धया विधिना च यत्। पितॄनुद्दिश्य विप्रेभ्यो दत्तं श्राद्धमुदाहृतम्॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by श्रा. प्र. p. 3 and 6, श्रा. क. ल. p. 3, परा. मा. I. 2. p. 299; श्राद्धं नामादनीयस्य तत्स्थानीयस्य वा द्रव्यस्य प्रेतोद्देशेन श्रद्धया त्यागः। मिताक्षरा on या. I. 217; एतेन पितॄनुद्दिश्य द्रव्यत्यागो ब्राह्मणस्वीकरणपर्यन्तं श्राद्धस्वरूपं प्रधानम्। कल्पतरु (श्राद्ध) p. 4; कल्पतरुलक्षणमप्यनुपादेयं संन्यासिनामात्मश्राद्धे देवश्राद्धे सनकादिश्राद्धे चाव्याप्तेः। श्रा. क्रि. कौ. pp. 3–4; अत्र कल्पतरुकारः पितॄनुद्दिश्य द्रव्यत्यागो ब्राह्मणस्वीकरणपर्यन्तो हि श्राद्धमित्याह तदयुक्तम्। पितृभक्ति of श्रीदत्त (folio 21a). The दीपकलिका on या. I. 218 accepts कल्पतरु; श्राद्धं नाम वेदबोधितपात्रालम्भनपूर्वकप्रमीतपित्रादिदेवतोद्देशको द्रव्यत्यागविशेषः। श्राद्धविवेक p. 1; अत्रापस्तम्बादिसकलवचनपर्यालोचनया प्रमीतमात्रोद्देश्यकत्यागविशेषस्य ब्राह्मणाद्यधिकरणप्रतिपत्तिकस्य श्राद्धपदार्थत्वं प्रतीयते। श्रा. प्र. p. 4. The श्राद्धविवेक states that द्रव्यत्याग is enjoined by the words of the Veda (वेदबोधित) and the thing abandoned is handed over to a deserving brāhmaṇa (पात्रालम्भनपूर्वक). प्रतिपत्ति in श्रा. प्र. means the final disposal of a thing used in a sacrifice e. g. in Darśa-pūrṇamāsa we have the sentence सह शाखया प्रस्तरं प्रहरति. Here शाखाप्रहरण is प्रतिपत्तिकर्म (Jai. IV. 2. 10–13) and not अर्थकर्म; similarly, the cremation of an āhitāgni with his sacrificial vessels is a प्रतिपत्तिकर्म so far as the यज्ञपात्रs are concerned.

viz. the father, paternal grand-father and the paternal great-grand-father are respectively to be identified with the three orders of superintending *pitṛ* deities, viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas, when performing śrāddha. According to some,[752] śrāddha denotes three things, viz. *homa*, the offering of *piṇḍa* (ball of cooked food) and gratification of brāhmaṇas invited to a dinner; the application of this word to any one of these three can only be in a secondary sense.

A firm believer in the doctrine of *karma*, *punarjanma* (re-incarnation) and *karma-vipāka* (explained above) may find it difficult to reconcile that doctrine with the belief that by offering balls of rice to his three deceased paternal ancestors a man brings gratification to the souls of the latter. According to the doctrine of *punarjanma* (as very clearly and succinctly put in Bṛ. Up. IV. 4.4 and Bhagavad-gītā 2.22)[753] the spirit leaving one body enters into another and a new one. But the doctrine of offering balls of rice to three ancestors requires that the spirits of the three ancestors even after the lapse of 50 or 100 years are still capable of enjoying in an ethereal body the flavour or essence of the rice balls wafted by the wind. Further, Yāj. I. 269 (which is the same as Mārk. 29. 38, Matsya-purāṇa 19. 11–12, Agnipurāṇa 163. 41–42) provides that the grand-fathers (i. e. *pitṛs*) being themselves gratified (by the offerings of food in śrāddha) bestow on men (their descendants) long life, progeny, wealth, learning, heaven, *mokṣa* (final beatitude), all happiness and kingdom. In the Matsya-purāṇa (chap. 19, verse 2) a question is asked by the sages how food which a brāhmaṇa (invited at a śrāddha) eats or which is offered into fire is enjoyed by departed spirits that might have assumed (after death) good or evil forms of bodies. The answer given (verses 3–9) is that fathers, grand-fathers and great-grand-fathers are identified with Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas respectively according to Vedic passages, that the name and *gotra* (mentioned at the time of śrāddha), the *mantras* uttered and faith carry to the *pitṛs* the offerings made, that if one's

752. होमश्च पिण्डदानं च तथा ब्राह्मणतर्पणम्। श्राद्धशब्दाभिधेयं स्यादेकस्मिन्नौपचारिकः॥ q. by श्राद्धसार p 30. हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 16. 2 says the same thing. श्रीदत्त in पितृभक्ति (folio 23a) says 'पिण्डदानं तु न श्राद्धं किं तु श्राद्धाङ्गं पिण्डविरहेपि नित्यश्राद्धदर्शनात्।'.

753. अयमात्मेदं शरीरं निहत्याविद्यां गमयित्वान्यन्नवतरं कल्याणतरं रूपं कुरुते पित्र्यं वा गान्धर्वं वा दैवं वा प्राजापत्यं वा ब्राह्मं वान्येषां वा भूतानाम्। बृह. उ. IV.4.4; तथा शरीराणि विहाय जीर्णान्यन्यानि संयाति नवानि देही॥ गीता 2.22.

father has become a god (by his good deeds) the food offered in śrāddha becomes nectar and follows him in his state of godhood, if he has become a *daitya* (an *asura*) then (the food) reaches him in the form of various enjoyments, if he has become a beast then it becomes grass for him and if he has become a snake the śrāddha food waits on him as wind (serpents are supposed to subsist on wind) and so on. Verses 5-9 of the Matsya, chap. 19 are quoted as from Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa by the Śrāddhakalpalatā p. 5. Viśvarūpa [754] on Yāj. I. 265 (p. 171 of Tri. ed.) also raises the same objection and gives several replies. One is that this is a matter entirely based on *śāstra* and so when śāstra says that *pitṛs* are gratified and the performer gets desired objects no objection should be raised. Another reply is that the gods Vasus and others that have access everywhere have the power to gratify pitṛs wherever they may be situated. He does not call the questioners (*nāstika*) as some other and later writers do.

The Śrāddhakalpalatā of Nandapaṇḍita [755] (about 1600 A. D.) enters upon an elaborate reply to these persons (whom he dubs atheists) that aver that the performance of śrāddhas for departed fathers and the rest, who according to the particular actions of each go to heaven or hell or to other forms of existence serves no purpose. He asks: why is śrāddha useless? Is it because there is no prescriptive text laying down an obligation

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754. 'कथं हि स्वकर्मानुसारादनेकविधयोनिगतपितृतृप्त्युपपत्तिः। शास्त्रप्रमाणकत्वादस्यार्थस्याचोद्यमेतत्।...एते देवा वस्वादयः प्रीताः प्रीणयन्ति यत्रतत्रस्थान् मनुष्याणां पितॄन् श्राद्धान्तरसानुप्रदानेनेत्यर्थः। सर्वप्राणिगतत्वाच्चैषां सर्वावस्थितपितृतर्पणसामर्थ्यमविरुद्धम्।' विश्वरूप on या. I.265 p. 171.

755. अथ ये नास्तिका मृतानां पित्रादीनां प्रातिस्विकशुभाशुभकर्मवशेन स्वर्गनरकादिषु तत्तद्योनिषु वा गतानां श्राद्धकरणमनर्थकमाहुस्तन्निराकरणं तावत् क्रियते। किं विध्यभावाद्वा श्राद्धकरणमनर्थकमुत फलाभावादुत पित्रादीनां तृप्त्यसिद्धेः। न तावदाद्यः तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन श्राद्धं कुर्याद्विचक्षणः—इत्यादिविधिदर्शनात्। न द्वितीयः। आयुः प्रजां धनं विद्यां स्वर्गं मोक्षं सुखानि च—इत्यादिफलश्रवणात्। न तृतीयः। न ह्यत्र देवदत्तादय एव श्राद्धकर्मणि संप्रदानभूताः पित्रादिशब्दैरुच्यन्ते किं त्वधिष्ठातृवस्वादिदेवतासहिता एव। यथा देवदत्तादिशब्देन शरीरमात्रं नाप्यात्ममात्रं किन्तु शरीरविशिष्टाः प्राणिन एवोच्यन्ते। एवमधिष्ठातृदेवतासहिता एव देवदत्तादयः पित्रादिशब्दैरुच्यन्ते। अतश्चाधिष्ठातृदेवता वस्वादयः पुत्रादिभिर्दत्तेनान्नपानादिना तृप्ताः सन्तस्तानपि देवदत्तादींस्तर्पयन्ति कर्तॄंश्च पुत्रादिफलेन योजयन्ति। यथा माता गर्भपोषणायान्यदत्तेन दोहदान्नपानादिना स्वयमुपभुक्तेन तृप्ता सती स्वजठरगतमपत्यं तर्पयति दोहदान्नप्रदायिनश्च प्रत्युपकारफलेन संयोजयति तद्वद्वस्वादयः। पितरः पितृपितामहप्रपितामहशब्दवाच्या न केवलं देवदत्तादय एव। तदेते श्राद्धदेवताः श्राद्धकर्मणि संप्रदानभूताः श्राद्धेन तर्पिताः सन्तो मनुष्याणां पितॄंस्तर्पयन्तीति। श्राद्धकल्पलता pp. 3-4. The passage from न ह्यत्र देवदत्तादयः up to the end is taken almost verbatim from the Mit. on Yāj. I. 268. The श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 191 remarks 'वसुरुद्रादितिसुताः—इति एतद्वचनं तु तदाकारत्वेन भावनापरमिति श्राद्धविवेकादयः।'.

to perform it or is it because śrāddha produces no consequences or is it that it is not proved that *pitṛs* and the rest are gratified by śrāddha? To the first he replies that there are such passages as 'therefore a wise man must perform śrāddha with all his efforts' that lay down the obligation; nor is the 2nd objection proper, since Yāj. I. 269 does declare the rewards (of śrāddha) viz. long life &c. Nor is the third alternative acceptable. In the śrāddha rites it is not that the mere ancestors named Devadatta and the like are the recipients and that they are denoted by the words pitṛ, pitāmaha and prapitāmaha, but that those words denote them as accompanied by the superintending deities viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas. Just as by the words Devadatta and the like what is denoted is not merely the bodies (so named) nor merely the souls, but what is denoted by the words is individual souls as particularised by the bodies; in the same way the words *pitṛ* and the like denote Devadatta and others together with the superintending deities (viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas). Therefore, the superintending deities viz. the Vasus and the rest, being gratified by the food and drink offered by the sons and the rest, gratify those also viz. Devadatta and the rest and endow the performers (of śrāddha) with such rewards as male progeny and the rest. Just as a woman expecting to be a mother becomes gratified by partaking of the food and drink for which she has a longing in pregnancy and which is given to her by another person for the sustenance of the child in the womb, she satiates also the child in her womb and endows those that offer her the food and drink for which she has longings by bestowing on them some reward in return. Thus the *pitṛs* denoted by the words father, grandfather and great-grand-father are the deities Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas, and not merely (human beings called) Devadatta and the rest. Hence these deities of śrāddha become the recipients (of gifts) in the śrāddha rite, are gratified by the śrāddha and gratify in their turn the ancestors of human beings. The Śrāddha-kalpalatā then quotes 18 verses[756] from the

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756. अन्नप्रकिरणं यत्तु मनुष्यैः क्रियते भुवि । तेन तृप्तिमुपायान्ति ये पिशाचत्वमागताः ॥ यदम्बु स्नानवस्त्रोत्थं भूमौ पतति पुत्रक । तेन ये तरुतां प्राप्तास्तेषां तृप्तिः प्रजायते ॥ यास्तु गन्धाम्बुकणिकाः पतन्ति धरणीतले । ताभिराप्यायनं तेषां ये देवत्वं कुले गताः ॥ उद्धृतेष्वथ पिण्डेषु याश्चान्नकणिका भुवि । ताभिराप्यायनं तेषां ये तिर्यक्त्वं कुले गताः ॥ ये वादग्धाः (चादन्ताः?) कुले बालाः क्रियायोग्या ह्यसंस्कृताः । विपन्नास्तेऽन्नविकिरसंमार्जनजलाशिनः ॥ भुक्त्वा चाचामतां जलं यच्च जलं यच्चाङ्घ्रिशोधने । ब्राह्मणानां तथैवान्ये तेन तृप्तिं प्रयान्ति वै ॥ मार्कण्डेय 28. 8-13, स्कन्द VII. I. 205.23-28 (with slight variations), ब्रह्मपुराण 220.89-95,

(*Continued on the next page*)

Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa many of which are found in chap. 28 (verses 3 ff) of the printed text. It is said[757] that just as a calf finds its own mother from among many cows that are scattered about, so the mantras repeated in śrāddha carry the food to the pitṛs.

The explanation offered by the Śrāddha-kalpalatā relying on passages of the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa is not satisfactory and is rather far-fetched. The Mārkaṇḍeya and the Matsya appear to agree with the doctrine of Vedānta that immediately on leaving one body the soul has recourse to another body, either as a god or a man or a beast or a snake &c. The hypothesis propounded is that the food and drink offered in śrāddhas becomes transformed into various substances for the use of the ancestors (Matsya 141. 74–75). But the great difficulty in accepting this explanation is that the ancestors might die at different places, while śrāddha may very often be performed at one place far away from those places. It is difficult to believe that the grass growing in one place where the ancestor has been transformed into a beast as a result of his evil actions is the same that might have been produced from the substances offered in śrāddha at a place hundreds of miles away. Further, if one or all the three ancestors have been transformed into beasts or the like how can they recognize their offspring and bestow on them long life, wealth &c ? If the Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas bestow these, it is better to say so directly and affirm that *pitṛs* cannot bestow

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(Continued from the last page)

quoted by स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 333.), श्राद्धसार p. 7 (the first three from मार्कण्डेय and the rest from ब्रह्मपुराण), श्रा. क. ल. p. 5; नामगोत्रं पितॄणां तु प्रापकं हव्यकव्ययोः। नामगोत्रकालदेशा (नाममन्त्रास्तथा देशा) भवान्तरगतानपि॥ प्राणिनः प्रीणयन्त्येते तदाहारत्वमागतान्। देवो यदि पिता जातः शुभकर्मानुयोगतः। तस्यान्नममृतं भूत्वा दिव्यत्वेप्युपतिष्ठति। दैत्यत्वे भोगरूपेण पशुत्वे च तृणं भवेत्। श्राद्धान्नं वायुरूपेण सर्पत्वेप्युपतिष्ठति। पानं भवति यक्षत्वे राक्षसत्वे तथामिषम्। दनुजत्वे तथा माया (मांसं?) प्रेतत्वे रुधिरोदकम्। मनुष्यत्वेऽन्नपानानि नानाभोगरसं भवेत्॥ *मत्स्य 19.4–9 (with changes in the order of verses)* q. as from मार्कण्डेय by स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 448), श्रा. क. ल. pp. 5–6, निर्णयसिन्धु III p. 394 (from मत्स्य). Vide पद्म (सृष्टि 10. 38–43) for same versos with variations. The गरुड (प्रेतखण्ड) 10. 4–7 are almost the same as those from देवो etc. to the end and गरुड (प्रेत० 10.12 and 15 are the same as the verses नामगोत्रं...तदाहारत्वमागतान्. The स्मृतिच. (श्रा. 448) explains: नामानि देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तादीनि मन्त्राः पृथिवी ते पात्रमित्यादयः आदेशा इदमन्नादिकममुष्मै भवत्विति एवमादिनिर्देशाः. मार्कण्डेय 29, 27–28 are similar.

757. यथा गोषु प्रनष्टासु वत्सो विन्दति मातरम्। तथा श्राद्धेषु दृष्टान्तो (दत्तान्नं?) मन्त्रः प्रापयते तु तम्॥ मत्स्य 141. 76, वायु. 56. 85 and 83. 119–120, ब्रह्माण्ड, अनुषङ्गपाद 218. 90–91, उपोद्घातपाद 20. 12–13, q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 448) which reads गोष्वपनष्टो and श्राद्धेषूद्दिष्टं), श्रा. क. ल. p. 5.

any thing on their progeny. It appears very probable that the worship of ancestors by means of śrāddhas was a very ancient institution and that the doctrines of *punarjanma* and *karmavipāka* were comparatively later ones and that Hinduism being all-embracing retained the institution of śrāddhas while adopting also the doctrine of metempsychosis. The institution of śrāddha is from one point of view an excellent one. It provides an occasion for remembrance of one's ancestors and relatives that were dear and near when living. The Āryasamāja objects to the institution of śrāddha and interprets pitṛs in the Ṛgveda as meaning living men in the Vānaprastha stage. It may be noted that the texts support both views. The Śat. Br. expressly says that food is offered to the father of the sacrificer in the words 'this is for thee.' Viṣṇu Dh. S. 75. 4 'He whose father is dead may put down a piṇḍa for his father &c.' On the other hand Manu III. 284 states that fathers are spoken of as Vasus, grandfathers as Rudras &c. and Yāj. I. 269 provides that Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas are the pitṛs and the devatās of śrāddha. These latter are to be explained as containing an injunction to contemplate upon the pitṛs as Vasus, Rudras &c.

As stated below (p. 347) with regard to the Ṛgvedic passages, it was on account of the supposed power of pitṛs to benefit or harm the living that the cult of the dead became a prominent feature in primitive societies. Offerings and ceremonies which may have in most ancient times been prompted in part at least by the desire to placate the ancestors are continued as tokens of pure affection and remembrance. Various beliefs about pitṛs are mentioned [758] in post-Vedic Literature. The Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 14 summarizes a brāhmaṇa text stating that pitṛs move about in the form of birds. The Auśanasa-smṛti and Devala quoted by the Kalpataru say the same thing. In the Vāyupurāṇa [759] it is stated that at the time of śrāddha the ancestors

758. वयसां पिण्डं दद्यात्। वयसां हि पितरः प्रतिमया चरन्तीति विज्ञायते। बौ. ध. सू. II.8.14; न च पश्येत काकादीन् पक्षिणस्तु न वारयेत्। तद्रूपाः पितरस्तत्र समायान्ति बुभुत्सवः॥ औशनस (Jiv. I. p. 531); न चात्र श्येनकाकादीन् पक्षिणः प्रतिषेधयेत्। तद्रूपाः पितरस्तत्र समायान्तीति वैदिकम्॥ देवल q. by कल्पतरु on श्राद्ध p. 17.

759. श्राद्धकाले तु सततं वायुभूताः पितामहाः। आविशन्ति द्विजान् दृष्ट्वा तस्मादेतद् ब्रवीमि ते॥ वस्त्रैरन्नैः प्रदानैस्तैर्भक्ष्यपेयैस्तथैव च। गोभिरश्वैस्तथा ग्रामैः पूजयित्वा द्विजोत्तमान्। भवन्ति पितरः प्रीताः पूजितेषु द्विजातिषु॥ तस्मादन्नेन विधिवत् पूजयेद् द्विजसत्तमान्। वायुपुराण 75.13–15 (= वायु, उत्तरार्ध 13.13–15, Venk. ed.); ब्राह्मणास्ते समायान्ति पितरो ह्यन्तरिक्षगाः। वायुभूताश्च तिष्ठन्ति भुक्त्वा यान्ति परां गतिम्। औशनसस्मृति (Jiv. I. p. 526).

enter the brāhmaṇas (invited) after assuming an aerial form and that when the best of brāhmaṇas are honoured with clothes, foods, gifts, eatables, liquids, cows, horses and villages, pitṛs become pleased. Manu III. 189 and the Auśanasa-smṛti also support this notion that pitṛs enter the invited brāhmaṇas. The Matsyapurāṇa (18. 5–7) enjoins: piṇḍas should be offered to the departed for twelve days after death, since they serve him as food on his journey and give him great satisfaction. Therefore, the soul leaving the dead body is not taken to the abode of the departed for twelve days (after death); the departed spirit hovers near his house, his sons, his wife for twelve days. Therefore for ten days after death milk (and water) should be placed (hung up) in space for ten nights for reducing all torments (or troubles of the departed) and for the removal of the fatigue of the journey (that the departed spirit has to make). The Viṣṇudharmasūtra[760] (20. 34–36) provides "the departed spirit enjoys in the world of *pitṛs* the food offered in śrāddha with the utterance of the word 'svadhā'; whether the departed is in the state of a god or in the place of torments (Hell) or in the form of a lower animal or a human being, the śrāddha food offered by his relatives reaches him; when śrāddha is performed, the performer and the departed soul both certainly secure vigour (or prosperity)."

The Brahmapurāṇa[761] states that śrāddha is to be treated of under five heads, viz. how, where, when, by whom and with what materials. But before proceeding to deal with these five heads, it is necessary to dilate upon the underlying ideas and significance of the word '*pitaraḥ*' from the most ancient times of which we have literary records.

The word '*pitṛ*' means 'father', but the word 'pitaraḥ' is used in two senses, viz. (1) a man's three immediate deceased ancestors, (2) the early or ancient ancestors of the human race that were supposed to inhabit a separate world (*loka*) by them-

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760. पितृलोकगतश्चान्नं श्राद्धे भुंक्ते स्वधासमम्। पितृलोकगतस्यास्य तस्माच्छ्राद्धं प्रयच्छत॥ देवत्वे यातनास्थाने तिर्यग्योनौ तथैव च। मानुष्ये च तथाप्नोति श्राद्धं दत्तं स्वबान्धवैः। प्रेतस्य श्राद्धकर्तुश्च पुष्टिः श्राद्धे कृते ध्रुवम्। तस्माच्छ्राद्धं सदा कार्यं शोकं त्यक्त्वा निरर्थकम्॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 20. 34–36. Compare मार्कण्डेय 23.49–51 (Venk. ed.) for similar verses.

761. शृणुध्वं मुनिशार्दूलाः श्राद्धकल्पं सुविस्तरात्। यथा यत्र यदा येषु (v. l. येन) यैर्द्रव्यैस्तद्वदाम्यहम्॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 2.

selves.[762] For this second meaning, vide Ṛg. X. 14. 2 and 7, X.15.2 (translated above pp. 191–92, 194) and Ṛg. IX.97.39.[762a] 'That Soma which becomes stronger and stronger and makes others strong, that is strained through a strainer, that flows in a stream, protected us by means of the luminary (the Sun)—that Soma with whose help our ancestors knowing the place (where the cows were kept concealed) and the higher regions, harassed the mountain for (the sake of recovering) the cows.' In Ṛg. X. 15.1 the *pitṛs* are said to be of three grades, lower, middling or higher. They are also said to be earlier and later ones (Ṛg. X. 15.2). They are all known to Agni, though all *pitṛs* are not known to their descendants (Ṛg. X. 15. 13). The *pitṛs* are divided into several groups such as Aṅgirasas, Vairūpas, Atharvans, Bhṛgus, Navagvas and Daśagvas (Ṛg. X. 14. 5–6), the Aṅgirasas being particularly associated with Yama who is invoked to come to the sacrifice along with the Aṅgirasas (Ṛg. X. 14. 3–5). In Ṛg. I.[763] 62. 2 it is said: 'through whose (Indra's) help our ancient ancestors (*pitaraḥ*), the Aṅgirasas, who sang his praises and who knew the place, found out the cows.' The *pitṛs* called Aṅgiras were, it appears, again subdivided into two classes viz. Navagva and Daśagva[764] both of which words occur in Ṛg. I. 62 4, V. 39. 12 and X. 62. 6. In several passages the ancient fathers are identified with the seven sages[765] as in Ṛg. IV. 42.8 and VI. 22. 2 and sometimes the Navagvas and Daśagvas also are said to be the seven sages (Ṛg. I. 62. 4). Aṅgirasas are said to be the sons of Agni (Ṛg. X. 62. 5) and also of Heaven (Ṛg. IV. 2. 15). The *pitṛs* are often said to regale themselves in the company of gods,

762. This idea is at least Indo-Iranian, if not Indo-European. The ancient Parsi scriptures speak of *Fravashis* that were originally the same as pitṛs of ancient Hindu works or the Manes among the ancient Romans. They were the everlasting and deified souls of the dead. Gradually the meaning of *Fravashi* was extended and even Gods and objects like the Earth and the sky were supposed to have each a *Fravashi*. Vide S. B. E. vol. 4 p. 262 for the *Fravashis* of the holy Yama and for the different classes of *Fravashis*; also S. B. E. vol. 23 pp. 180, 184, 230.

762 a येना नः पूर्वे पितरः पदज्ञाः स्वर्विदो अभि गा अद्रिमुष्णन्॥ ऋ. X. 97.39.

763. येना नः पूर्वे पितरः पदज्ञा अर्चन्तो अङ्गिरसो गा अविन्दन्॥ ऋ. I. 62.2

764. नवग्वासः सुतसोमास इन्द्रं दशग्वासो अभ्यर्चन्त्यर्कैः। ऋ. V. 39 12; ये अग्नेः परि जज्ञिरे विरूपासो दिवस्परि। नवग्वो नु दशग्वो अङ्गिरस्तमः सचा देवेषु मंहते॥ ऋ. X. 62.6.

765. अस्माकमत्र पितरस्त आसन् सप्त ऋषयो दौर्गहे बध्यमाने। ऋ. IV. 42.8; तन्नः पूर्वे पितरो नवग्वाः सप्त विप्रासो अभि वाजयन्तः। ऋ. VI. 22 2.

particularly of Yama (Ṛg. VII. 76. 4, X. 14. 10, X. 15. 8–10).[766] The *pitṛs* are said to be fond of Soma drink (Ṛg. X. 15. 1 and 5, IX. 97. 39), they lie down on kuśa grass (Ṛg. X. 15.5), they come with Agni and Indra to partake of the offerings (Ṛg. X. 15. 10 and X. 16. 12) and Agni is also said to carry the offerings to the *pitṛs* (Ṛg. X. 15. 12). Fire is supposed to take the spirit of a cremated person to the *pitṛs* (Ṛg. X. 16. 1–2, 5 = A. V. 18. 2. 10; Ṛg. X. 17. 3). In later works also (e. g. in Mārk. chap. 45), Brahmā is supposed to have created in the beginning four classes viz. gods, asuras, pitṛs and human beings. Vide also Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, Prakriyā, chap. 8, and upodghāta chap. 9. 35 (ityete pitaro devā devāśca pitaraḥ punaḥ anyonyapitaro hyete).

It was supposed that the departed spirit, after the cremation of the body, was endowed with an ethereal body and became associated with Yama, the gatherer of departed men (Ṛg. X. 14. 1 and 8, X. 15. 14, X. 16. 5), and with pitṛs. The departed spirit went to the world of the *pitṛs* and Agni was implored to take the spirit to the world of the departed whose deeds were good and to the stride of Viṣṇu (Ṛg. X. 14. 9, X. 15. 3, X. 16. 4).

Although Yama is said to dwell in heaven (*divi*) in Ṛg. X. 64. 3, he is really a god of the middle region, as the Nirukta states.[767] The Atharvaveda states:[768] 'let us worship with obeisance the fathers and grandfathers of our father, that enter the wide middle regions, that dwell on the earth and in heaven.' In Ṛg. I. 35. 6[769] it is said: there are three worlds; two of them (Heaven and earth) are in the lap of Savitṛ; one (i. e. the middle region) is in the domain of Yama where departed spirits congregate. 'The great Luminary (the Sun) has risen, a gift of the pitṛs' (Ṛg. X. 107. 1). In the Tai. Br. I. 3. 10. 5[770]

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766. त इद्देवानां सधमाद आसन्नृतावानः कवयः पूर्व्यासः। गूळ्हं ज्योतिः पितरो अन्वविन्दन् सत्यमन्त्रा अजनयन्नुषासम्॥ ऋ. VII. 76. 4; अथा पितॄन् सुविदत्रॉ उपेहि यमेन ये सधमादं मदन्ति॥ ऋ. X. 14.10 = अथर्व 18.2.11.

767. माध्यमिको यम इत्याहुः। तस्मान् माध्यमिकान् पितॄन् मन्यन्ते। निरुक्त XI.18. The Egyptian legend of Osiris presents many of the details connected with Yama. Vide Vulliamy's 'Immortal man,' chap. V. pp 140-143.

768. ये नः पितुः पितरो ये पितामहा य आविविशुरुर्वन्तरिक्षम्। य आक्षियन्ति पृथिवीमुत द्यां तेभ्यः पितृभ्यो नमसा विधेम॥ अथर्ववेद 18. 2. 49.

769. तिस्रो द्यावः सवितुर्द्वा उपस्थाँ एका यमस्य भुवने विराषाट्। ऋ. I. 35. 6.

770. तृतीये वा इतो लोके पितरः। तै. ब्रा. I. 3.10.5; अथ त्रयो वाव लोका मनुष्यलोकः पितृलोको देवलोक इति सोऽयं मनुष्यलोकः पुत्रेणैव जय्यो नान्येन कर्मणा कर्मणा पितृलोको विद्यया देवलोको देवलोको वै लोकानां श्रेष्ठस्तस्माद्विद्यां प्रशंसन्ति। बृह. उ. I. 5.16.

it is said that the pitṛs dwell in the third world from this. This means that after *bhūloka* and *antarikṣa* comes the *pitṛloka.* In the Br. Up. I. 5.16 three worlds of men, pitṛs and gods are separately mentioned. In Ṛg. X. 135. 1–7, Yama is spoken of in somewhat different language. He is in this hymn mentioned as a god by himself and not as the first mortal who made a path (Ṛg. X. 14. 2) or as the gatherer of men (X. 14. 1) or as being in company of the pitṛs. In a few other places Yama is no doubt called rājan and praised in the same breath with Varuṇa (Ṛg. X. 14. 7). But such a position is very rarely mentioned. For the further development of Yama and his assistants as the punishers of men for evil deeds, vide pp. 159–160 above and notes 381–386.

There is another division of pitṛs viz. *pitaraḥ somavantaḥ,*[771] *pitaraḥ barhiṣadaḥ, pitaraḥ agniṣvāttāḥ.* The latter two are named in Ṛg. X. 15. 4 and 11 (which occur also in Tai. S. II. 6. 12. 2). The Śat. Br. defines these as follows:—"those that performed a soma sacrifice are *pitaraḥ somavantaḥ;* those that offered cooked oblations (like *caru* and puroḍāśa) and secured a world are *pitaraḥ barhiṣadaḥ*; those that did none of these (two actions) and whom fire consumes when burning them are '*pitaraḥ* agniṣvāttāḥ;' these are the only ones that are *pitaraḥ.*" The Tai.[772] Br. has a somewhat similar passage and the Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā IX. 6. 17 also refers to these three kinds of *pitṛs.* Later writers introduced certain changes in the meanings of the words for the different classes of *pitṛs* and also increased the number of the classes of *pitṛs.* For example, the Nandipurāṇa q. by Hemādri states: the *pitṛs* of brāhmaṇas are called 'agniṣvātta', those of kṣatriyas 'barhiṣadaḥ', those of vaiśyas 'kāvyas', those of śūdras 'sukālin' and those of mlecchas and untouchables are called 'vyāma'.[773] Even Manu

771. तद्ये सोमेनेजानाः। ते पितरः सोमवन्तोऽथ ये दत्तेन पक्वेन लोकं जयन्ति ते पितरो बर्हिषदोऽथ ये ततो नान्यतरच्चन यानग्निरेव दहन्त्स्वदयति ते पितरोऽग्निष्वात्ताः। एत उ ते ये पितरः। शतपथब्रा. II. 6.1.7.

772. पितॄन् बर्हिषदो यजति ये वै यज्वानः।...पितॄनग्निष्वात्तान् यजति ये वा अयज्वानो गृहमेधिनः। ते पितरो अग्निष्वात्ताः। अग्निं कव्यवाहनं यजति य एव पितॄणामग्निः। तस्माद्वा तृतीयात्पुरुषान्नामानि गृह्णन्ति। एतावन्तो हीज्यन्ते। तै. ब्रा. I. 6.9.5. वायुपुराण (30.6–7) echoes this 'अग्निष्वात्ताः स्मृतास्ते वै पितरोऽनाहिताग्नयः। यज्वानस्तेषु ये ह्यासन् पितरः सोमपीथिनः। स्मृता बर्हिषदस्ते वै पितरोऽनाहिताग्नयः'.

773. अग्निष्वात्ता ब्राह्मणानां पितरः परिकीर्तिताः। राज्ञां बर्हिषदो नाम विशां काव्याः प्रकीर्तिताः॥ सुकालिनस्तु शूद्राणां व्यामा म्लेच्छान्त्यजातिषु। q. by श्रा. प्र. p. 11 from हेमाद्रि; compare मनु III. 197.

(III. 193–198) mentions several classes of *pitṛs*, connects pitṛs called Somapās, Havirbhujaḥ Ājyapās and Sukālins with the four varṇas and in III. 199 states that the pitṛs of brāhmaṇas are designated as Anagnidagdha, Agnidagdha, Kāvya, Barhiṣad, Agniṣvātta and Saumya. Those verses of Manu appear to summarize different traditions about the several classes of *pitṛs*. Vide Matsyapurāṇa 141. 4 for the same last four names and 141. 15–18 for their definitions. In Śātātapa-smṛti (VI. 5–6) twelve groups or divisions of *pitṛs* are mentioned viz. piṇḍabhājaḥ (three), lepabhājaḥ (three), Nāndīmukhas (three) and Aśrumukhas (three). This is a classification of pitṛs from two different standpoints. In Vāyu 72.1 and 73.60, Brahmāṇḍa (Upodghāta 9.53), Padma V. 9. 2–3, Viṣṇudharmottara I. 138. 2–3 and other Purāṇas the classes of pitṛs are said to be seven, three of which are formless (*amūrtimat*) and four have forms (*mūrtimat*) and they and their offspring are described in detail. All this is passed over here. The Skanda-purāṇa (VI. 216. 9–10) speaks of nine groups of pitṛs, being Agniṣvāttāḥ, Barhiṣadaḥ, Ājyapāḥ, Somapāḥ, Raśmipāḥ, Upahūtāḥ, those called 'āyantunaḥ', Śrāddhabhujaḥ, Nāndīmukhāḥ. In this list old and new elements are mixed up. The Indian mind often revels in divisions, sub-divisions and classifications without much basis therefor and this is probably an illustration of that tendency. Manu (III. 201) states that from the sages the pitṛs sprang, from the pitṛs sprang gods and human beings and from the gods arose the whole world whether moving or immovable. It is remarkable that here the gods are spoken of as springing from the pitṛs. This is really a mere eulogy of pitṛs (i. e. it is an arthavāda).

The *pitṛs* were in a class apart from the gods. On the meaning of the word 'pañcajanāḥ' occurring in Ṛg. X. [774] 53. 4

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774. पञ्च जना मम होत्रं जुषध्वम्। गन्धर्वाः पितरो देवा असुरा रक्षांसीत्येके। चत्वारो वर्णा निषादः पञ्चम इत्यौपमन्यवः। निरुक्त III. 8. The ऐ. ब्रा. 13.7 has 'एतत्पञ्चजनानामुक्थं देवमनुष्याणां गन्धर्वाप्सरसां सर्पाणां च पितॄणां च'. The real meaning of पञ्चजनाः is the same as that of पञ्चकृष्टयः (in Ṛg X 60.4), पञ्च क्षितीर्मानुषीः (Ṛg. VII. 79.1), पञ्च चर्षणीः (Ṛg. V. 86.2) and we have यत् पाञ्चजन्यया विशा in Ṛg. VIII. 63.7. पञ्चजनाः means विशः, the whole Aryan people divided probably into five clans. By the time of the Ait. Br. the original meaning of पञ्चजनाः was probably forgotten. The वेदान्तसूत्र (I. 4. 11–13) explains that the expression पञ्चजनानां occurring in Br. Up. IV. 4.17 refers to Prāṇa, Cakṣuḥ (eye), ear, food and mind occurring in the next verse (Bṛ. Up. IV. 4.18). Śaṅkarācārya in his *bhāṣya* on Vedāntasūtra I. 4.12 states that the word पञ्चजन in Ṛg. VIII. 63.7 means *prajā* (people).

(pañcajanā mama hotram juṣadhvam) and other passages, the Ait. Br. (13.7 or 3.31) explains that they are the five classes, viz. Gandharvas with Apsarases, pitṛs, devas, sarpas and *rākṣasas*. The Nirukta III. 8 partly follows this explanation and also gives another. In the Atharvaveda X. 6. 32 the gods, *pitṛs* and men are mentioned in that order. The ancient Vedic texts and practice make a sharp distinction between the Gods and the Pitṛs. The Tai. S. VI. 1. 1. 1 states: 'the gods and men divided the quarters, the gods took the east, *pitṛs* the south, men the west and Rudras the north.' The general rule is that sacrifices for gods are begun in the forenoon, while the pitṛ-yajña is performed in the afternoon (Śāṅ. Br.).[775] The Śat. Br. II. 4. 2.2 narrates that the pitṛs wearing the sacred thread over the right shoulder (and under the left arm) and bending their left knee approached Prajāpati, when Prajāpati said to them 'you will have food at (the end of) each month (on the Amāvāsyā), your *svadhā* (cordial) will be swiftness of thought and the moon will be your light,' while to the gods he had said that sacrifice will be their food and the sun their light. The Tai. Br. [776] I. 3. 10. 4 appears to make a distinction between pitṛs who are of the nature and position of gods and pitṛs that are more or less like human beings.

The Kauśika-sūtra (1. 9–23) neatly collects in one place the difference in the procedure of the rites meant for gods and for pitṛs. The performer of rites for gods wears the sacred thread on the left shoulder and under the right armpit, while in the case of the rites for pitṛs it is worn on the right shoulder and under the left arm; the rite for gods is either begun facing the east or north, while that for the pitṛs is begun facing the south; the rite for gods is finished in the north-east (or north or east), while that for the *pitṛs* is completed in the south-west; an action is done only once for *pitṛs*, while for gods at least thrice or as many times as the texts direct; in going round (perambulating) the right side is turned towards gods and the left one in the case of *pitṛs*; offerings are made to gods with the words 'svāhā' and 'vaṣaṭ', while they are made to pitṛs with 'svadhā' and

775. अथ यदपराह्णे पितृयज्ञेन चरन्ति अपक्षयभाजो वै पितरः। शा. ब्रा. V. 6.

776. देवान् वै पितॄन् प्रीतान् मनुष्याः पितरोऽनुप्रपिपते । तिस्र आहुतीर्जुहोति त्रिर्निदधाति। षट् सम्पद्यन्ते। षड् वा ऋतवः। ऋतवः खलु वै देवाः पितरः। ऋतूनेव देवान् पितॄन् प्रीणाति। तान् प्रीतान्मनुष्याः पितरोऽनुप्रपिपते। तै. ब्रा. I. 3, 10.4 (com explains अनुप्रपिपते as प्रीता भवन्ति). This is alluded to in the वायुपुराण 30, 4 'मधवादयः षड् ऋतवस्तान् पितॄन्परिचक्षते। ऋतवः पितरो देवा इत्येषा वैदिकी श्रुतिः॥.'

'namaskāra'; the darbhas employed in rites for Fathers are those that are taken out from the earth with their roots, while for gods darbhas used are cut a little above the roots. The Baud. Śr. II. 2. also mentions some of these in one place.[777] The Ṛgveda itself (in X. 14. 3 'svāhānye svadhayānye madanti') marks this distinction in the words employed at the offerings to Gods and *Pitṛs*. The Śat. Br. (II. 1, 3. 4 and II. 1. 4. 9) speaks of the gods as immortal and of the Fathers as mortal.

Though the gods and pitṛs are placed in separate classes, still the *pitṛs* partake of some characteristics of the divine. As Ṛg. X. 15. 8 shows, the pitṛs drank Soma. In Ṛg. X. 68. 11 it is said that the *pitṛs* adorned the sky with nakṣatras (nakṣatrebhiḥ pitaro dyām-apiṁśan) and placed darkness in the night and light in the day. The pitṛs are said to have found out the light that was secreted and to have produced the Dawn (Ṛg. VII. 76. 4). Here the *pitṛs* are credited with powers possessed by the highest gods. The pitṛs are invoked with affection and regard for conferring various boons and their favour is sought in various ways. In Ṛg. X. 14. 6 the good will (*sumati*) and favour (*saumanasa*) of the pitṛs are sought. In Ṛg. X. 15. 1. and 5 the protection of pitṛs is sought. They are requested to grant happiness unmixed with trouble (Ṛg. X. 15. 4.), to bestow wealth on the sacrificer (Ṛg. X. 15. 7 and 11) and on his son. Ṛg. X. 15. 11 and A. V. 18. 3. 14[778] seek the bestowal of wealth and heroic sons, A. V. 14. 2. 73 says 'May the *pitṛs* who throng round the bride to see her grant her happiness endowed with progeny.'[779] In the Vāj. S. II. 33 occurs[780] the well-known mantra 'Oh pitṛs! deposit (in this wife) an

777. प्रागपवर्गाण्युदगपवर्गाणि वा प्राङ्मुखः प्रदक्षिणं यज्ञोपवीती दैवानि कर्माणि करोति। दक्षिणामुखः प्रसव्यं प्राचीनावीती पित्र्याणि। बौ. श्रौ. II. 2.

778. परा यात पितर आ च यातायं वो यज्ञो मधुना समक्तः। दत्तो अस्मभ्यं द्रविणेह भद्रं रयिं च नः सर्ववीरं दधात। अथर्ववेद 18. 3.14.

779. ये पितरो वधूदर्शा इमं वहतुमागमन्। ते अस्यै वध्वै संपत्न्यै प्रजावच्छर्म यच्छन्तु॥ अथर्व 14. 2. 73.

780. आधत्त पितरो गर्भं कुमारं पुष्करस्रजम्। यथेह पुरुषोऽसत्॥ वाज. सं. II. 33. The खादिरगृह्य III. 5. 30 provides 'मध्यमं पिण्डं पुत्रकामा प्राशयेदाधत्तेति'; vide गोभिलगृह्य IV. 3.27 and also कौशिकसूत्र 89.6. The आश्व. श्रौ. II. 7.13 reads पत्नीं प्राशयेदाधत्त पितरो...स्रजम्। यथायमरपा असत्'. The Aśvins are called पुष्करस्रजौ and so in पुष्करस्रजं the idea is that the son may be long-lived and handsome. यथेह...असत् may be explained as 'येन प्रकारेण इदैव क्षितौ पुरुषो देवपितृमनुष्याणामभीष्टपूरयिता भूयात् तथा गर्भमाधत्त।' ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व of हलायुध. कात्या. श्रौ IV. 1.22 also says आधत्तेति मध्यमपिण्डं पत्नी प्राश्नाति पुत्रकामा.

embryo, a child that (will wear later) a garland of lotuses so that he may become a grown-up male' repeated when the wife of the performer of the śrāddha eats the middle one out of the three piṇḍas. It should not be, however, supposed that the element of fear of the pitṛs is altogether wanting.[780a] For example, Ṛg. X. 15. 6 prays 'whatever fault we may commit in reference to you through our being (erring) men do not injure us for that.' In Ṛg. III. 55. 2 we read 'May the gods and the ancient *pitṛs* who know the place (of the cows or the path) not harm us here.' In Ṛg. X. 66. 14 it is said 'the Vasiṣṭhas praising the gods fashioned speech (hymns) like *pitṛs* and like sages.' Here pitṛs and ṛṣis are separate groups and Vasiṣṭhas are compared to both.[780b]

In many passages of the Vedic Literature the word *pitaraḥ* is applied to the three immediate deceased male ancestors of a man. 'Therefore up to three generations they specify (the ancestors) by name; for so many are the ones to whom sacrifice is offered' (vide n. 772 above). The Śat. Br. II. 4. 2. 19[781] mentions the presentation formulas of the cakes to the father, grand-father and great-grand-father and

780 a. Compare Vulliamy's 'Immortal man' (pp. 24-25) for fear and affection as the elements of the attitude towards the dead among primitive as well as civilized men.

780 b. देवाः सौम्याश्च काव्याश्च अयज्वानो ह्ययोनिजाः। देवास्ते पितरः सर्वे देवास्तान्भावयन्त्युत॥ मनुष्यपितरश्चैव तेभ्योऽन्ये लौकिकाः स्मृताः। पिता पितामहश्चैव तथा यः प्रपितामहः॥ ब्रह्माण्डपुराण II. 28.70-71; आङ्गिराश्च क्रतुश्चैव कश्यपश्च महानृषिः। एते कुरुकुलश्रेष्ठ महायोगेश्वराः स्मृताः। एते च पितरो राजन्नेष श्राद्धविधिः परः। प्रेतास्तु पिण्डसम्बन्धान्मुच्यन्ते तेन कर्मणा॥ अनु. 92.21-22. This last shows that ancient sages like अंगिरस्, क्रतु and कश्यप are पितृs to whom water is offered (and no पिण्डs), while piṇḍas are offered to one's immediate deceased ancestors.

781. स ददाति। असावेतत्त इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रे ये च त्वामन्वित्यु हैके आहुस्तदु तथा न ब्रूयात् स्वयं वै तेषां सह येषां सह तस्माद् ब्रूयादसावेतत्त इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रे असावेतत्ते इति पितामहायासावेतत्त इति प्रपितामहाय। तद्यदितः पराग्ददाति सकृदु ह्येव पराञ्चः पितरः। शतपथ II. 8.4 2. The तै. सं. I.8.5.1 is: सोमाय पितृमते पुरोडाशं षट्कपालं निर्वपति पितृभ्यो बर्हिषद्भ्यो धानाः पितृभ्योऽग्निष्वात्तेभ्योऽभिवान्यायै दुग्धे मन्थम्। एतत् ते तत ये च त्वामनु एतत् ते पितामह प्रपितामह ये च त्वामनु अत्र पितरो यथाभागं मन्दध्वम्। Again in तै. सं. III. 2.5.5 occurs the passage 'एतत्ते तत...मन्दध्वम्'. This is carried on to later times as in अनु॰ 92.15 'सोमायेति च वक्तव्यं तथा पितृमतेति च'. Vide also अथर्व॰ 18. 4. 71-77 'अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नमः। सोमाय पितृमते स्वधा नमः। पितृभ्यः सोमवद्भ्यः स्वधा नमः। यमाय पितृमते स्वधा नमः। एतत्ते प्रततामह स्वधा ये च त्वामनु। एतत्ते ततामह स्वधा ये च त्वामनु। एतत्ते तत स्वधा।' In Ṛg. IX. 11.2.3 कारुरहं ततो भिषक्, तत means 'father'. नपात् (=पौत्र) and प्रणपात् (प्रपौत्र) occur in Ṛg. VIII. 17.13.

then states that the performer mutters the words "here, O fathers! regale yourselves, like bulls come here each to his own share' (Vāj. S. II. 31 first half). Some (such as Tai. S. I. 8. 5. 1) repeated the formula "this here (ball of rice) is for thee and (for those) that come after thee." But the Śat. Br. emphatically says that he should not offer with this formula, but rather with the formula 'this here is for thee.' In Śat. Br. XII. 8. 1. 7 the three immediate paternal ancestors are said to be svadhā-loving. Relying on these Vedic passages and on the fact that Manu (III. 221) and Viṣṇudharmasūtra (21. 3, 75. 4) prescribe the invocation of pitṛs after mentioning their gotra and names that the Śrāddhaprakāśa (p. 13) concludes that it is really the father and the other ancestors that are the deities of śrāddha and not Vasu, Rudra and Āditya, since these latter have no gotra and that the description of the father and others as Vasu, Rudra and Āditya is meant only for *contemplation* (on them as identical with Vasus &c.). On a passage of the Brahmapurāṇa[782] prescribing that the performer should say to the invited brāhmaṇas that he would call the pitṛs to the rites and that when the brāhmaṇas give permission to call them he should do so, the Śr. P. (p. 204) remarks that the pitṛs here meant are the divine ones viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas and also the human ones viz. the performer's father and the rest. The Vāyupurāṇa (56. 65–66) Brahmāṇḍa and Anu. distinguish between pitṛs who are above and pitṛs who are *laukika*, viz. father, grand-father and great-grand-father. Vide also Vāyu 70. 34 for pitṛs that are like gods.

In the post-Vedic Literature, particularly in the Purāṇas, a great deal is said about the origin and classes of pitṛs. For example, the Vāyupurāṇa 56. 18 speaks of three classes of pitṛs viz. 'kāvyāḥ, barhiṣadaḥ and agniṣvāttāḥ', while the same Purāṇa, chap. 73, Varāha 13. 16 ff, Padma (Sṛṣṭi 9. 2–4) and Brahmāṇḍa III. 10.1 speak of the origin of pitṛs of seven classes that dwell in heaven, four of which have a form (*mūrtimat*) and three of which are without form (*amūrta*). The Śātātapa-smṛti (6. 5–6) speaks of 12 pitṛs viz. piṇḍabhājaḥ, lepabhājaḥ, nāndīmukhāḥ and aśrumukhāḥ. All such descriptions have to be passed over from considerations of space.

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782. ब्रह्मपुराणे। पितॄनावाहयामीति स्वयमुक्त्वा समाहितः। आवाहयस्वेति परैरुक्तस्त्वावाहयेच्छुचिः॥ पितरो दिव्याः वसुरुद्रादित्याः मानुषाः यजमानस्य पित्रादयः। श्रा. प्र. p. 204.

From the sūtra period (about 600 B. C.) to the most modern among medieval Dharmaśāstra works the authors wax eloquent over the praises or the importance or benefits of the institution of śrāddhas. One of the earliest works among these, viz. the Āp. Dh. S. gives the following interesting information: [783] "Formerly men and gods lived together in this world. The gods went to heaven owing to sacrifices (i. e. as a reward of sacrifices that they performed), but men remained behind. Those among men who perform sacrifices in the same way as the gods did, dwell in the other world (i. e. heaven) with the gods and Brahman. Then (seeing that men lagged behind) Manu promulgated the rite which is designated by the word 'śrāddha' and which tends to the salvation (or happiness) of mankind. In this rite the Manes (*pitaraḥ*) are the deities but the brāhmaṇas (that are fed) are in the place of the *āhavanīya* fire (in which in sacrifices to gods oblations are offered)". On account of this last sūtra Haradatta (com. of Āp. Dh. S.) and others hold that feeding the brāhmaṇas is the principal act at a śrāddha. The Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (Upodghātapāda 9, 15. and 10. 99) speaks of Manu as the promulgator of śrāddha rites and Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 1. 30, Vāyu 44. 38 and Bhāgavata III. 1. 22 designate Manu as Śrāddha-deva. Similarly, in the Śāntiparva 345.[784] 14–21 and the Viṣṇu-dharmottara I.139. 14–16 it is stated that the institution of śrāddha was established in the Boar incarnation by Viṣṇu and that Viṣṇu should be regarded as dwelling in the three piṇḍas offered to the father, grand-father and great-grandfather. From this and from the passage of the Āp. Dh. S. cited above we may infer that it was believed even several centuries before Christ that the institution of śrāddhas had a hoary antiquity behind it and that it was as old as Manu, the father of mankind according to the Ṛgveda (VIII. 63. 1, VIII. 30. 3.). It is, however, very remarkable that the word 'śrāddha' itself does not occur in any undoubtedly authentic and ancient Vedic passage, though the rite called Piṇḍapitṛ-yajña [785] (performed on the *amāvāsyā* of each month by an

783. सह देवमनुष्या अस्मिँल्लोके पुरा बभुवुः। अथ देवाः कर्मभिर्दिवं जग्मुरहीयन्त मनुष्याः। तेषां ये तथा कर्माण्यारभन्ते सह देवैर्ब्रह्मणा चामुष्मिँल्लोके भवन्ति। अथैतन्मनुः श्राद्धशब्दं कर्म प्रोवाच। प्रजानिःश्रेयसाय च। तत्र पितरो देवता ब्राह्मणस्त्वाहवनीयार्थे। आप. ध. सू. II. 7.16. 1–3.

784. पिता पितामहश्चैव तथैव प्रपितामहः। अहमेषाश्च विज्ञेयस्त्रिषु पिण्डेषु संश्रितः। शान्ति 345. 21, q. by श्रा. प्र. p. 11.

785. That पिण्डपितृयज्ञ is a श्राद्ध is stated by गोभिलगृह्य IV. 4. 1–2 'अन्वष्टक्यस्थालीपाकेन पिण्डपितृयज्ञो व्याख्यातः। अमावास्यां तच्छ्राद्धमितरदन्वाहार्यम् ।.' Vide श्रा. प्र. p. 4 for the same. For a description of पिण्डपितृयज्ञ, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1085–1090, for महापितृयज्ञ *ibid.* pp. 1101–1103.

Āhitāgni), the Mahāpitṛyajña (performed in the Cāturmāsya called Sākamedha) and the rites called Aṣṭakās were known to the early Vedic literature. The word śrāddha occurs in the Kaṭhopaniṣad (1. 3. 17) 'whoever proclaims this highly esoteric doctrine in an assembly of brāhmaṇas or at the time of śrāddha tends to secure immortality.'[786] The other early occurrences of the word śrāddha known to me are confined to the sūtra literature. The most reasonable and probable inference to be drawn from these facts is this that only a few rites (mentioned just above) were known as related to the *pitṛs* and that therefore no need arose for a generic term in very ancient times to comprehend several rites for the *pitṛs*. But when the number of rites in honour of *pitṛs* increased, the generic term 'śrāddha' was hit upon.

A few samples of the panegyrics on śrāddha may be set out here. The Baud. [787] Dh. S. states that rites for the Fathers confer long life, heaven, fame and prosperity. The Harivaṁśa [788] says 'the world derives support from śrāddha and Yoga (i. e. Mokṣa) springs from it.' Sumantu [789] quoted in the Smṛticandrikā (śrāddha p. 333) states 'nothing else is declared to be more beneficial than śrāddha.' The Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 14. 1-4) avers that if a man performs śrāddha with faith he thereby propitiates Brahmā, Indra, Rudra and the other gods, sages, birds, men, beasts, creeping animals, hosts of pitṛs and whatever else is styled a being and the whole world. Yāj. I. 270 [790] promising long life and several other benefits arising from gratifying *pitṛs* has already been quoted above (p. 337). Yama has a similar verse. It is said in a passage of the Viṣṇudharmottara [791] quoted by the Śrāddhasāra (p. 6) and Śrāddhaprakāśa (pp. 11-12) that the *piṇḍa* offered to the

786. य इमं परमं गुह्यं श्रावयेद् ब्रह्मसंसदि। प्रयतः श्राद्धकाले वा तदानन्त्याय कल्पते॥ कठ० I. 3. 17.

787. पित्र्यमायुष्यं स्वर्ग्यं यशस्यं पुष्टिकर्म च। बौ. ध. सू. II. 8 1.

788. श्राद्धे प्रतिष्ठितो लोकः श्राद्धे योगः प्रवर्तते॥ हरिवंश I. 21. 1.

789. श्राद्धात्परतरं नान्यच्छ्रेयस्करमुदाहृतम्। तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन श्राद्धं कुर्याद्विचक्षणः॥ सुमन्तु q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा.). p. 333.

790. आयुः पुत्रान् यशः स्वर्गं कीर्तिं पुष्टिं बलं श्रियः। पशून् सौख्यं धनं धान्यं प्राप्नुयात्पितृपूजनात्॥ यम q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 333), श्राद्धसार p. 5. Similar verses are या. I. 270 (= Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 32.38) and शङ्ख 14 33.

791. पूजितैस्तैर्भविष्यामि चतुरात्मा तथाप्यहम्। पितृपैतामहः पिण्डो वासुदेवः प्रकीर्तितः। पैतामहश्च निर्दिष्टस्तथा सङ्कर्षणः प्रभुः। पितृपिण्डश्च विज्ञेयः प्रद्युम्नश्चापराजितः। आत्मानिरुद्धो विज्ञेयः पिण्डनिर्वपणे बुधैः॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 139.20-22, q. by श्राद्धसार p. 6 and श्राद्धप्र. pp. 11-12.

great-grandfather is declared to be god Vāsudeva himself, the one to the grandfather is designated Saṅkarṣaṇa, that to the father is known as Pradyumna and the offerer of the piṇḍas is himself in the position of Aniruddha. In Śāntiparva 345. 21 it is stated that Viṣṇu should be looked upon as staying in the three piṇḍas. In the Kūrmapurāṇa it is stated 'on the day of *Amāvāsyā* the pitṛs assuming an aerial form come to the door of their former haunt and mark whether śrāddha is being performed by men of their family. This they do till sunset. When the sun sets, being oppressed by hunger and thirst, they become full of despair and feel sorrow, breathe heavily for a long time and go away condemning their descendants. The pitṛs of him who does not offer śrāddha on amāvāsyā, even with water or vegetables, go away after cursing him'.

It is necessary to say a few words about the derivation of the word 'śrāddha'. That the word is derived from 'śraddhā' is quite clear. In the definition quoted above from the Brahmapurāṇa and the definition [792] given by Marīci and Bṛhaspati the connection of śrāddha with śraddhā is emphasized. In śrāddha one entertains the firm faith or conviction that what is given up to the brāhmaṇas for the benefit of the departed man or the Fathers will reach him or them in some way. The Skandapurāṇa VI. 218.3 says that śrāddha is so called because śraddhā is the root (or main spring) of that rite. This means that there is not only the conviction stated above but that there is a firm belief that a person is under an obligation to offer it. Śraddhā is deified and addressed as a deity in Ṛg. [793] X. 151. 1–5, the first verse of which is explained in the Nirukta (IX. 31). The word also occurs in Ṛg. II. 26. 3, VII. 32. 14, VIII. 1. 31, IX. 113. 4. In some verses the two components of the word 'śraddhā' (viz. 'śrat' and 'dhā') are separated without any change in the meaning. For example, in Ṛg. II. 12. 5 (= A. V. 20. 34. 5) it is said 'Have faith in him; O people! he is Indra'. In Ṛg. X. 147. 1, addressed to Indra, we have 'I have faith in that high wrath of yours &c.' (śratte dadhāmi

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792. प्रेतं पितॄंश्च निर्दिश्य भोज्यं यत्प्रियमात्मनः। श्रद्धया दीयते यत्र तच्छ्राद्धं परिकीर्तितम्॥ मरीचि quoted from the पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय by निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 372, श्रा. प्र. p 7; संस्कृतं व्यञ्जनाढ्यं च पयोमधुघृतान्वितम्। श्रद्धया दीयते यस्माच्छ्राद्धं तेन निगद्यते॥ बृहस्पति q. by हेमाद्रि p. 152, अपरार्क p. 501, कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 176), श्रा. प्र. p. 3, श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 189 quotes it as पुलस्त्य's.

793. श्रद्धयाग्निः समिध्यते श्रद्धया हूयते हविः। श्रद्धां भगस्य मूर्धनि वचसा वेदयामसि॥ ऋ. X. 151. 1.

prathamāya manyave). In the Tai. S. VII. 4. 1. 1. it is [794] said "*Bṛhaspati desired 'may the gods put faith in me, may I reach the position of being their priest'*". *Vide also Ṛg. I. 103. 5. Śrat* and *śraddhā* are both mentioned in the Nighaṇṭu (III. 10) as meaning '*satya*'. In the Vāj. S. 19.77 we are told that Prajāpati put Śraddhā in truth and aśraddhā in falsehood, while in Vāj. S. 19.30, it is said that truth is obtained by śraddhā.

In the post-vedic Literature, Pāṇini explains the forms 'śrāddhin' and 'śrāddhika' in V. 2. 85, in the sense of 'one who has eaten a śrāddha dinner.' The word 'śrāddha' may be derived from śraddhā according to Pāṇ. V. 1. 109 [795]. Śraddhā is variously defined. In the *bhāṣya* on Yogasūtra I. 20, 'śraddhā' is defined as the composure of the mind [796] (or mental approval). Devala defines śraddhā: 'confidence (in the efficacy) of religious acts is called śraddhā; one who has no faith has no reason (or motive) for engaging in religious acts' [797]. The Śrāddhasūtra [798] of Kātyāyana prescribes 'one endowed with śraddhā should offer śrāddha even with vegetables (if nothing else is available)'. Vide Manu III. 275 which emphasizes śraddhā for the gratification of pitṛs. The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (29. 27) emphasizes [799] the relation of śrāddha to śraddhā and states that what is offered at śrāddhas becomes transformed into that kind of food for the use of the *pitṛs* who require food in the new bodies they might have assumed according to the doctrine of *karma* and *punarjanma* and it also remarks that śrāddha offered with wealth acquired in an improper or unjust way is a means of gratification to the pitṛs that are born as cāṇḍālas, pukkasas and similar very low grades of people.

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794. बृहस्पतिरकामयत श्रन्मे देवा दधीरन् गच्छेय पुरोधामिति। तै. सं. VII. 4. 1.1.

795. प्रयोजनम्। पा. V. 1. 109; तदस्येदयेव। सि. कौ.; श्रद्धा प्रयोजनं (कारणं) अस्य इति श्राद्धम्.

796. श्रद्धा चेतसः संप्रसादः। सा हि जननीव कल्याणी योगिनं पाति। योगसूत्रभाष्य I. 20.

797. प्रत्ययो धर्मकार्येषु तथा श्रद्धेत्युदाहृता। नास्ति ह्यश्रद्दधानस्य धर्मकृत्ये प्रयोजनम्॥ देवल q. by कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 16 and श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 189.

798. श्रद्धान्वितः श्राद्धं कुर्वीत शाकेनापि। श्राद्धसूत्र of कात्यायन q. by हेमाद्रि p. 152.

799. श्रद्धया परया दत्तं पितॄणां नामगोत्रतः। यदाहारास्तु ते जातास्तदाहारत्वमेति तत्॥ मार्कण्डेय 29. 27; अन्यायोपार्जितैरर्थैर्यच्छ्राद्धं क्रियते नरैः। तृप्यन्ते तेन चाण्डालपुक्कसाद्यासु योनिषु॥ मार्कण्डेय 28. 16, स्कन्द VII. 1. 205. 22.

It has already been stated above (pp. 349–350) that in very ancient times there were only three rites for departed ancestors, viz. Piṇḍa-pitṛ-yajña (offered by those who had consecrated the śrauta fires) or monthly śrāddha in the case of those who had not done so (vide e. g. Āśv. Gṛ. II. 5. 10, Hir. Gṛ. II. 10. 1, Āp. Gṛ. VIII. 21. 1, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 14. 3 &c.), the Mahāpitṛ-yajña and the Aṣṭakā śrāddhas. The first two have been already described in vol. II. (as said above), but the Aṣṭakā śrāddhas have not been described at all so far. Therefore some remarks will be offered here about them. They are of special importance, but the authorities present great variations on almost all points such as the number of days and the months in which they were to be performed, the deities to be worshipped, the offerings to be made and the procedure to be followed.

Gaut. (VIII. 19) mentions 'Aṣṭakā' rite as the first among the seven kinds of *pākayajñas* and as one of the forty *saṁskāras*. Aṣṭakā appears to have meant the 8th *tithi* in any month after the Full Moon day (vide Śat. Br. VI. 4. 2. 10). The Śat. Br. states [800] 'On the 8th day (after full moon) he (the performer of *agnicayana*) collects the materials for the fire pan, for sacred to Prajāpati is the 8th day (after full moon) and sacred to Prajāpati is this rite viz. the firepan.' Śabara in his *Bhāṣya* on Jai.[801] I. 3. 2 cites a verse occurring in the A. V. III. 10. 2 and in the Āp. M. P. II. 20. 27 as a *mantra* indicative of Aṣṭakā. The mantra is "May that (Aṣṭakā) night be very auspicious for us, whom people welcome like a cow coming towards a person and which is the wife of the Year.' In the A. V. III. 10. 8 the Ekāṣṭakā is said to have the year (Saṁvatsara) as husband. The Tai. S. VII. 4. 8. 1. provides [802] 'Men about to take dīkṣā (consecration) for a *Saṁvatsarasattra* should undergo dīkṣā on the *Ekāṣṭakā*; what is called Ekāṣṭakā is the wife of the year.' Jai. (VI. 5. 32–37) explains that Ekāṣṭakā is the 8th *tithi* after the Full Moon of Māgha. The Āp. Gṛ. (quoted by Haradatta

800. अष्टकायामुखां सम्भरति । प्राजापत्यमेतदहर्यदष्टका प्राजापत्यमेतत्कर्म यदुखा प्राजापत्य एव तदहन् प्राजापत्यं कर्म करोति । शतपथ० VI.2.2.23.

801. अष्टकालिङ्गाश्च मन्त्रा वेदे दृश्यन्ते यां जनाः प्रतिनन्दन्तीत्येवमादयः। शबर on जै. I. 3.2. The verse as read by शबर on जै. VI. 5. 35 is: यां जनाः प्रतिनन्दन्ति रात्रिं धेनुमिवायतीम् । संवत्सरस्य या पत्नी सा नो अस्तु सुमङ्गली॥ and he adds 'अष्टकायै सुराधसे स्वाहा'. In the A. V. III. 10.2 the readings are देवाः for जनाः and धेनुमुपायतीम्.

802. संवत्सराय दीक्षिष्यमाणा एकाष्टकायां दीक्षेरन्नेषा वै संवत्सरस्य पत्नी यदेकाष्टका। तै सं. VII. 4.8.1.

on Gaut. 8. 19) says [803] the same, but adds that on it (the 8th *tithi*) the moon is in Jyeṣṭhā constellation. This means that if the 8th *tithi* is spread over two days, then that day on which the moon is in Jyeṣṭhā would be called Ekāṣṭakā.[804] The Hir. Gṛ. (II. 15. 9) also says that Ekāṣṭakā is called the wife of the year.[805]

According to the Āśv. Gṛ. II. 4. 1 the Aṣṭakā days (and rites) were four, viz. the 8th *tithis* of the dark halves of the four months of the two seasons of *hemanta* and *śiśira* (i. e. of Mārgaśīrṣa, Pauṣa, Māgha and Phālguna). Most of the Gṛhyasūtras viz. Mānava Gṛ. II. 8, Śāṅ. Gṛ. III. 12. 1, Khādira Gṛ. III. 3. 27, Kāṭhaka Gṛ. 61. 1, Kauṣītaki Gṛ. III. 15. 1 and Pār. Gṛ. III. 3 say that there are only three Aṣṭakā rites viz. on the 8th after the Full Moon day of Mārgaśīrṣa (called āgrahāyaṇī) i. e. in the dark halves of Mārgaśīrṣa, Pauṣa (or Taiṣa) and Māgha. The Gobhila Gṛ. III. 10. 48 mentions that the Aṣṭakās are four according to Kautsa and in all flesh is to be offered, but that Gautama, Audgāhamāni and Vārkakhaṇḍi prescribe only three and Gobhila follows these latter. The Baud. Gṛ. II. 11. 1 provides that the three Aṣṭakā homas are performed in the months of Taiṣa, Māgha and Phālguna. Āśv. Gṛ. II. 4. 2 refers to an option that Aṣṭakā rites were performed only on one Aṣṭamī (and not on three or four). The Baud. Gṛ. provides that [806] the rite may be compressed into the three days (7th, 8th and 9th) of the dark half of Māgha or even in one day (i. e. 8th of the dark half of Māgha). The Hir. Gṛ. (II. 14. 2)

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803. या माघ्याः पौर्णमास्या उपरिष्टाद् व्यष्टका तस्यामष्टमी ज्येष्ठया सम्पद्यते तामेकाष्टकेत्याचक्षते । आप. गृ. VIII. 21.10 ; अष्टकां व्याख्यास्यामः । माघ्याः पौर्णमास्या योऽपरपक्षस्तस्याष्टमीमेकाष्टकेत्याचक्षते । हिर. गृ. II. 14.1-2. Both अनाकुला and तात्पर्यदर्शन explain व्यष्टका as कृष्णपक्षः.

804 According to a Vārtika on Pāṇ. VII. 3. 45 the word Aṣṭakā is formed from 'aṣṭan.' वार्तिक 9 on पाणिनि VII. 3.45 teaches that from अष्टन् we get Aṣṭakā as meaning a rite in which the pitṛs are the deities and Aṣṭikā in any other sense (such as अष्टिका खारी).

805 The Full Moon night of Māgha is said to be the mouth of the year i. e. the year began on that day in ancient times. The Aṣṭakā day after the Full Moon day was the first and most important festival after the Full Moon and it was younger than the beginning of the year. It is probable that because of this it was spoken of as the wife of the year.

806. अथाष्टकाहोमः । तैषे माघस्यापरपक्षस्याष्टम्यां क्रियेत । एवं माघे एवं फाल्गुने यदि विहृतः । यद्यु वै समस्त उपरिष्टान्माघ्याः पौर्णमास्या अपरपक्षस्य सप्तम्यामष्टम्यां नवम्यामिति क्रियेतापि वाष्टम्यामेव । बौ. गृ. II. 11.1-4.

describes only one Aṣṭakā rite viz. the Ekāṣṭakā in the dark half of Māgha. The Bhāradvāja Gṛhya II. 15 also speaks of only Ekāṣṭakā but adds that the 8th of the dark half of Māgha on which the moon is in Jyeṣṭhā is called Ekāṣṭakā. According to Hir. Gṛ. II. 14 and 15 the one Aṣṭakā extended over three days viz. 8th, 9th (on which a cow was sacrificed for the *pitṛs*) and 10th (which was the Anvaṣṭakā). The Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra (ed. by Caland) IV. 8 says that Aṣṭakā is to be performed on the 8th of the dark half of Māgha and Bhādrapada or on the 7th, 9th or 10th tithi.

There is divergence in the offerings also. The Kāṭhaka Gṛ (61. 3), Jaimini Gṛ. 2. 3 and Śān. Gṛ. (III. 12. 2) provide that on the three different Aṣṭakās the offerings are of cooked vegetables, flesh and *apūpas* (cakes), while the Pār. Gṛ. III, 3 and Khādira Gṛ. III. 3. 29–30 put *apūpas* for the first Aṣṭakā (and hence Gobhila Gṛ. III. 10. 9 designates it *apūpāṣṭakā*) and boiled vegetables on the last. According to Khādira Gṛ. III. 4. 1 a cow is sacrificed. According to Āśv. Gṛ. II. 4. 7–10, Gobhila Gṛ. IV. 1. 18–22, Kauśika 138. 2, Baud. Gṛ. II. 11, 51–61, on the 8th day very many options are given, viz. either to sacrifice a cow or a ram or a goat; or to offer some jungle flesh that may be available or flesh mixed with sesame and honey, or flesh of the rhinoceros, deer, buffalo, ram, boar, spotted deer, hare, Rohita deer, pigeons, śārṅga and other birds, or an old red goat; fishes or rice cooked in milk so as to form thin gruel, or gifts only of uncooked corn or fruits and roots, or gold may be offered or only grass for cows or oxen or one may burn some thickets in a forest or present jars for holding water to those deeply learned in the Veda or should recite the mantras relating to śrāddhas, saying 'this is the Aṣṭakā I offer,' but one should not remain without observing the Aṣṭakā day in some such manner as the above.[807]

It is remarkable that although the Vārtika quoted above, and the Kāṭhakagṛhya 61. 1 state that the word 'Aṣṭakā' is

807. अथ यदि गां न लभते मेषमजं वा लभते। आरण्येन वा मांसेन यथोपपन्नेन। खड्गमृगमहिषमेषवराहपृषतशशरोहितशार्ङ्गतित्तिरिकपोतकपिञ्जलवार्ध्रीणसानामक्षय्यं तिलमधुसंसृष्टम्। तथा मत्स्यस्य शतबलेः (?) क्षीरौदनेन वा यूपोदनेन वा। यद्वा भवत्यामैर्वा मूलफलैः प्रदानमात्रम्। हिरण्येन वा प्रदानमात्रम्। अपि वा गोग्रासमाहरेत्। अपि वानूचानेभ्य उदकुम्भानाहरेत्। अपि वा श्राद्धमन्त्रानधीयीत। अपि वारण्येऽग्निना कक्षमुपोषेदेषा मेऽष्टकेति। न त्वेवानष्टकः स्यात्। बौ. गृ. II. 11. 51-61; अष्टकायामष्टकाहोमाञ्जुहुयात्। तस्या हवींषि धानाः करम्भः शष्कुल्यः पुरोडाश उदौदनः क्षीरौदनस्तिलौदनो यथोपपादिपशुः। कौशिकसूत्र 168.1–2. For वार्ध्रीणस, vide note (951) below.

applied to a rite in which the *pitṛs* are the deities worshipped, the greatest divergence prevails as to the *devatā* of the Aṣṭakās. The Āśv. Gṛ. (II. 4. 3 and II. 5. 3–5) provides that on the 7th of the dark half the offerings are made to the *pitṛs* and on the 9th also, but Āśv. II. 4. 12 refers to the eight options as regards the deity of the 8th day, viz. *Viśve-devāḥ* (all the gods), Agni, Sūrya, Prajāpati, Rātrī (night), Nakṣatras (constellations), the seasons, the *Pitṛs*, Paśus (cattle). The Gobhila Gṛ. III. 10. 1 starts[808] by saying that Night is the *devatā* of Aṣṭakā, but adds that there are other views about the devatā being Agni, the *Pitṛs*, Prajāpati, Ṛtus (seasons) or all Gods.

The procedure of Aṣṭakā comprises three parts, viz. *homa*, inviting brāhmaṇas for dinner (up to seeing them go away after dinner) and the rite called Anvaṣṭakya or Anvaṣṭakā. When the Aṣṭakās were deemed to be three or four performed in the several months noted above, all these were gone through at each Aṣṭakā. When the Aṣṭakā rite was performed only in one month i. e. after the Full moon in Māgha, the above parts were performed on three days, 7th, 8th and 9th of the dark half. When compressed in one day only, they must have been performed one after another on the same day.

Many of the Gṛhyasūtras, such as those of Āśvalāyana, Kauśika, Gobhila, Hiraṇyakeśin and Baudhāyana describe a very elaborate procedure in the case of Aṣṭakās. One of the shortest being that contained in Āp. Gṛ. (VIII. 21 and 22) is given here by way of sample[808a]. After defining Ekāṣṭakā (in VIII. 21. 10) Āp. proceeds: 'He (the performer of the Aṣṭakā rite) should perform subsidiary (or preparatory) rites in the evening of the previous day (i. e. on the 7th of the dark half). He cooks (or bakes) a cake from rice taken up (from a heap) in four cups; according to some teachers the cake is prepared on eight potsherds (like a puroḍāśa). After the actions up to the

808. अष्टका रात्रिदेवता। पुष्टिकर्म। आग्नेयी पित्र्या वा प्राजापत्यर्तुदेवता वैश्वदेवीति देवताविचाराः। गोभिलगृह्य III. 10.1–3.

808 a. या माघ्याः...रयाचक्षते। तस्याः सायमौपकार्यम्। अपूपं चतुःशरावं श्रपयति। अष्टाकपाल इत्येके। पार्वणवदाज्यभागान्तेऽञ्जलिनोत्तरयापूपाञ्जुहोति। सिद्धः शेषस्तमष्टधा कृत्वा ब्राह्मणेभ्य उपहरति। श्वोभूते दर्भेण गामुपाकरोति पितृभ्यस्त्वा जुष्टामुपाकरोमीति। तूष्णीं पञ्चाज्याहुतीर्हुत्वा तस्यै वपां श्रपयित्वोपस्तीर्णाभिघारितां मध्यमेनान्तमेन वा पलाशपर्णेनोत्तरया जुहोति। मांसौदनमुत्तराभिः। पिष्टान्नमुत्तरया। आज्याहुतीरुत्तराः। स्विष्टकृत्प्रभृति समानमा-पिण्डनिधानात्। अन्वष्टकायामेकेके पिण्डनिधानमुपदिशन्ति। अथैतदपरं दध्न एवाञ्जलिना जुहोति यथापूपम्। अत एव यथार्थं मांसं शिष्ट्वा श्वोभूतेऽन्वष्टका। तस्या मासिश्राद्धेन कल्पो व्याख्यातः। आप. गृ. VIII. 21.10–VIII. 22.12.

'Ājyabhāgas'[809] have been performed in the same way as at the Amāvāsyā and Full Moon sacrifices he makes with his joined hands oblations of the cakes with the next verse[810]. The rest of the cake that is already baked is divided by him into eight parts and offered to the brāhmaṇas[811]. On the following day he prepares the cow for immolation by touching her with a *darbha* with the words 'I make thee that are agreeable to the Fathers ready (for sacrifice)'. Having silently (i. e. without uttering the word *svāhā*) offered five[812] oblations of clarified butter, having cooked the omentum of that (cow) and having spread under (the cooked omentum) and sprinkled over it clarified butter he offers it with a *palāśa* leaf from the middle or the end of the stalk with the next verse (i. e. Āp. M. P. II. 20. 28).[813] He offers boiled rice together with the flesh (of the cow) with the next verses (seven from Āp. M. P. II. 20. 29-35). He offers the food of flour cooked (in milk) with the next verse (Āp. M. P. II. 21. 1 'Ukthyaścātirātraśca').[814] Then (he offers) the oblations of clarified butter with the following (eight) verses (Āp. M. P. II. 21. 2-9). The rites from Sviṣṭakṛt[815] down to the placing of the *piṇḍas* are the same as at the monthly śrāddha (described in Āp. Gṛ. VIII·21. 1-9). Some teachers prescribe that the *piṇḍas* are to be offered the day after the Aṣṭakā (i. e. on the 9th of the dark half). Here follows another method (of celebrating the Aṣṭakā rite). He sacrifices curds with his joined hands in the same way as he offers the cake. Having left over from the meat (of the cow) as much as may be required, he performs on the day following

809. For Ājyabhāgas, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1059, 1060.

810. The Āp. Gṛ. S. here and elsewhere refers to the collection of Mantras called Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha (edited by Dr. Winternitz). The verse meant here is Āp. M. P. (II. 20. 27), quoted above in *n* 801 (Yām janāḥ &c.).

811. The words 'siddhaḥ śeṣaḥ' are explained by the Anākulā (of Haradatta) as meaning 'the rest of the rites are the usual ones without alterations'.

812. As no *devatā* is expressly named, the offerings must be taken to be made to Prajāpati.

813. Āp. M. P. II. 20. 28 is the *mantra* 'vaha vapām' (carry the omentum to the Fathers, O Jātavedas), which is Vāj. S. 35. 20 and is prescribed for this rite in Āśv. Gṛ. II. 4.13, Śāṅ. Gṛ. III. 13.3 and elsewhere.

814. The Mantra 'Ukthyaścātirātraśca' occurs also in Śāṅ. Gṛ. III. 14. 2.

815. For 'Sviṣṭakṛt' vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 208 and 1257.

(the Aṣṭakā day) the Anvaṣṭakā rite. Its procedure is explained by the description of the monthly śrāddha.

Though Āp. Gṛ. (II. 5. 3) and Śāṅ. Gṛ. III. 13. 7 state that the Anvaṣṭakya rite follows the procedure of Piṇḍapitṛyajña, some Gṛhyasūtras (such as Khādira III. 5, Gobhila IV. 2-3) give very elaborate descriptions of that rite. The Āśv. Gṛ. and Viṣṇudharmasūtra 74 follow a middle course. The description in Āśv. Gṛ. is comparatively brief and it is set out below. It may be noted that some Gṛhya-sūtras state that the Anvaṣṭakya rite is performed on the 9th or 10th of the dark half (e. g. Khādira Gṛ. III. 5. 1 'navamīm daśamīm vānvaṣṭakyam)'. Further, it may be stated that though most Gṛhyasūtras call the rite Anvaṣṭakya still it is also called Anvaṣṭakā by Pār. Gṛ. III. 3. 10, Manu IV. 150, Viṣṇudharmasūtra 74. 1 and 76. 1. The most notable peculiarity of this rite is that therein female ancestors are invoked and offerings are made to them of which liquor (*surā*), scum of boiled rice, collyrium, salves and garlands form part. Though some sūtras (like Āśv. Gṛ. II. 5) declare that the Aṣṭakā and Anvaṣṭakya are modelled on the monthly śrāddha or Piṇḍapitṛyajña, others (like the Baud. Gṛ. III. 12. 1, Gobhila Gṛ. IV. 4., Khādira III. 5. 35) say that the Aṣṭakā or Anvaṣṭakya is the norm which is followed in the Piṇḍapitṛyājña and all the śrāddhas. The Kāṭhaka Gṛ. (66. 1, 67. 1, 68. 1, 69. 1) avers[816] that the first śrāddha, the other śrāddhas (such as sapiṇḍīkaraṇa), Paśuśrāddha (in which the flesh of an animal is offered) and the śrāddha performed every month follow the procedure of Aṣṭakā. The Piṇḍa-pitṛyajña could be offered on amāvāsyā only by one who was *āhitāgni* (i. e. had kept the sacred vedic fires). It is impossible to believe that everyone became āhitāgni. The case was probably the reverse i. e. only a few became *āhitāgnis* and the rest had only the gṛhya fire or many of the rest were without even the gṛhya fire. It appears possible that all were required to offer śrāddha on amāvāsyā on the analogy of piṇḍapitṛyajña. As the latter became rare, the requirement of offering śrāddha on amāvāsyā remained and in the sūtras and smṛtis all the details were mentioned under māsiśrāddha and in the case of the other śrāddhas the sūtras and smṛtis pointed out only what was to be omitted. It is owing to this that the māsiśrāddha came to be called the *prakṛti* and the other śrāddhas were called *vikṛtis*

816. देवपाल on काठकगृह्य 66.1. says अष्टकाविकाराणि हि सर्वश्राद्धानि. The बौ. गृ. III. 12. 1 states 'अष्टकाप्रकृतिर्मासिकं तत्पुरस्ताद् व्याख्यातम्.'

or variations of the māsiśrāddha. Most of the details of the piṇḍapitṛyajña were required in māsiśrāddha and a few (such as giving arghya, *gandha*, dīpa) were added and more elaborate rules evolved.

The Anvaṣṭakya[817] is described in the Āśv. Gṛ. (II. 5. 2-15) as follows :—Having prepared a portion of the same meat,[818] having established the fire on a surface sloping towards the south, having fenced it in and made a door on the north side of the enclosed shed, having strewn round the fire three times sacrificial grass with its roots without touching it, turning the left side (of one's body) towards the fire, he should place down the things to be offered, boiled rice, boiled rice mixed with sesamum, rice cooked in milk, meal pap with curds and meal pap with honey. The ceremony should follow the ritual of the Piṇḍapitṛyajña (vide Āśv. Śr. II. 6). Having sacrificed (part of the foods specified except meal-pap) with honey let him offer portions of those substances to the *pitṛs* and to their wives with the addition of liquor and the scum of boiled rice. Some place the portion to be offered into pits, which may be two or six. In those situated to the east he should present the offerings to the pitṛs; in those to the west, to the wives. Thereby the ceremony celebrated in the rainy season on the Maghā day in the dark fortnight after the full moon of Prauṣṭhapada (i. e. Bhādrapada) has been declared. And thus he should offer (a festival like the Anvaṣṭakā) to the pitṛs every month, observing uneven[819] numbers. He should give food at least to nine (brāhmaṇas) or to any un-even number of brāhmaṇas. (Food should be given) to an even number on auspicious occasions[820]

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817. अन्वष्टक्य is explained by रुद्रस्कन्द on खादिरगृह्य III. 5 as 'अष्टकासु क्रियते इत्यन्वष्टक्यं कर्म एतच्च प्रत्यष्टकमनन्तरं कर्तव्यम्' and by देवपाल on काठकगृह्य 65.1 as 'अष्टकाया अनु पश्चाद्भवमन्वष्टक्यमित्यन्वर्थिकेयं संज्ञान्वष्टक्यमिति। एतच्च केचिदष्टकाया अङ्गं वदन्ति केचित्तत्सदृशं विकारभूतं कर्मान्तरम्।.'

818. The meat is that of the animal killed on the Aṣṭakā day (Āśv. Gṛ. II, 4. 13).

819. That is, selecting an uneven number of brāhmaṇas or on uneven *tithis*.

820. 'Vṛddhi' or "Ābhyudayika" (*referring to prosperity or good luck*) Śrāddha is performed on such occasions as the birth of a son, the marriage of a son or daughter, the pitṛs in the Vṛddhi-śrāddha being designated Nāndīmukha. Pūrta means charitable works such as construction of wells and tanks, building of temples, dedication of parks. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 844 n. 1992 and Yāj. I. 250, Śāṅ. Gṛ. IV. 4. 1 ff.

or on the performance of meritorious deeds; to an uneven number (on other occasions). The rite is performed from left to right. Barley grains are to be used instead of sesamum.

The Anvaṣṭakya rite was performed after each of the three or four Aṣṭakās and if only one Aṣṭakā in Māgha were performed, then after the 8th of the dark half.

There are two views about the rite called Māghyāvarṣa [821] in Āśv. Gṛ. II. 5. 9. Acc. to Nārāyaṇa, the rite is performed in the dark half of Bhādrapada for three days on 7th, 8th and 9th.[822] The other view is that it is a rite like the Aṣṭakās but performed on the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada, when generally the moon is in the Maghā *nakṣatra.* There is doubt about the very name of the rite, as the mss. present various forms (vide Oldenberg's note in S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 103 on Śāṅ. Gṛ. III. 13. 1). The real name appears to be Māghyāvarṣa or Maghāvarṣa (meaning 'a śrāddha in the rainy season when the moon is in the *Maghā nakṣatra*)'. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 76. 1 [823] mentions the following times for offering śrāddha viz. (twelve) Amāvāsyās (in a year), the three Aṣṭakās, the three Anvaṣṭakās, the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada when the moon is in the Maghā asterism, the seasons of *śarad* and *vasanta.* In Viṣṇu Dh. S. (78. 52–53) also a śrāddha on the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada is highly eulogised. Manu III. 273 also states that whatever food mixed with honey is offered on the 13th day in the rainy season when the moon is in Maghā procures endless satisfaction. To the same effect are Vas. XI. 40 (in the rainy season and on Maghā), Yāj. I. 26 and Varāhapurāṇa.[824] In the

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821. The word माघ्यावर्ष (as an attribute of *Karma* or *Śrāddha*) may be derived from मघावर्ष (मघायुक्तः वर्षः वर्षर्तुः) or वर्षमघा (or वर्षामघा meaning वर्षे मघा or वर्षासु मघा). In the latter case the words are transposed on the analogy of राजदन्त (पा. II. 2.31). हरदत्त on आश्व. गृ. explains 'मघासु वर्षासंयोगात् माघ्यावर्षमिति भवति तच्च त्रयोदश्याम्' and then quotes या. I. 261.

822. In the गृह्याग्निसागर of नारायणभट्ट आर्डे it is stated 'अथाष्टकाविकृतिभूतं माघ्यावर्षश्राद्धं तत्र भाद्रपदापरपक्षे सप्तम्यादिषु त्र्यहःसु अष्टकाकर्मवत् सर्वं कुर्यादिति कारिका । हरदत्तस्तु भाद्रपदकृष्णपक्षे मघायुक्तत्रयोदश्यां माघ्यावर्षाख्यं श्राद्धम् ।' folio 155 b (of the ms in the BBRAS). Vide Cat. No 680 p. 215.

823. अमावास्यास्तिस्रोऽष्टकास्तिस्रोऽन्वष्टका माघी प्रौष्ठपद्यूर्ध्वं कृष्णत्रयोदशी व्रीहियवपाकौ च । विष्णुध. सू. 76. 1. माघी is to be connected with कृष्णत्रयोदशी.

824. यद्ददाति गयास्थश्च सर्वमानन्त्यमश्नुते । तथा वर्षात्रयोदश्यां मघासु च विशेषतः ॥ या. I. 261 ; गायन्ति चैतत्पितरः कदा तु त्रयोदशीयुक्तमघासु भूयः । वर्षासितान्ते शुभतीर्थतोयैर्यास्याम तृप्तिं तनयादिदत्तैः ॥ वराहपुराण 13. 47; correct grammar requires यास्याम-स्तृप्तिम्.

Hir. Gṛ. II. 13. 3–4 (edited by Kirste) the name appears to be Mādhyāvarṣa [825] and it is provided that meat is obligatory in it, but that if meat cannot be had then vegetables may be offered. In Pār. [826] Gṛ. (III. 3) the name (as printed) is madhyāvarṣa which is said to be a 4th Aṣṭakā in which only vegetables are offered. Aparārka (p. 422) also appears to call the rite 'madhyāvarṣa.' In the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa [827] (Brahma-parva), chap. 183. 4 also this rite is referred to but it is said that therein meat is to be offered. It appears probable that this ancient rite on the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada is a precursor of the Mahālayaśrāddha of later times.

If Āśvalāyana's view, viz. that there are four Aṣṭakās in *Hemanta* and *Śiśira*, were followed and if the Māghyāvarṣa-śrāddha were to be performed on the 8th of the dark half of Bhādrapada as Nārāyaṇa holds, then there would be five Aṣṭakās in all. Bhaṭṭoji in his Caturviṁśatimatasaṅgraha says so.[828]

Considerations of space forbid the comparison of the above procedure from Āp. Gṛ. and Āśv. Gṛ. with the procedure described in the other Gṛhyasūtras. It should be noted that several of the sūtras often employ the same mantras in the various stages of the rite (as pointed out above in notes 813–814).

It must be said that the Aṣṭakā śrāddhas gradually fell into oblivion and are not performed now.

The foregoing discussion establishes that the monthly śrāddha on Amāvāsyā was the model śrāddha (*prakṛti*) of

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825. मातृदत्त on हिरण्य. गृ. explains 'माघ्यावर्षः प्रौष्ठपदी मासस्तत्र भवम्' i. e. he derives the name from मध्य and वर्ष (year), the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada being almost the middle of the year (when the year begins with चैत्र).

826. मध्यावर्षे च तुरीया शाकाष्टका । पार. गृ. III. 3 (last sūtra) in the Gujarathi Press edition.

827. तिस्रोऽष्टकास्तु कर्तव्या मध्यावर्ता (मध्यावर्षा?) चतुर्थिका । शाकपायसपूपैस्तु मांसेन तु चतुर्थिका ॥ भविष्यपु. (I. 183.4).

828. एवं भाद्रपदबहुलाष्टम्यप्यष्टका बोध्या । तथा च पद्मपुराणे—अग्निष्वात्तपितृकन्याया वसुनाम्न्या पित्रा शप्तायाः पुनरनुगृहीतायाः भाद्रपदापरपक्षाष्टकाकालेनोत्पत्तिर्दर्शिता । प्रौष्ठपद्यष्टका भूयः पितृलोके भविष्यति । आयुरारोग्यदा नित्यं सर्वकामफलप्रदा ॥ इति । तथैवं पञ्चाष्टका हेमाद्र्यादिग्रन्थे स्थिताः । तथापि श्राद्धं नित्यम् । भट्टोजि on चतु. सं. p. 122. पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड) chap. 9. 28–29 are: प्रौष्ठपद्यष्टका भूयः...स्वर्गकामफलप्रदा. हेमाद्रि on श्राद्ध p. 185 says 'अथ पूर्वोक्ताष्टकचतुष्टयव्यतिरिक्तापि भाद्रपदापरपक्षेऽष्टका । तस्याश्चेतिहासपूर्वकमुत्पत्तिः प्रशंसा चोच्यते पद्मपुराणे' and then he quotes eight verses from the पद्म of which प्रौष्ठपद्यष्टका° is the last.

which the Aṣṭakās and other śrāddhas were copies (*vikṛtis*) with suitable modifications, though a few dissident texts reverse the position.

In the Gobhilagṛhya (IV. 4. 3 ff) another śrāddha called 'Anvāhārya' is prescribed after the Piṇḍapitṛyajña on the same day. The Śāṅ. Gṛ. IV. 1. 13 appears also to describe the monthly śrāddha as distinct from the Piṇḍapitṛyajña. Manu (III.122–23) states: 'After performing the *Pitṛyajña* (i. e. piṇḍapitṛyajña) a brāhmaṇa who keeps sacred fires shall offer every month on the amāvāsyā day the funeral sacrifice Piṇḍānvāhāryaka.[829] The wise call the monthly offering to the Manes Anvāhārya and that must be carefully performed with the approved kinds of flesh mentioned below.' From this it appears that one who has consecrated the *śrauta* fires (i. e. an āhitāgni) was to perform the *piṇḍapitṛyajña* in the śrauta fires and also perform the same day another śrāddha after the piṇḍapitṛyajña, while those who had not consecrated *śrauta* fires were to perform on amāvāsyā a śrāddha in the gṛhya fire, which was called piṇḍānvāhāryaka or simply anvāhārya and also were to offer piṇḍapitṛyajña in smārta fire (vide Sat. Śrauta II. 7. 64 'gṛhyāgnau anāhitāgneḥ'). From inquiries made I learn that nowadays most Agnihotrins (at least in the Deccan) do not perform Piṇḍapitṛyajña at all or perform it only once a year and that no one performs the Piṇḍānvāhāryaka śrāddha. It is further to be noted that in smārta yajñas no one now sacrifices an animal but employs instead māṣa grain and there are *āhitāgnis* who do not offer meat in śrauta sacrifices also, but only *piṣṭa-paśu* (an effigy of an animal made of flour).

The literature on śrāddha is enormous in extent. From the Vedic Saṁhitās several thousand years ago up to medieval and modern commentaries and digests the various matters connected with śrāddha have been dealt with in more or less detail. The Purāṇas contain thousands of verses on śrāddha. An

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829. मेधातिथि on मनु III. 122 explains: 'पिण्डानामनु पश्चादाह्रियतेऽनुष्ठीयते तत् पिण्डान्वाहार्यकं भवति', while सर्वज्ञनारायण explains 'पिण्डेभ्योऽल्पिका मात्रामन्वाहृत्य ब्राह्मणा अत्र श्राद्धे भोज्यन्ते इति पिण्डान्वाहार्यकम्'. These derivations are supported respectively by the पद्मपुराण, सृष्टि 9.88–89 'पितृयज्ञं तु निर्वर्त्य तर्पणाख्यं तु योऽग्निमान्। पिण्डान्वाहार्यकं कुर्यात् श्राद्धकाले क्षये तदा॥ (कुर्याच्छ्राद्धमिन्दुक्षये तथा?)' and by the मत्स्यपुराण 16. 43 यस्मादन्नोद्धृता मात्रा भक्षयन्ति द्विजातयः। अन्वाहार्यकमित्युक्तं तस्मात्तच्चन्द्रसंक्षये॥. The पद्मपुराण (सृष्टि 9. 119) further says 'एतदग्निमतां प्रोक्तमन्वाहार्यं च पार्वणम्।'. The कल्पतरु (on श्राद्ध p. 10) explains मनु III. 122: पितृयज्ञोऽत्र पिण्डपितृयज्ञः। पिण्डान्वाहार्यकं पिण्डानामनु पश्चादाह्रियते क्रियते यद्दर्शश्राद्धं तत्तथा॥'.

adequate and thorough treatment of all this vast mass would fill a separate volume, but considerations of space forbid such an attempt here. All that can be attempted here at the most (and that too not in all cases) is to present matters chronologically i. e. describe how śrāddha was dealt with in the Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇa texts, then in the comparatively older Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras, then in such early smṛtis as those of Manu and Yāj., then in some representative Purāṇas, then in the early commentaries of Medhātithi, Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka, and then in the medieval digests. Even in this way only a skeleton of the ceremonies described in some representative work of each class can be exhibited. Many differences of detail which arose owing to lapse of time, the locality, the *śākhā* and usages of each writer, his individual inclination and his ability, will have to be passed over altogether. In the days of the Purāṇas the differences in detail in the several śākhās have been adverted to.[829a] Apart from the smṛtis and passages of the Mahābhārata (such as Anuśāsana chap. 87-92) and commentaries on the Sūtras, on Manu, Yāj. and other smṛtis, the digests on śrāddha are legion. Only the following digests (arranged in chronological order) have been laid under contribution in this volume: Kalpataru on śrāddha; the Hāralatā and Pitṛdayitā of Aniruddha; the Smṛtyarthasāra; the Smṛticandrikā; the Caturvargacintāmaṇi (section on śrāddha) of Hemādri (which in the B. I. edition covers 1716 pages); the Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara; the Madanapārijāta; the Śrāddhasāra (a part of Nṛsiṁhaprasāda); Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda; the Śrāddhatattva of Raghunandana; the Śrāddhasaukhya (part of Ṭoḍarānanda); the Śrāddhakalpalatā of Vināyaka *alias* Nandapaṇḍita; the Nirṇayasindhu; the Śrāddhamayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha; the Śrāddhaprakāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya); the Śrāddhacandrikā of Divākarabhaṭṭa; the Smṛtimuktāphala (on śrāddha); the Dharmasindhu; the Bālambhaṭṭī, a commentary on the Mitākṣarā. While presenting this exhaustive and heterogeneous material, some generalisations, when called for, will be made here and there. It will be seen later on how several minor matters such as whether food should be offered to gods before śrāddha, definitions of words like parivitti, vṛṣalīpati increased the extent of treatises on śrāddha.

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829 a. The स्कन्दपुराण (नागरखण्ड chap. 215. 24-25) says; कुर्वन्ते बहवो भेदाः द्विजानां† श्राद्धकर्मणि। श्राद्धस्य बहवो भेदाः शाखाभेदैर्व्यवस्थिताः ॥.

We should now turn to the several matters relating to śrāddhas.

First comes the question as to who are entitled to offer śrāddha (*śrāddhādhikārin*). This matter has been already dealt with in the H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 739 ff., and on page 763 and on pp. 256–261 (notes 581–588) above. It would be noticed that some (like the Viṣṇudharmasūtra) prescribe that whoever takes the wealth of the deceased should offer *piṇḍas* (i. e. perform śrāddha for him), while others said that whoever was preferable as entitled to offer piṇḍas to the deceased propositus was to take the wealth. A few matters not mentioned there may be added here. In the Śāntiparva 65. 13–21 it is narrated[830] that emperor Māndhātṛ was told by Indra how Yavanas, Kirātas and similar non-Aryan peoples (that are styled Dasyus in the Epic) are to be made to conduct themselves and it is stated that all *dasyus* may perform Pitṛyajñas (in which they should feed men of their own kind and make monetary gifts to them) and offer money to brāhmaṇas also. The Vāyupurāṇa (83. 112) also speaks of the Mlecchas as persons that offer oblations to *Pitṛs*. The general rule is stated by the Gobhila-smṛti[831] that the husband should not offer piṇḍa to his wife even if she dies sonless, nor a father to his son nor an elder brother to a younger brother. The moral of the story of Nimi who performed śrāddha for his predeceased son and repented for having done so as it was *dharmasaṅkara* is the same. Vide Anuśāsanaparva 91. Aparārka (p. 538) quotes a verse from Ṣaṭtriṁśan-mata that a father should not perform the śrāddha of his son nor an elder brother of a younger one. But Bṛhat-parāśara (p. 153) appears to state that even this general rule may have to be set aside sometimes. Baudhāyana and Vṛddhaśātātapa (q. by Sm. C. on śrāddha p. 337) allow a śrāddha (except sapiṇḍīkaraṇa) to be performed by any one for any

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830. यवनाः किराता गान्धाराश्चीनाः शबरबर्बराः। शकास्तुषाराः कङ्काश्च पह्लवाश्चान्ध्रमद्रकाः॥...कथं धर्मांश्चरिष्यन्ति सर्वे विषयवासिनः। मद्विधैश्च कथं स्थाप्याः सर्वे वै दस्युजीविनः॥...मातापित्रोर्हि शुश्रूषा कर्तव्या सर्वदस्युभिः।...पितृयज्ञास्तथा कूपाः प्रपाश्च शयनानि च। दानानि च यथाकालं द्विजेभ्यो विसृजेत्सदा॥...पाकयज्ञा महार्हाश्च दातव्याः सर्वदस्युभिः। शान्तिपर्व 65. 13–21; on this the शूद्रकमलाकर (p. 55) remarks 'इति म्लेच्छादीनां श्राद्धविधानं तदपि सजातीयभोजनद्रव्यदानादिपरम्।'.

831. न योषायाः पतिर्दद्यादपुत्राया अपि क्वचित्। न पुत्रस्य पिता चैव नानुजस्य तथाग्रजः॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 70 and also II. 104; but see बृहत्पराशर V (p. 153) 'श्राद्धं पत्न्यापि कार्यं स्यादपुत्रायास्तु योषितः। तस्यापि हि तथा कार्यमेकत्वं हि तयोर्यतः॥ भ्रातुर्ज्येष्ठस्य कुर्वीत कार्यं ज्येष्ठोऽनुजस्य च। देवहीनं तु तत् कुर्यादिति धर्मविदो विदुः॥'. अपरार्क p. 538 quotes पित्रा श्राद्धं न कर्तव्यं पुत्राणां च कथंचन from षट्त्रिंशन्मत.

relative through affection, particularly at Gayā. It is emphasized[832] that he alone deserves to be called *putra*, who, while the father is alive, obeys his words, and gives plenty of food (to brāhmaṇas) every year (after his father's death) and who offers piṇḍas (to his ancestors) at Gayā. The general rule laid down was that a child, whose *upanayana* has not been performed, is like a śūdra and lacks authority to utter Vedic passages (vide Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 19, Gaut. II. 4–5, Vas. II. 6, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 40, Manu II. 172).[833] But an exception was recognized by almost all these authorities that a son, though his upanayana may not have been performed, can repeat the Vedic *mantras* required in funeral rites. Medhātithi on Manu II. 172 explains that a minor son, even though not initiated into Vedic study by upanayana, can offer water to his father, perform the navaśrāddhas (mentioned above in n. 593) and repeat such mantras as 'śundhantām pitaraḥ' required in these rites, but since he has no *śrauta* or *gṛhya* fire of his own he can not perform such śrāddhas as the *pārvaṇa*. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 56) provides that boys whose upanayana has not been performed, women and śūdras should get śrāddhas performed through a priest or they may themselves perform them without mantras but only mention the name and gotra of the deceased or with the two mantras 'devebhyo namaḥ' and 'pitṛbhyaḥ svadhā namaḥ'. The above discussion shows that men and women, adults as well as children, those who are *upanīta* as well as those that are *anupanīta* are under an obligation to perform śrāddha.

Tai. S. I. 8. 5. 1, Tai. Br. I. 6. 9 (which will be quoted later on) show that śrāddha was offered to three immediate ancestors, father, grand-father, great-grand-father. The Baud. Dh. S. (I. 5. 113–115) states that there is a group of seven persons closely knit together that is called *avibhaktadāya sapiṇḍas* viz. great-grand-father, grand-fathsr, father, the man himself (who

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832. जीवतो वाक्यकरणात् प्रत्यब्दं भूरिभोजनात्। गयायां पिण्डदानाच्च त्रिभिः पुत्रस्य पुत्रता॥ quoted by त्रिस्थलीसेतु p. 319.

833. नाभिव्याहारयेद् ब्रह्म स्वधानिनयनादृते। शूद्रेण हि समस्तावद्यावद्वेदे न जायते॥ मनु II. 172; on this मेधातिथि says: स्वधाशब्देन पितृभ्यः कल्पितमन्नमभिधीयते। अथवा पित्र्यं कर्म स्वधाशब्देनोच्यते। तन्निनीयते त्यज्यते दीयते येन मन्त्रेण स स्वधानिनयनः शुन्धन्तां पितर इत्यादिस्तं वर्जयित्वाऽन्यमन्त्रो नोच्चारयितव्यः। अनुपनीतेनोदकदानं नवश्राद्धादि पितुः कर्तव्यमित्यस्मादेव प्रतीयते। पार्वणश्राद्धादौ त्वग्निमत्त्वाभावादनधिकारः। पिण्डान्वाहार्यकं तदुच्यते।'. In the वैखानसस्मार्त 9.10 we read 'उदकुम्भमादाय यजमानः शुन्धन्तां पितरः- इति त्रिः प्रसव्यं वेदिमपः परिषिञ्चन् पर्येति।'.

offers piṇḍas to the preceding three), his full brothers, his son from a wife of the same caste, the grandson and great grandson; that sakulyas are those that are called 'vibhaktadāyādas', that the wealth of the deceased descends to those who are born of the body of the deceased[834]. Manu IX. 137 (= Vas. 17.5 = Viṣṇu Dh. S. 15. 46) solemnly[835] affirms: 'by (the birth of) a son a man wins the worlds (heaven &c.), he secures immortality by a grandson and by the grandson of a son he reaches the abode of the Sun'. This verse shows that all the three descendants of a person confer equally great spiritual benefit on him. Yāj. also (in I. 78) lumps the three together (without making any distinction between them) when he says 'since a man secures perpetuation of lineage and heaven by means of son, grand-son and great-grand-son'. Therefore when Manu (IX. 106) says that by the birth of a son a man discharges his debt to his progenitors the Dāyabhāga (XI. 34) explains that the word *putra* stands for the three descendants up to the great-grandson, since all the three are entitled to perform the pārvaṇa-śrāddha and equally benefit the ancestors by the piṇḍas they offer, and that the word *putra* is not to be taken literally but only as illustrative in order to include the great-grandson, since one may with difficulty find a text expressly mentioning the *adhikāra* of the grandson (as a performer of śrāddha and taker of wealth) but there is no text expressly mentioning the great-grandson separately (as the taker of wealth and giver of piṇḍa)[836]. On Yāj. II. 50 which lays down that when the father dies or has gone to a distant country or is overwhelmed by calamities (incurable diseases or the like) his debts should be paid by the sons or grandsons, the Mit. adds that even when a son or grandson receives no ancestral property the father's debts must be paid, the only difference being that the son has to pay the principal as well as the interest, while the grandson

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834. अपि च प्रपितामहः पितामहः पिता स्वयं सोदर्या भ्रातरः सवर्णायाः पुत्रः पौत्रः प्रपौत्र एतानविभक्तदायादान् सपिण्डानाचक्षते। विभक्तदायादान् सकुल्यानाचक्षते। सत्स्वङ्गजेषु तद्गामी ह्यर्थो भवति। बौ. ध. सू. I.5.113-115, quoted by दायभाग XI. 37 and explained in 38 and by दायतत्त्व p. 189. The text printed in the आनन्दाश्रम collection of स्मृतिs is slightly different.

835. पुत्रेण लोकाञ्जयति पौत्रेणानन्त्यमश्नुते। अथ पुत्रस्य पौत्रेण ब्रध्नस्याप्नोति विष्टपम्॥ मनु IX. 137. बौ. ध. सूत्र II. 9. 7 reads the last pāda as नाकमेवाधिरोहति.

836. अत एव पुत्रपदं प्रपौत्रपर्यन्तपरं तत्पर्यन्तानामेव पार्वणविधिना पिण्डदानोपकारकत्वस्याविशेषात्। अन्यथा पुत्रपदस्य स्वार्थत्यागानुपपत्तेः पौत्राधिकारज्ञापकं वचनं कथंचिद्यदि लभ्येतापि प्रपौत्रस्य तु न पृथग्वचनमस्ति। तस्मादुपकारकत्वादेव प्रपौत्रस्याप्यधिकार इति पुत्रपदमुपलक्षणम्। दायभाग XI. 34-36.

has to return only the principal and has to pay no interest and the Mit. quotes a verse of Bṛhaspati [837] where all the three descendants are mentioned in one breath and the Mit. adds that the great-grandson has not to pay even the principal if he has received no ancestral property. This last remark implies that the Mit. regarded that the great-grandson was also included in the extended sense of 'putra'. Yāj. II. 51 begins by saying that whoever takes the wealth of a deceased person has to pay the latter's debts, so the great-grandson would have to pay the great-grand-father's debts if he received the assets of the grand-father. Therefore the Mit. on II. 50 expressly mentions that a great-grandson need not pay his great-grand-father's debts if he received no assets, because, otherwise being included in the extended meaning of putra, he would have had to pay. There was no necessity to bring in or mention the *prapautra* under II. 50 if the Mit. did not include the prapautra in the word putra. Again on Yāj. II. 51 ('putrahīnasya rikthinaḥ') the Mit. included even *prapautra* under the word *putra*. This shows that the Mit. is quite conscious that the three descendants of a man form one group and succeed to his estate and liabilities and putra includes three descendants wherever the context so requires. If the word 'putra' is not to be taken as only illustrative and as including both grandson and great-grandson, serious difficulties will arise even in the interpretation of Yāj. on which the Mit. comments. For example, in Yāj. II. 135–136 it is said that when a sonless man dies his wife, daughters and other heirs (named there) succeed one after another. If 'putra' is taken to mean only 'son' and no one else, then on the death of a man without a son his wife or daughter (whoever is alive) will take the wealth even if a son's son exists. But that would be absurd and is not stated by any one. Therefore the word putra has to be interpreted in a wider sense in a proper context. Many works such as the Vyavahāramayūkha, the Vīramitrodaya, the Dattakamīmāṃsā interpret the word 'putra' as including three generations. Therefore, though the Mit. in its remarks on inheritance and succession expressly names the son and grand-

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837. ऋणमात्मीयवत्पित्र्यं देयं पुत्रैर्विभावितम्। पैतामहं समं देयमदेयं तत्सुतस्य तु॥ इति बृहस्पतिस्मरणात्।; समं यावद् गृहीतं तावदेव देयं न वृद्धिः तत्सुतस्य प्रपौत्रस्यादेयमगृहीतधनस्य। मिता. on या. II. 50; पुत्रहीनस्य रिक्थिन इत्येतदपि पुत्रपौत्रहीनस्य प्रपौत्रादयो यदि रिक्थं गृह्णन्ति तदा ऋणं दाप्या नान्यथेत्येवमर्थम्। पुत्रपौत्रौ च रिक्थग्रहणाभावेपि दाप्यावित्युक्तम्। मिता. on या. II. 51.

son only (lit. it should have mentioned only the son) it must be taken as including the great-grandson also, particularly in view of the fact that it refers to the great-grandson in its comment on Yāj. I. 50 and 51 as taking the riktha which the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 114) interprets as aptratibandha dāya. Baud., Manu, Yājñavalkya speak of the three descendants and Śaṅkha-likhita, Vas. XI. 39 and Yama employ [838] only the word *putra* or *suta* in relation to the three ancestors. Therefore, the remark of Dr. Kapadia in 'Hindu Kinship' on p. 162 'Vijñāneśvara understands by the word putra sons and grandsons only' is unjustified. It is impossible to hold with Dr. Kapadia that the Mit. ran counter to the express dicta of renowned Smṛtis such as those of Manu, Śaṅkha-Likhita and Purāṇas like the Viṣṇu-purāṇa III. 13.30 (quoted above in note 582) and that in its remarks on succession it forgot its own interpretation of putra on Yāj. II. 51. He has also not correctly understood the words of the Mit. introducing Yāj. II. 137 : 'sons and grandsons take the wealth; in their absence, the wife and others; thus it is said (by me)'. This is wrong for several reasons. 'Wife and others take the wealth' is said by Yāj. (in II. 135–36). The following words are 'now (the author) declares an exception to both.' This clearly refers to Yāj. (II. 137) and not to Vijñāneśvara and so 'uktam' also must refer to Yāj. and not to Vijñāneśvara. Therefore, according to the Mit. the great-grandson is included in the extended meaning of the word 'putra', is entitled just like a son or a grandson to offer śrāddha (in default of a son or grandson) and to take the wealth and pay the debts of the ancestor. In the matter of payment of debts there is, on account of the difference in the period that elapses, a difference between all the three descendants if no ancestral wealth is left by the ancestor, viz. the son pays the debt with interest, the grandson only the principal lent but without interest and the great-grandson nothing at all. This shows that even between the son and the grandson that are expressly mentioned by Yāj. II. 50 as to the payment of debts there is a difference and that as the great-grandson had to pay nothing when no ancestral property existed he was not mentioned at all in Yāj. II. 50.

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838. तथा शङ्खलिखितयमाः । पिता पितामहश्चैव तथैव प्रपितामहः । जातं पुत्रं प्रशंसन्ति पिप्पलं शकुना इव ॥ प्रपितामहग्रहणात् पुत्रपदं प्रपौत्रपर्यन्तपरम् । तदनेन प्रपौत्रपर्यन्तस्य श्राद्धदानेन प्रपितामहपर्यन्तोपकारकत्वात् तुल्यो दायाधिकारः । दायभाग III. 18 and कल्पतरु p. 20; पिता पितो...उपासते सुतं जातं शकुन्ता इव पिप्पलम् ॥ वसिष्ठ XI. 39. वसिष्ठ XI. 40 is quoted by कल्पतरु p. 20.

Just as the king is an ultimate heir and also the guardian of all minors, so he is like the son of a person (who has no relatives left) for performing śrāddhas.

The next question is about the times when śrāddha is to be performed. It has been seen above (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 696 ff) that long before the time of the Śat. Br. five daily observances (called Mahāyajñas) were prescribed for each house-holder, viz. the sacrifice to beings, that to men, that to the Fathers, that to the gods and that to Veda. The Śat. Br. and the Tai. Ā. (II. 10) say further that this daily rite in which one offers *svadhā* (food) to the Fathers even up to water was called *pitṛyajña*. Manu III. 70 defines *pitṛyajña* as *tarpaṇa* (satiating ancestors with the offerings of water). Manu III. 82 provides that an householder should daily perform a śrāddha with food or with water or with milk, roots and fruits and thus please the Fathers. Śrāddha originally meant a sacrifice performed for the Fathers on Amāvāsyā (vide Gaut. 15. 1-2).[838a] By applying that word to the daily offering of water to the Manes what is intended to be conveyed is that the special characteristics of śrāddha in the strict sense are to be extended to this daily rite so far as possible. Amāvāsyā is of two kinds, Sinīvālī and Kuhū. Those who keep śrauta fires should perform śrāddha on the former, while those who have not kept śrauta fires and śūdras should offer śrāddha on the latter.

Śrāddhas are divided into three classes, *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya*. An observance is called *nitya* when it is laid down that it must be performed on a certain or fixed occasion (such as every day, on an amāvāsyā, or on Aṣṭakā day). What is laid down for being done on an occasion which is uncertain is called *naimittika* (such as the birth of a son). What is ordained to be done in case one desires a certain reward or fruit is called *kāmya* (e. g. the performance of a śrāddha on Kṛttikā or Rohiṇī by one who desires heaven or progeny). The five daily *yajñas* including pitṛ-yajña are *nitya* i. e. they must be performed without any eye to any reward therefrom and the

838 a. अथ श्राद्धम्। अमावास्यायां पितृभ्यो दद्यात्। गौ. 15. 1-2. दृष्टचन्द्रा सिनीवाली नष्टचन्द्रा कुहूस्तथा। तत्र साग्निकैः सिनीवाल्यां श्राद्धं कार्यमितरैः कुह्वाम्। तथा च व्यासः। दृष्टचन्द्रा सिनीवाली कार्या विप्रैस्तु साग्निकैः। नष्टचन्द्रा कुहूः कार्या शूद्रैर्विप्रैरनाग्निकैः॥ अपरार्क p. 417, स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 344). The स्कन्दपुराण (VI. 216.83) gives the following etymology of अमावास्या 'अमा नाम रवे रश्मिसहस्रप्रमुखः स्थितः। तस्मिन्वसति येनेन्दुरमावास्या ततः स्मृता.' The वायुपुराण (56. 42) states 'अमा वसेतामृक्षे तु यदा चन्द्रदिवाकरौ। एकां पञ्चदशीं रात्रिममावास्या ततः स्मृता॥.' अमा means सह or एकत्र.

non-performance thereof will lead to sinfulness. Passages mentioning the rewards that follow from the performance of obligatory (*nitya*) rites are only laudatory, they only convey that such performances make a man pure, but it is not meant that they are not obligatory and may be performed only if a person desires the rewards or results promised (i. e. such performances are not *kāmya*). Āp. Dh. S. (II. 7. 16. 4-7) provides certain times for the performance of śrāddha viz. that it must be performed in the latter half of every month, that the afternoon is preferable for it, that the last days of the latter half of each month are preferable to the first days of the latter half. Gaut. 15. 3 and Vas. XI. 16 say that śrāddha may be performed on any day of the dark half of a month after the 4th day and Gaut. 15. 5 adds that if particularly appropriate materials or particularly holy brāhmaṇas are available or the performer is near a very sacred place (such as Gayā) a śrāddha may be performed on any day. Kūrma (II. 20. 23) says the same thing. The Agnipurāṇa 115. 8 says that at Gayā a śrāddha may be performed on any day (na kālādi Gayātīrthe dadyāt piṇḍāṁśca nityaśaḥ). Manu (III. 276-278) provides that the days of the dark half of the month beginning with the 10th but excepting the 14th [838b] are recommended for śrāddha, that one performing a śrāddha on even lunar days (i. e. on the 10th, 12th) and on the even nakṣatras (i. e. on Bharaṇī, Rohiṇī &c.) gains the fulfilment of all his desires, that one who worships the Manes on uneven days (11th, 13th &c.) and on uneven constellations (Kṛttikā, Mṛgaśiras &c.) obtains prosperous offspring and that just as the latter half of a month is

838 b. About the 14th of the dark half या. I. 264 says 'प्रतिपत्प्रभृतिष्वेकां वर्जयित्वा चतुर्दशीम्। शस्त्रेण तु हता ये वै तेभ्यस्तत्र प्रदीयते॥'; compare मनु III. 276; and मरीचि states विषशस्त्रश्वापदाहितिर्यग्ब्राह्मणघातिनाम्। चतुर्दश्यां क्रिया कार्या अन्येषां तु विगर्हिता॥ q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा.) p. 367, श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 191. ब्राह्मणघातिनां here means ब्राह्मणकृतघातोपस्थिति. This only means that śrāddha should not be performed for anyone on the 14th of the dark half except for those who were killed by poison or by beasts, snakes, lower animals or brāhmaṇas or in battle. But a śrāddha may be performed on any tithi of the dark half for those killed in battle or by poison &c. It should be noted that Manu prescribes (III. 282) that an āhitāgni should not perform a śrāddha except on *darśa*, from which it follows that only others (who had no śrauta fires) could offer śrāddha on any day of the dark half. Vide स्कन्दपुराण VI. 204, 24-27 and VI. 219. 19-21 for the proposition that śrāddha should be performed on the 14th tithi of the dark half of Bhādrapada for those who met a violent death by poisoning or fire or were killed by animals having fangs or horns or who committed suicide.

preferable to the first half so the afternoon is preferable to the forenoon for the performance of a śrāddha. Anuśāsanaparva 87. 18 is the same as Manu III. 276. Yāj. (I. 217–218), the Kūrma (II 20. 2–8), Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 20 ff) and Varāhapurāṇa 13. 33–35 sum up in one place the times for performing śrāddhas as follows: Amāvāsyā, the Aṣṭakā days, lucky days (such as the birth of a son), dark half of a month, the two *ayanas* (the *two* days on which the sun appears to start towards the south or north i. e. solstices), possession of sufficient materials (such as rice and pulse or meat), the arrival of a worthy brāhmaṇa, the equinoctial points (viṣuvat, i. e. the sun's apparent entrance into Aries and Balance), the days on which the sun passes into one *rāśi* from another, the astrological conjunctions called Vyatīpāta[838c], Gajacchāyā, eclipses of the sun and the moon, when the performer has an intense desire to perform śrāddha–these are times for performing śrāddha. The Mārkaṇ-

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838c. अपरार्क p.426 quotes वृद्धमनु for defining व्यतीपात 'श्रवणाश्विधनिष्ठार्द्रानागदैवतमस्तके। यद्यमा रविवारेण व्यतीपातः स उच्यते॥'. Vide अग्निपु. 209. 13 for the same verse with slight variations (due probably to not reading the mss. correctly). When Amāvāsyā occurs on a Sunday and the moon is on that day either in Sravaṇa nakṣatra or in Aśvinī, Dhaniṣṭhā, Ārdrā or the first quarter of Āśleṣā, *that is a conjunction called* व्यतीपात; *some explain* मस्तक *as meaning* मृगशिरोनक्षत्र. Bāṇa mentions Vyatīpāta in his हर्षचरित. व्यतीपात is also defined in another way with reference to Rāśis. पञ्चाननस्थौ गुरुभूमिपुत्रौ मेषे रविः स्याद्यदि शुक्लपक्षे। पाशाभिधाना करभेन युक्ता तिथिर्व्यतीपात इतीह योगः॥ q. by श्रा. क. ल. pp. 18–19. When on the 12th of the bright half the moon is in Hasta nakṣatra, the sun in Meṣa (Aries) and Jupiter and Mars in Lion, then the conjunction is called व्यतीपात. गजच्छाया is a conjunction that occurs when the moon is in Maghā nakṣatra and the sun is in Hasta and the tithi is 13th in the rainy season. विश्वरूप on या. II 218 quotes: यदि स्याच्चन्द्रमाः पित्र्ये करे चैव दिवाकरः। वर्षासु च त्रयोदश्यां सा च्छाया कुञ्जरस्य तु॥. अपरार्क quotes a काठकश्रुति 'एतद्धि देवपितृणां चायनं यद्धस्तिच्छाया)'. Both the मिता. and अपरार्क p. 427 have a similar verse. The कल्पतरु (श्रा.)p. 9 and कृत्यरत्नाकर p.319 quote ब्रह्मपुराण 'योगो मघात्रयोदश्यां कुञ्जरच्छायसंज्ञितः। भवेन्मघायां संस्थे च शशिन्यर्के करे स्थिते॥.' The सौरपुराण (51.31–32) puts it as 'भाद्रपदे त्रयोदश्यां मघास्विन्दुः करे रविः'. The स्कन्दपुराण (VI. 220.42–44) explains हस्तिच्छाया in several ways. The अग्निपु. (165.3–4) explains हस्तिच्छाया in two ways. Some take गजच्छाया literally and say that śrāddha should be performed in the shadow of an elephant. The Vanaparva 200.121 avers that such a śrāddha in which the ears of the elephant serve as a fan gives gratification for thousands of कल्पs. अपरार्क p. 427 quotes a verse from the महाभारत about श्राद्ध performed in the rainy season under the shadow of an elephant and fanned by the flapping of its ears and the meat being that of a goat all red in colour.

deya[838d] (chap. 28. 22–23), adds that śrāddha should be performed when a man dreams an evil dream and when evil planets affect the nakṣatra of his birth. In an eclipse the appropriate time for śrāddha is what is called *Sparśa Kāla*[839] (i. e. when the eclipse begins), as stated in a verse of Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha. The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 51–54) contains all the times specified by Yāj. and a few more. Vide also Skandapurāṇa VII. 1. 30–32, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 14. 4–6, Padma (sṛṣṭi 9. 128–129). Acc. to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 76. 1–2, Amāvāsyā, the three Aṣṭakās and the three Anvaṣṭakās, the 13th day of the dark half of Bhādrapada on which the moon is in *Maghā*, *Śarad* and *Vasanta* are obligatory (*nitya*) times for śrāddha and that if a person does not perform śrāddha on these days he goes to Hell. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (77.1–7) states that the day of the sun's passage from one sign of the zodiac to another, the two equinoctial days, particularly the solsticial days, Vyatīpāta, the constellation on which the performer is born, a time of rejoicing (son's birth or the like)—these are *kāmya* times and a śrāddha performed on these occasions gives infinite pleasure (to the Manes). The Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha 16. 6–8) says that śrāddhas called *kāmya* are commended on eclipses, solstice days, equinoctial days and on Vyatīpāta and they give infinite pleasure (to the Manes) and śrāddha performed on Saṅkrānti (sun's passage from one sign of the zodiac to another) is inexhaustible and so also on days of birth and on the several nakṣatras śrāddhas should be performed. Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 16. 8–22, Anuśāsana 87, Vāyu 89. 10–19, Yāj. I. 262–263, Brahmapurāṇa 220. 15–21, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 78. 36–50, Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 20. 17–22), Brahmāṇḍa III. 17. 10–22 state what rewards a man gets if he performs śrāddhas on each of the days from the first to the 15th of the dark half. These lists do not completely agree with each other. That of Āp. being probably the most ancient, is set out here:—Śrāddha performed on each of the 15 days of the dark half respectively yields the following results in order, viz. progeny chiefly consisting of females (on 1st tithi

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838 d. श्राद्धार्हद्रव्यसंप्राप्तौ तथा दुःस्वप्नदर्शने। जन्मर्क्षग्रहपीडासु श्राद्धं कुर्वीत चेच्छया॥ मार्कण्डेय 28.22. A man can perform a śrāddha on any *tithi* of the dark half of a month, but he should not perform it on a tithi when the moon is in the *nakṣatra* on which he was born or in Pūrvā-bhādrapadā or in Uttarābhādrapadā or Kṛttikā, Ārdrā, Āśleṣā or Mūla or in a *nakṣatra*, which is 5th, 14th or 23rd from the *nakṣatra* of his birth.

839. ग्रहणमुपरागः। तत्रापि स्पर्शकालो ग्राह्यः। त्रिदशाः स्पर्शसमये तृप्यन्ति पितरस्तथा। मनुष्या मध्यकाले तु मोक्षकाले तु राक्षसाः॥ इति वृद्धवसिष्ठस्मरणात्। भट्टोजि on चतु. सं. p. 124; स्मृतिच. (श्रा) p. 342 quotes the verse.

of dark half), sons that will be thieves, sons that will be possessed of Vedic learning and the performance of Veda-vratas, son that will own small domestic animals, many sons that will be distinguished (by their learning) and the performer will not die childless, a great traveller and gambler (on the 6th), success in agriculture (on 7th), prosperity (on 8th), one-hoofed animals (on 9th), success in trade (10th day), black iron and tin and lead (on 11th), son possessed of cattle (on 12th), many sons and many friends and handsome children which will die young (13th tithi), success in arms (14th), prosperity (on 15th i. e. Amāvāsyā). Gārgya (q. by Par. M. I. 2 p. 324) provides that one should not perform śrāddha on Nandā, on Friday, on 13th of the dark half and on the nakṣatra of birth and the preceding and the following nakṣatras for fear of losing one's sons and wealth. The Nandā tithis are 1st, 6th and 11th. The Anuśāsana-parva (87. 16) provides that he who performs śrāddha on the 13th tithi attains pre-eminence among his agnates, but then the young men in his house die as a consequence.

The śrāddhas performed on the days mentioned in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 77. 1-6 are *naimittika* and those performed on certain *tithis* and days of the week for securing certain rewards would be *kāmya* śrāddhas. According to Par. M. I. 1 p. 63 the performance of obligatory (nitya) actions is saṁskāraka (i. e. effects a purifying change in the mind making it fit for higher things), while in some cases it may also produce the desire to know the Reality behind the appearances (i. e. it is 'vividiṣā-janaka' as indicated by the Gītā 9. 27). Jaimini (VI. 3. 1-7) establishes the proposition that the *nitya* acts (such as Agnihotra, Darśa-pūrṇamāsa-yāga) must be performed even though the performer is unable to perform a subsidiary part of the rite; while Jai. VI. 3. 8-10 provide that every part of *kāmya* actions must be performed and if the performer thinks that he would be unable to perform all he should not undertake to perform a kāmya rite at all.[839a]

The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (78. 1-7) states that one performing śrāddha on Sunday secures everlasting freedom from disease and those who perform śrāddha on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday (Jaiva), Friday and Saturday respec-

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839 a. This position is stated by the परा. मा. I part 1 p. 170: 'यदा कृत्स्नाङ्गानुष्ठानशक्तिस्तदैव काम्यमनुष्ठेयम्.' The विष्णुपुराण (III. 14.4-8) sets out the times for काम्यश्राद्धs. The two propositions of जैमिनि are often spoken of as यथाशक्तिन्याय and सर्वाङ्गोपसंहारन्याय.

tively secure happiness (or admiration by people), victory in battle, all desires, such learning as he desires, wealth and long life. The Kūrma (II. 20, 16–17) also expatiates on the rewards for śrāddhas on the several days of the week.

The Viṣṇu-Dharmasūtra (78. 8–15) mentions what rewards follow from performance of śrāddhas on the 28 nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī (including Abhijit which is placed after Uttarāṣāḍhā and before Śravaṇa). Yāj. I. 265–268, Vāyu chap. 82, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 30. 8–16, Kūrma (II. 20. 9–15), Brahmapurāṇa 220. 33–42, Brahmāṇḍa (Upodghātapāda 18.1 ff) also deal with the same topic, but all these works do not present complete agreement. For example, Viṣṇu Dh. S. and Yāj. agree that śrāddha performed on Kṛttikā, Rohiṇī, Aśvinī and Bharaṇī yield as rewards heaven, offspring, horses and longevity, but they disagree in several others e. g. while Viṣṇu says that prosperity, beauty (or happiness) and all desires are obtained by performing śrāddha on the Puṣya, Āśleṣā and Maghā nakṣatras respectively, Yāj. provides that a śrāddha on these three yields strength, son and eminence. The Anuśāsanaparva 89 and Vāyupurāṇa 82 set out the rewards of śrāddhas on the several nakṣatras from Kṛttikā as declared by Yama to Śaśabindu.

It is stated in the Agnipurāṇa [840] that śrāddhas performed at a holy place and on days that are called Yugādi and Manvādi yield inexhaustible gratification (to the *pitṛs*). The Viṣṇupurāṇa [841], Matsyapurāṇa (17. 4–5), Padma V. 9. 130–131, Varāhapurāṇa and Prajāpati-smṛti verse 22 and Skanda VII. 1. 205. 33–34 state that the third tithi of Vaiśākha (bright half), the 9th of the bright half of Kārtika, the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada and 15th tithi of the dark half of Māgha are called *Yugādi tithis* (i. e. the first days of the four *Yugas* from *Kṛta*).

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840. तीर्थे युगादौ मन्वादौ श्राद्धं दत्तमथाक्षयम्। अग्निपुराण 117.61, युगादिषु च कर्तव्यं मन्वन्तरादिकेऽपि च॥ बृहत्पराशर 5.3 (p. 149).

841. वैशाखमासस्य तु या तृतीया नवम्यसौ कार्तिकशुक्लपक्षे। नभस्यमासस्य तमिस्रपक्षे त्रयोदशी पञ्चदशी च माघे॥ एता युगाद्याः कथिताः पुराणैरनन्तपुण्यास्तिथयश्चतस्रः। विष्णुपुराण III. 14. 12–13 q. by स्मृतिच. I. pp. 58–59, कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 542, मद. पा. p. 538. अपरार्क (p. 425) quotes the विष्णुपुराण differently. The मत्स्यपुराण (17.4) and पद्म place 15th of माघ before the 13th of भाद्रपद. Vide अग्निपु. 209. 14–15 for some different dates for युगादि. The स्मृत्यर्थसार (p. 9) gives a different order: शुक्लतृतीया वैशाखे प्रेतपक्षे त्रयोदशी कार्तिके नवमी शुक्ला माघे दर्शश्च पूर्णिमा। एता युगादयः प्रोक्ता दत्तस्याक्षयकारकाः॥. The वराहपुराण (13. 40–41) contains the verse वैशाखमासस्य O. प्रजापतिस्मृति (22) has a similar verse for युगादि days.

Matsya 17. 6–8, Agnipurāṇa 117. 61–64 and 209. 16–18, Saurapurāṇa 51. 33–36, Padmapurāṇa (Sṛṣṭi 9. 132–135) mention the first tithis of the 14 Manus (or Manvantaras) as follows: 9th of the bright half of Āśvina, 12th of the bright half of Kārtika, the third of the bright half of Caitra and of Bhādrapada, the amāvāsyā of Fālguna, the 11th of the bright half of Pauṣa, 10th of bright half of Āṣāḍha and the 7th of the bright half of Māgha, the 8th of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa, the Full Moon of Āṣāḍha, Kārtika, Fālguna, Caitra and Jyeṣṭha. The Matsyapurāṇa list is quoted in the Sm. C. I. p. 58, Kṛtyaratnākara p. 543, Par. M. I. 1. p. 156 and I. 2 p. 311, and the Madanapārijāta p. 540. The orders in the Skandapurāṇa VII. 1. 205. 36–39 and the Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 9) are slightly different. In the Skandapurāṇa (Nāgarakhaṇḍa) the first tithis of thirty kalpas from Śveta onwards are specified as fit for śrāddha, but are passed over here.

Āp. Dh. S. II. [842] 7. 17. 23–25, Manu III. 280, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 77. 8–9, Kūrma (II. 16. 3–4), Brahmāṇḍa III. 14. 3, Bhaviṣya I. 185. 1 forbid the performance of śrāddha at night or at twilight or when the sun has just risen except in the case of an eclipse of the moon. Āp. adds that when once a śrāddha is begun in the afternoon and owing to some cause there is delay and the sun sets then the performer should perform the remaining rites the next day and he should observe a fast till the placing of the *piṇḍas* on the *darbhas*. Viṣṇu Dh. S. declares that śrāddha performed during an eclipse satisfies the Manes as long as the moon and stars exist and brings to the performer all advantages and the satisfaction of all his desires, while the Kūrmapurāṇa threatens that he who would not perform a śrāddha in an eclipse sinks (incurs sins or becomes ruined) as a cow in mud. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 217 is careful to point out that though there is a prohibition against eating during the progress of an eclipse of the sun or moon, that prohibition would only affect the eater (the brāhmaṇa who eats śrāddha repast in an eclipse) but not the giver who will secure happiness (or good results) thereby.[843]

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842. न च नक्तं श्राद्धं कुर्वीत । आरब्धे चाभोजनमा समापनात् । अन्यत्र राहुदर्शनात् । आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 17. 23–25; नक्तं तु वर्जयेच्छ्राद्धं राहोरन्यत्र दर्शनात् । सर्वस्वेनापि कर्तव्यं क्षिप्रं वै राहुदर्शने ॥ उपरागे न कुर्याद्यः पङ्के गौरिव सीदति ॥ कूर्मपुराण II. 16. 3-4.

843. यद्यपि 'चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे नाद्यात्' इति ग्रहणे भोजननिषेधस्तथापि भोक्तुर्दोषो दातुरभ्युदयः । मिता. on या. I. 217–218.

Very learned disquisitions are held in Aparārka p. 465 ff, Hemādri p. 313 ff and other writers and digests as to the meaning of *aparāhṇa* which is the time for śrāddha prescribed by Manu (III. 278). There are several views. Some hold that the part of the day after noon is 'after-noon.' The word 'pūrvāhṇa' occurs in Ṛg. X. 34. 11. Others relying on a śruti [844] text 'The forenoon is for gods, mid-day for men and afternoon for pitṛs' hold that the third part of the day divided into three parts is 'aparāhṇa.' A third view is that aparāhṇa is the 4th part of the day divided into five parts and they rely [845] on Śat. Br. II. 2. 3. 9. The five parts are called *prātaḥ*, *saṅgava*, *madhyandina* (or madhyāhna), *aparāhṇa* and *sāyāhna* (or sāyam or astagamana). The first three are expressly mentioned even in the Ṛgveda V. 76. 3. Prajāpati-smṛti (verses 156–157) says that each of these five parts extends over three *muhūrtas* (the day being divided into fifteen muhūrtas). It further states that *kutapa* is the 8th muhūrta from sunrise and that śrāddha should be begun in *kutapa* and should not last beyond Rauhiṇa muhūrta and that five muhūrtas (from 8th to 12th) are the maximum time for śrāddha.[846] The word kutapa has eight meanings as noted by the Sm. C. (śrāddha) p. 433 and Hemādri on śrāddha p. 320. The word is derived from 'ku' meaning 'condemned' (i. e. sin) and 'tapa' means 'what burns.' The eight[847] meanings of 'kutapa' are 'midday, a vessel of rhinoceros horn, woollen seat or blanket

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844. पूर्वाह्णो वै देवानां मध्यन्दिनो मनुष्याणामपराह्णः पितृणाम्। तस्मादपराह्णे ददाति। शतपथब्रा. II. 4.2.8.

845. आदित्यस्त्वेव सर्व ऋतवः। यदैवोदेत्यथ वसन्तो यदा संगवोऽथ ग्रीष्मो यदा मध्यन्दिनोऽथ वर्षा यदापराह्णोऽथ शरद् यदैवास्तमेत्यथ हेमन्तस्तस्मादु मध्यन्दिन एवादधीत तर्हि ह्येषोऽस्य लोकस्य नेदिष्ठं भवति। शतपथ II. 2.3.9, quoted by स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p.363).

846. आरम्भं कुतपे कुर्याद्रौहिणं तु न लङ्घयेत्। एतत्पञ्चमुहूर्तोऽस्तः श्राद्धकाल उदाहृतः॥ मुहूर्तास्तत्र विज्ञेया दश पञ्च च सर्वदा। तत्राष्टमो मुहूर्तो यः स कालः कुतपः स्मृतः॥ प्रजापति verses 158–159. Compare पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड 11.91–92) and स्कन्द VII.1 205.6 for similar verses. The names of the 15 मुहूर्त्s are quoted in हो. रामनन्द (on श्रा. folio 25a) and in बृहद्योगयात्रा of वराहमिहिर (VI. 2–4) m. in my paper on 'Varāhamihira and Utpala,' JBBRAS vol., 24–25 p. 21.

847. मध्याह्नः खड्गपात्रं च तथा नेपालकम्बलः। रूप्यं दर्भास्तिला गावो दौहित्रश्चाष्टमः स्मृतः॥ पापं कुत्सितमित्याहुस्तस्य सन्तापकारिणः। अष्टावेते यतस्तस्य कुतपा इति विश्रुताः॥ स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1. 205. 8–9, पद्म VI. 131.76–78, q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 433 as स्मृत्यन्तर) and by हेमाद्रि p. 320 and p. 1176 (where these are quoted as पैठीनसि's). लघुशातातप (verse 108) speaks of खड्गपात्र as दौहित्र and is quoted by अपरार्क (p. 474). लघुशातातप (109) defines कुतप as the 8th part of the day (out of 15) and is quoted by श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 317. अपरार्क p. 474 quotes a smṛti giving three senses of दौहित्र 'अपत्यं दुहितुश्चैव खड्गपात्रं तथैव च। घृतं च कपिलाया गोर्दौहित्रमिति कीर्तितम्॥'.

from Nepal, silver, darbhas, sesame, cows and daughter's son.' The general rule is that śrāddhas are performed in the afternoon (but this applies to śrāddha on New moon, Mahālaya, Aṣṭakā and Anvaṣṭakā śrāddhas), while Vṛddhiśrāddha and śrāddha in which only corn is offered (āmaśrāddha) are performed in the morning. Medhātithi on Manu III. 245 quotes a smṛti text on this.[848] The Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana (II. 150, 162) provides that when it is not possible to perform a religious rite at the time prescribed for it as appropriate, it should be performed at some other time thereafter and that, between the proper time of a rite and the means, the former is to be preferred and one should not wait for a time later than the proper one with the desire of being able to collect all the principal materials.[848a]

A few words must be said about the proper places for the performance of a śrāddha. Manu (III. 206-207) lays down that the performer should make efforts to secure a spot sloping to the south and smear it with cowdung, a spot that is pure and unfrequented (by many persons) and that the Fathers are pleased by śrāddha at naturally clean spots or the banks of rivers and spots that are unfrequented. Yāj. I. 227 very briefly puts the requirements by saying that the place of śrāddha should be covered on all sides, should be pure and sloping to the south. Śaṅkha says :[849] 'one should not perform śrāddha on the backs of bulls, elephants and horses, nor on raised earth platforms nor on land owned by others.' The Kūrmapurāṇa states[850] 'Forests, sacred mountains, holy places, temples—these have no (definite) owner and they cannot be private property (of any one)'. Yama provides[851] 'if one offers śrāddha to his *pitṛs* in spots

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848. पूर्वाह्णे दैविकं कार्यमपराह्णे तु पैतृकम्। एकोद्दिष्टं तु मध्याह्ने प्रातर्वृद्धिनिमित्तकम्॥ मेधातिथि on मनु III. 245. The दीपकलिका on या. I. 226 quotes this verse as from वायुपुराण and reads पूर्वाह्णे मातृकं etc.

848 a. मुख्यकाले यदावश्यं कर्म कर्तुं न शक्यते। गौणकालेऽपि कर्तव्यं गौणोऽप्यत्रेदृशो भवेत्॥ स्वकालादुत्तरो गौणः कालः पूर्वस्य कर्मणः॥ मुख्यकालमुपाश्रित्य गौणमप्यस्तु साधनम्। न मुख्यद्रव्यलोभेन गौणकालप्रतीक्षणम्॥ त्रिकाण्डमण्डन II. 150, 157, 162.

849. गोगजाश्वादिपृष्ठेषु कृत्रिमायां तथा भुवि। न कुर्याच्छ्राद्धमेतेषु पारक्यासु च भूमिषु॥ शङ्ख q. by परा मा I. 2 p. 303, श्रा. प्र. p. 140, स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 385).

850. अटव्यः पर्वताः पुण्यास्तीर्थान्यायतनानि च। सर्वाण्यस्वामिकान्याहुर्न ह्येतेषु परिग्रहः॥ कूर्म II. 22. 17. अपरार्क p. 471, कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 116), and श्रा. प्र. p. 148 quote a very similar verse as यम's.

851. यमः। परकीयप्रदेशेषु पितॄणां निर्वपेत्तु यः। तद्भूमिस्वामिपितृभिः श्राद्धकर्म विहन्यते॥...तस्माच्छ्राद्धानि देयानि पुण्येष्वायतनेषु च। नदीतीरेषु तीर्थेषु स्वभूमौ प्रयत्नतः। उपह्वरनिकुञ्जेषु तथा पर्वतसानुषु॥ q. by अपरार्क p. 471, कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 115); compare कूर्म II. 22. 16.

belonging to others, that śrāddha rite is destroyed by the pitṛs of the owner of those spots. Therefore, a man should perform śrāddha on holy spots, on river banks, in sacred places and particularly in land belonging to himself, in bowers near hills and on mountain tops.' The Viṣṇudharma-sūtra chap. 85 mentions numerous holy places and then adds 'in these and other *tīrthas*, big rivers, on all natural sandy banks, near streams, on mountains, in bowers, forests, groves and spots that look charming because of being smeared with cowdung (śrāddha may be performed).' Śaṅkha (14. 27–29) states 'whatever is given in holy Gayā, in Prabhāsa, Puṣkara, Prayāga, in the Naimiṣa forest (on the Sarasvatī), on the banks of the Ganges, Yamunā, Payoṣṇī, on Amarakaṇṭaka, on Narmadā, in Benares, in Kurukṣetra, Bhṛgutuṅga, on the Himālaya, on Sapta-Veṇī, on Ṛṣikūpa—all that becomes inexhaustible.' The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 5–7) also specifies river banks, lakes, mountain tops, sacred spots like Puṣkara as the proper places for śrāddha. The Vāyupurāṇa, chap. 77 and Matsya 22 contain long lists of sacred places, countries, mountains in relation to śrāddhas. The Kalpataru (śrāddha p. 40) and Śr. P. p. 147 state that special characteristics of the tīrthas in the several countries that are declared to be fit places for śrāddha should be understood from the inhabitants of those various countries.

Sacred places will be dealt with in a separate section (on *tīrthas*).

The Viṣṇudharmasūtra [852] (chap. 84) prescribes that śrāddha should not be performed in Mleccha country, nor should one go to a Mleccha country and then defines a Mleccha country as one in which the system of the four *varṇas* is not established and states that Āryāvarta is beyond that. The Vāyupurāṇa provides [853] that the country of Triśaṅku which is

852. न म्लेच्छविषये श्राद्धं कुर्यात्। न गच्छेन्म्लेच्छविषयम्। परनिपानेष्वपः पीत्वा तत्साम्यमुपगच्छतीति। चातुर्वर्ण्यव्यवस्थानं यस्मिन्देशे न विद्यते। स म्लेच्छदेशो विज्ञेय आर्यावर्तस्ततः परः। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 84. 1–4.

853. त्रिशङ्कोर्वर्जयेद्देशं सर्वं द्वादशयोजनम्। उत्तरेण महानद्या दक्षिणेन तु कीकटम्॥ देशस्त्रैशङ्कवो नाम श्राद्धकर्मणि वर्जितः। कारस्कराः कलिङ्गाश्च सिन्धोरुत्तरमेव च। प्रणष्टाश्रमधर्माश्च देशा वर्ज्याः प्रयत्नतः। वायुपुराण 78. 21–23, ब्रह्माण्ड, उपोद्घातपाद 14. 31–33, quoted by हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 162), and श्राद्धप्र. p. 147 and अपरार्क p. 472 (as from ब्रह्माण्ड). Vide also विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 141. 2–4.

twelve *yojanas* in extent and which is to the north of the river Mahānadī and to the south of Kīkaṭa (i. e. Magadha) is not fit for śrāddha; similarly the countries called Kāraskara, Kaliṅga, the country to the north of the river Sindhu and all countries where the system of *varṇas* and *āśramas* is not in existence should be sedulously avoided for śrāddhas. The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 8–10) makes the somewhat startling remark that the following countries should be avoided for śrāddhas viz. the Kirāta country, Kaliṅga, Koṅkaṇa, Krimi (Krivi?), Daśārṇa, Kumārya (Cape Comorin), Taṅgaṇa, Kratha, the northern banks of the Sindhu river and the south bank of Narmadā and the east of the Karatoyā.

The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa [854] prescribes that for a śrāddha a place (ground) that is full of insects, that is arid, or is burnt by fire, from which proceed sounds that are painful to the ear, that is terrific in its aspect, that emits fetid smell should be avoided.

It was also provided from very early times that certain persons and animals are to be ejected from the place where śrāddha is to be performed and are not to be allowed to pollute the śrāddha rite by looking at it or by disturbing it in various other ways. Gaut. (15. 25–28) provides that food seen by dogs, cāṇḍālas and those guilty of mahāpātakas becomes unclean (and so unfit); therefore one should offer śrāddha in a covered (or screened) place; or he should strew round about the place sesame or a worthy brāhmaṇa who purifies a row of diners by his presence should perform a śānti for removing the taint caused (by a dog or cāṇḍāla seeing the food &c). Āp. Dh. S. prescribes that the learned condemn the seeing of a śrāddha by dogs and those who (being *patita*) are excommunicated and that a leper, a bald man, one having sexual intercourse with another's wife, the son of a brāhmaṇa who follows the profession of arms, the son of a brāhmaṇa woman from a śūdra man—if these eat śrāddha food they pollute the diners sitting to eat in a row. Manu (III. 239–242) states: 'a cāṇḍāla, a village pig or cock, a dog, a woman in her monthly illness, an impotent person—these should not be allowed to see brāhmaṇas engaged in taking dinner. Whatever is seen by these at a *homa*

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854. वर्ज्या जन्तुमती रूक्षा क्षितिः प्लुष्टा तथाग्निना। अनिष्टदुष्टशब्दोग्रा दुर्गन्धा श्राद्धकर्मणि ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 29. 19 q. by श्राद्धप्र. p. 139.

(agnihotra), at a gift (of cows and gold), when brāhmaṇas are being fed, or at a religious rite (like the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa sacrifice) or at a śrāddha becomes fruitless. A pig taints food (offered to gods or Manes) by merely smelling it, a cock by setting in motion the air with its wings, a dog by casting a glance and a man of low caste by touch. If a servant of even the person who offers śrāddha is lame or squint-eyed or has a limb less or more (i. e. having eleven or nine fingers &c.), he should be ejected from the place where śrāddha is to be performed.' It is provided by the Anuśāsanaparva (127. 13) that śrāddha food should not be seen by a woman in her monthly illness or by a sonless woman or by one suffering from white leprosy. Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra (82. 3 ff) contains a long list of about 30 persons who are not to be allowed near a śrāddha. The Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 22. 34–35) states that one devoid of a limb, a *patita*, a leper, one suffering from an open ulcer, an atheist, a cock, a pig, a dog, should be kept far away from a śrāddha; one should also avoid one that has a disgusting appearance, an impure person, one who is naked, a mad man, a gambler, a woman in her monthly course, those that wear indigo-coloured or yellow-red garments and those who follow heretical views. The Mārkaṇḍeya 32. 20–24, Vāyu 78. 26–40, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 16. 12–14 and Anuśāsanaparva 91. 43–44 also contain long lists which are passed over here. The Skanda-purāṇa VI. 217. 43 also speaks about a dog, a woman in her monthly illness, a *patita* and a hog not being allowed to see the śrāddha rite.

The classification of Śrāddhas.

Śrāddhas have been variously classified. One classification, viz. into *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya* has already been described above (p. 369). Another classification is that into Ekoddiṣṭa and Pārvaṇa[855]. The first is offered to one deceased person alone, while the latter is performed on the amāvāsyā of a month or in the dark half of Bhādrapada or on saṅkrānti and in it the three paternal ancestors are principally invoked. Bṛhas-

855. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 737, note 1425 for explanation of these two. अमावास्यां यत् क्रियते तत्पार्वणमुदाहृतम्। क्रियते वा पर्वणि यत्तत्पार्वणमिति स्थितिः॥ भविष्यपुराण I. 183.15 q. by कल्पतरु p. 7, श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 192, श्रा. चि. of रुद्रधर, श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 6 (which explains 'पर्वाणि अष्टका मासिपौर्णमास्यादि'). The पर. मा. I. 2. p. 199 says पुरुषत्रयमुद्दिश्य यत्क्रियते तत्पार्वणम्। एकपुरुषोद्देशेन यत्क्रियते तदेकोद्दिष्टम्'. Venk. ed. of भविष्य reads दर्शे वा क्रियते यत्तु।.

pati quoted in the Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara mentions five classes of śrāddhas as declared by Manu viz. nitya, naimittika, kāmya, Vṛddhi and Pārvaṇa[856]. The Śrāddhaviveka remarks that the sixteen *pretaśrāddhas* (to be described later on) are included under naimittika and that such śrāddhas as Goṣṭhī-śrāddha enumerated in other smṛtis are included in Pārvaṇa. The Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 20. 26) similarly speaks of the five śrāddhas as enumerated by Manu[857]. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 217 states that there are five śrāddhas, viz. 'ahar-ahaḥ-śrāddha, pārvaṇa, vṛddhiśrāddha, ekoddiṣṭa and sapiṇḍīkaraṇa. The daily śrāddha is described by Manu III. 82 (= Śaṅkha 13.16 and Matsya 16.4) as one that is performed every day with food (cooked rice, yavas &c.) or with water or with milk, fruits and roots. Two verses of Viśvāmitra[858] quoted by several works speak of twelve kinds of śrāddhas, viz. nitya, naimittika, kāmya, vṛddhi-śrāddha (performed on the birth of a son, marriage or similar incident of good luck), sapiṇḍana (sapiṇḍīkaraṇa), pārvaṇa, goṣṭhīśrāddha, śuddhiśrāddha, karmāṅga, daivika, yātrāśrāddha, puṣṭiśrāddha. Explanations of all these are quoted from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa by the same works. Sapiṇḍana and Pārvaṇa will be described below. Some of the rest not already defined may be briefly explained as follows: The Goṣṭhī-śrāddha[859] is one which is performed when a man be-

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856. नित्यं नैमित्तिकं काम्यं वृद्धिश्राद्धं तथैव च। पार्वणं चेति मनुना श्राद्धं पञ्चविधं स्मृतम्॥ बृहस्पति q. by. श्रा. वि. of रुद्रधर p. 1.

857. कर्मारम्भेषु सर्वेषु कुर्यादभ्युदये पुनः। पुत्रजन्मादिषु श्राद्धं पार्वणं पर्वसु स्मृतम्॥ अहन्यहनि नित्यं स्यात् काम्यं नैमित्तिकं पुनः। एकोद्दिष्टादि विज्ञेयं द्विधा श्राद्धं तु पार्वणम्। एतत् पञ्चविधं श्राद्धं मनुना परिकीर्तितम्। कूर्म. II. 20.24-26. आश्वलायन q. by श्राद्धकलिका enumerates them as काम्यं नैमित्तिकं वृद्धिरेकोद्दिष्टं च पार्वणम्। (folio 1.).

858. नित्यं नैमित्तिकं काम्यं वृद्धिश्राद्धं सपिण्डनम्। पार्वणं चेति विज्ञेयं गोष्ठ्यां शुद्ध्यर्थमष्टमम्॥ कर्माङ्गं नवमं प्रोक्तं दैविकं दशमं स्मृतम्। यात्रास्वेकादशं प्रोक्तं पुष्ट्यर्थं द्वादशं स्मृतम्॥ विश्वामित्र q. by कल्पतरु p. 6, स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 334), मद. पा. p. 475, श्रा. क. ल. p. 6, निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 374. The कूर्मपुराण also (II. 20.26-27) mentions यात्राश्राद्ध, शुद्धिश्राद्ध and दैविकश्राद्ध. This enumeration occurs in भविष्यपुराण I. 183.6-7 and स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1.205. 41-42. The कल्पतरु refers to two verses of the ब्रह्मपुराण for explaining यात्राश्राद्ध which are quoted at length in श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 267 and श्रा. प्र. p. 333.

859. गोष्ठ्यां यत्क्रियते श्राद्धं गोष्ठीश्राद्धं तदुच्यते। बहूनां विदुषां संपत्सुखार्थं पितृतृप्तये। भविष्यपु. q. by कल्पतरु p. 7, मद. पा. p. 476, श्रा. क. ल. p. 7. The कल्पतरु explains: गोष्ठी चात्र श्राद्धकर्तृसमुदायः। संपत्सुखार्थं श्राद्धसामग्रीसम्पदा यत्सुखं तदर्थं बहूनां विदुषां केनचिन्निमित्तेन युगपच्छ्राद्धे कर्तव्य उपस्थिते पृथक्पाकाद्यसम्पत्तौ सम्भूय श्राद्धसामग्रीसंपादनेन यच्छ्राद्धं क्रियते तद्गोष्ठीश्राद्धमिति शङ्खधरः।' (p. 7). The षण्णवतिश्राद्धप्रयोग of रघुनाथ gives another explanation 'श्राद्धस्य गोष्ठ्यां वार्तायां क्रियमाणायां तज्जनितोत्साहेन यत् क्रियते श्राद्धम्।'.

comes enthusiastic owing to a talk about śrāddha or when many learned men gather together at a sacred place and, finding it impossible to have separate cooking arrangements for each, pool their resources for collecting śrāddha materials and perform simultaneously śrāddha for the pleasure it affords to themselves and for the gratification of pitṛs. The Śuddhi-śrāddha is one where brāhmaṇas are fed when a person undergoes *śuddhi* (purification) after being guilty of some sin or transgression (it is a subsidiary act in a prāyaścitta). That śrāddha is called 'karmāṅga' which is performed at the time of the *Garbhādhāna* rite or at the performance of a soma sacrifice, or at sīmantonnayana, puṁsavana (it is like Vṛddhiśrāddha). That is called daivika śrāddha which is intended to propitiate gods (it is like nityaśrāddha and is performed on the 7th or 12th *tithi* or the like with sacrificial food). When a man going to a distant country on a pilgrimage or the like performs a śrāddha in which clarified butter is served (to brāhmaṇas) in abundance or when he comes back to his house, that is yātrā-śrāddha. That is called puṣṭiśrāddha which is performed for the health (or fattening) of the body (when taking some medicine for the purpose) or for the increase of one's wealth. Out of these [860] twelve the principal ones are *pārvaṇa*, *ekoddiṣṭa*, *vṛddhi* and *sapiṇḍana*. There are works called Ṣaṇ-ṇavati-śrāddha such as those of Śivabhaṭṭa, son of Govinda, and of Raghunātha. The 96 śrāddhas to be performed in a year are briefly enumerated in a verse [861] quoted in the note. They are: 12 śrāddhas on

860. गोष्ठ्यां यत्क्रियते श्राद्धं गोष्ठीश्राद्धं तदुच्यते। बहूनां विदुषां सम्पत्सुखार्थं पितृतृप्तये॥ क्रियते शुद्धये यत्तु ब्राह्मणानां तु भोजनम्। शुद्ध्यर्थमिति तत्प्रोक्तं वैनतेय मनीषिभिः॥ निषेककाले सोमे च सीमन्तोन्नयने तथा। ज्ञेयं पुंसवने चैव श्राद्धं कर्माङ्गमेव च॥ देवानुद्दिश्य यच्छ्राद्धं तत्तु दैविकमुच्यते। हविष्येण विशिष्टेन सप्तम्यादिषु यत्नतः॥ गच्छन्देशान्तरं यश्च श्राद्धं कुर्यात्तु सर्पिषा। यात्रार्थमिति तत्प्रोक्तं प्रवेशे च न संशयः॥ शरीरोपचये श्राद्धमर्थोपचय एव वा। पुष्ट्यर्थमेतद्विज्ञेयमौपचायिकमुच्यते॥ भविष्यपु. I. 183. 15–19, q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा.) p. 334, श्रा. क. ल. p. 7, निर्णयसिन्धु p. 374. There are some various readings here that are not noted. The printed text (Venk. ed.) presents different readings, such as गोष्ठ्यां च क्रियते श्राद्धं and क्रियते देवमुद्दिश्य सप्तम्यादिषु यत्नतः. These 12 श्राद्धs are defined in स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1. 205. 43–50 also. On दैविकश्राद्ध the टोडरानन्द (श्राद्धसौख्य folio 4 b) remarks 'अत्र यद्यपि प्रकृतं श्राद्धमसम्भावि देवोद्देश्यकत्वेन विधानात् तथापि श्रद्धया कार्यं श्राद्धमिति योगसामान्यात् श्राद्धपदाभिधेयतावचनं बोद्धव्यम्।.'

861. अमा युगमनुक्रान्तिधृतिपातमहालयाः। आन्वष्टक्यं च पूर्वेद्युः षण्णवत्यः प्रकीर्तिताः। verse 5 of षण्णवतिश्राद्ध of शिवभट्ट (Ms. in Bhadkamkar collection)

(*Continued on the next page*)

the 12 amāvāsyās in the year, the four śrāddhas on the Yugādi days (note 841 above), the fourteen śrāddhas on the Manvantarādi days (p. 375 above), the śrāddhas on 12 *saṅkrāntis* (i. e. the sun's apparent motion from one sign of the Zodiac to another), the 13 śrāddhas on the Yoga called Dhṛti (i. e. Vaidhṛti) and the 13 śrāddhas on the Vyatīpāta yoga, the 16 Mahālaya śrāddhas, the four Anvaṣṭakā days (according to Āśv. as noted on pp. 359–360), the four Aṣṭakā days and the four days (i. e. 7th of dark half of the months of Hemanta and Śiśira) of the day previous (to the Aṣṭakā). These classifications and enumerations of śrāddhas will afford an idea how the doctrine of śrāddhas was carried to an exaggerated extent in the course of centuries. It goes without saying that only a few people could have indulged in the luxury of so many śrāddhas a year and most people were content with the performance of only one Mahālayaśrāddha and one or two more. It may be noted that Manu (III. 122) first prescribed that on the amāvāsyā of each month an elaborate śrāddha should be performed, but knowing that this was almost impossible Manu recommends to all (III. 281) that an elaborate śrāddha should be performed on three amāvāsyās in one year[862] (viz. in Hemanta, Grīṣma and Varṣā) and one should perform every day the śrāddha which is one of the five daily sacrifices (III. 82–83). Devala went further and recommended that an elaborate śrāddha may be performed only once a year.

The next important question is about the qualifications of the brāhmaṇas that were invited to dinner on a śrāddha day. Only brāhmaṇas were and are entitled to be invited for śrāddha

(*Continued from the last page*)

The महालयs are 16 as stated by शाट्यायनि and देवल q. by परा. मा. I. 2 p. 319 and by स्मृ. मु. (श्राद्ध) p. 745; नभस्यस्यापरे पक्षे तिथिषोडशकं तु यत्। कन्यास्थार्कान्वितं चेत् स्यात्स कालः श्राद्धकर्मणि॥ (शा.); अहःषोडशकं यत्तु शुक्लप्रतिपदा सह। चन्द्रक्षयविशेषेण सापि दर्शात्मिका स्मृता॥ (देवल). Generally there are 13 वैधृतियोगs and 13 vyatīpāta yogas in a year, though sometimes there may be 14 of each. There are in a month 27 yogas beginning from विष्कम्भ. The शतपथब्रा. (VI. 4. 2. 10) speaks of 12 अष्टकाs 'द्वादश पौर्णमास्यो द्वादशाष्टका द्वादशामावास्याः'.

862. एतेन विधिना श्राद्धं कुर्यात्संवत्सरं सकृत्। त्रिश्चतुर्वा यथाश्राद्धं मासे मासे दिने दिने। देवल q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा.) p. 497 which explains: एतेन विधिना पार्वणविधिना प्रतिसंवत्सरमेकवारं विकिरेऽह्नि प्रतिसंवत्सरं त्रिवारं वा. कल्पतरु p. 22 (श्राद्ध) quotes the verse.

dinner whoever may be the performer of the śrāddha. In this connection many works contain high eulogies of brāhmaṇas, but they are passed over here, as the eulogy of brāhmaṇas has been already dealt with at some length in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 37–38, 135–138. It may be noted that the gṛhyasūtras contain a few requirements, but as we proceed the smṛtis and purāṇas go on adding qualifications and enlarging the lists of those that should not be invited. For example, the Āśv. Gṛ. [862a] IV. 7. 2, Śāṅ. Gṛ. IV. 1. 2. Āp. Gṛ. VIII. 21. 2, Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 4, Hir. Gṛ. II. 10. 2, Baud. Gṛ. II. 10. 5–6 and II. 8. 2–3, Gaut. 15. 9 provide that the *brāhmaṇas* to be invited should be possessed of Vedic learning, should be of excellent character (free from anger and passion and possessed of control of mind and senses) and of meritorious conduct, pure, not deficient in a limb or not having an excessive limb (e. g. having six fingers). The Āp. Dh. S. states that he who has studied the three Vedic verses in which the word 'madhu' occurs (Ṛg. I. 90. 6–8, Vāj. S. 13. 27–29, Tai. S. IV. 2. 9. 3), he who has studied the Triśuparṇa, one who is a Triṇāciketa, one who has studied the mantras required for the four sacrifices (Aśvamedha, Puruṣamedha, Sarvamedha and Pitṛmedha) or who has performed these four sacrifices, one who keeps the five fires, he who knows the Sāman called Jyeṣṭha, he who carries out the duty of daily Vedic study, the son of one

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862 a. ब्राह्मणान् श्रुतशीलवृत्तसंपन्नानेकेन वा । आश्व. गृ. IV. 7. 2; ब्राह्मणान् शुचीन् मन्त्रवतः समङ्गानयुज आमन्त्रयते । योनिगोत्रासम्बन्धान् । नार्थापेक्षो भोजयेत् । हिर गृ. II. 10. 2; त्रिमधुस्त्रिसुपर्णस्त्रिणाचिकेतश्चतुर्मेधः पञ्चाग्निर्ज्येष्ठसामिको वेदाध्याय्यनूचानपुत्रः श्रोत्रिय इत्येते श्राद्धे भुञ्जानाः पङ्क्तिपावना भवन्ति । आप. ध. II. 7. 17–22. त्रिसुपर्ण is the name applied, according to Haradatta, to the three anuvākas beginning with ब्रह्ममेतु माम् (तै. आ. X. 48–50) or to the verse चतुः— शिखण्डा युवतिः सुपेशाः in तै. ब्रा. I. 2. 1. 27 or Ṛg. X. 114. 3–5. त्रिणाचिकेतः is explained in different ways viz. (1) one who knows the Nāciketa fire, (2) a person who has thrice kindled the Nāciketa fire, (3) a person who has studied the Anuvāka called Virajas. For the Nāciketa fire, vide Kaṭhopaniṣad I. 1. 16–18. The word 'Triṇāciketaḥ' occurs in Kaṭha Up. I. 1. 17 and is explained by शङ्कर as 'त्रिःकृत्वा नाचिकेतोऽग्निश्चितो येन सः त्रिणाचिकेतस्तद्विज्ञानस्तदध्ययनस्तदनुष्ठानवान् वा ।. Tai. Br. (III. 11. 7–8) describes the नाचिकेत fire and the story of Naciketas. The five fires are Gārhapatya, Āhavanīya, Dakṣiṇāgni, Āvasathya (or aupāsana) and Sabhya. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 679. Vide *ibid*. II. p. 767 note 1838a for explanations of पङ्क्तिपावन, ज्येष्ठसामिक and the other words explained above. देवल defines श्रोत्रिय as 'एकां शाखां सकल्पां वा षड्भिरङ्गैरधीत्य वा । षट्कर्मनिरतो विप्रः श्रोत्रियो नाम धर्मवित् ॥' q. by श्रा. प्र. p. 59. Pāṇini (V. 2. 84) derives श्रोत्रिय as श्रोत्रियञ्छन्दोऽधीते. षट्कर्म—refers to यजनयाजनाध्ययनाध्यापनप्रतिग्रहदानानि.

who has studied the Veda and is able to teach the whole Veda with its *aṅgas*, a *Śrotriya*—these persons sanctify the company if they eat at a funeral repast. Gaut. 15. 28, Baud. Dh. S. II. 8.2, Manu III. 185–186, Yāj. I. 219, Varāhapurāṇa 14.2 contain almost the same words about those who sanctify the company of diners (i. e. who are *paṅktipāvana*). The Anuśāsanaparva (90. 25–31), Kūrmapurāṇa II. 21. 1–14, Matsya 16. 7–13, Brahmapurāṇa 220. 101–104, Vāyu 79. 56–59 and 83. 52–55, Skanda VI. 217. 21–25 give long lists of *paṅktipāvana* brāhmaṇas. The Hir. Gr. II. 10.2, Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 7, Kūrma (II. 21. 14) and others say that a performer of śrāddha should invite one who is not a relative connected by marriage (such as a maternal uncle) nor one who is of the same gotra, nor one who is connected with the performer by Veda study (i. e. is his teacher or pupil), nor a friend nor one who expects monetary help from the performer. Manu (III. 138–139) provides that one should not invite at a śrāddha dinner a personal friend, that one may gain a friend by making valuable gifts to him (on other occasions), that one should feed at a śrāddha a brāhmaṇa whom he does not deem either his friend or foe and that he who performs śrāddhas and offerings to gods chiefly to gain friends reaps no reward after death by those śrāddhas or offerings. But Manu III. 144 (= Kūrma II. 21–22) provides that one may invite even a friend but not a foe though the latter may be learned. Manu (III. 135–137 and 145–147) lays down that the main or best rule to be followed is to present śrāddha food to those who are devoted to spiritual knowledge, that between a man who has studied one whole recension of the Veda but whose father was not a śrotriya and one who is himself not a śrotriya but whose father had studied a whole recension of the Veda (i. e. whose father was a śrotriya) the latter is the more worthy of the two, that one should strive to feed at a śrāddha an adherent of the Ṛgveda who has studied one entire recension of that Veda or a follower of the Yajurveda who has studied one Śākhā thereof or a singer of sāmans who has finished one recension of the Sāmaveda and that if one of these preceding three is honoured and dines at a śrāddha, the ancestors of the performer will be gratified up to the seventh generation for a very long time. Hārīta (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 392 and Kalpataru on śr. pp. 66–67) describes the qualifications of those who are pāṅkteya brāhmaṇas viz. they must be born in a high family (possessing four characteristics), must be endowed with learning (of six kinds) and *śīla*

(character of 13 kinds) and good conduct (of 16 kinds). Śaṅkha-Likhita[863] give a long list of pāṅkteya (fit to be associated with in a *paṅkti* i. e. row of diners) brāhmaṇas, viz. he who knows the Veda and the Vedāṅgas (viz. phonetics, kalpa or śrauta ritual, grammar, Nirukta, metrics and astronomy); one who keeps the five fires; one who has studied the Veda with its *aṅgas*; one who knows Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Upaniṣads and Dharmaśāstra; a śrotriya, a triṇāciketa, trimadhu, trisuparṇaka and one that has studied Jyeṣṭhasāman; one who has studied Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Upaniṣads and Dharmaśāstra; who is devoted to Veda; who always keeps sacred fires; who is obedient to his parents and devoted to Dharmaśāstra. Similar rules are laid down by Viṣṇu Dh. S. 83, Bṛhat-Parāśara p. 150, Vṛddha-Gautama p. 581, Prajāpati verses 70-72, Laghu-Śātātapa verses 99-100, Auśanasasmṛti (Jiv. vol. I. pp. 523-524). As Medhātithi[864] on Manu III. 147 says the gist of all these passages is that a learned brāhmaṇa who has studied the Veda, whose conduct is good, whose family is famous, who is the son of a śrotriya father and who is not related to the performer must be invited and all the rest is mere arthavāda (by way of eulogy). Manu (III. 128) laid down two propositions viz. all food offered as sacrifice to the gods and manes must be given only to a brāhmaṇa who studies the Veda and that whatever is presented to the most worthy brāhmaṇa (among brāhmaṇas studying the Veda) brings in the greatest rewards. Then Manu (III. 183) declares that *paṅktipāvana* brāhmaṇas are those that sanctify a row of diners among whom sit some who are tainted by (latent) blemishes that make them unfit to be among the diners. Then Manu (III. 184-186) gives examples of paṅktipāvana brāhmaṇas viz. those who are the foremost among students of all the Vedas or their expository works and who are born in a family of unbroken descent of Vedic students, who are Triṇāciketa &c. Hemādri (on śr. pp. 391-395) and Kalpataru (śr. pp. 64-65) quote numerous verses from Yama on *paṅktipāvana*.

Manu III. 147 asserts that the best course is to invite a brāhmaṇa who fulfils the conditions laid down in Manu III.

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863. शङ्खलिखितावपि । अथ पाङ्क्तेयाः । वेदवेदाङ्गवित् पञ्चाग्निरनूचानः साङ्ख्ययोगोपनिषद्धर्मशास्त्रविच्छ्रोत्रियः त्रिणाचिकेतः त्रिमधुः त्रिसुपर्णको ज्येष्ठसामगः । साङ्ख्ययोगोपनिषद्धर्मशास्त्रस्याध्यायी वेदपरः सदाग्निको मातापितृशुश्रूषुर्धर्मशास्त्ररतिः । इति । q by कल्प० (p. 68), श्रा. प्र. p.67.

864. श्रोत्रियो विद्वान् साधुचरणः प्रख्याताभिजनः श्रोत्रियापत्यमसम्बन्धो भोजनीयः । परिशिष्टं सर्वमर्थवादार्थम् ॥ मेधा. on मनु III. 147.

132–146, but adds that if it is not possible to secure such a brāhmaṇa then the next best course[865] ('anukalpa') may be followed, viz. the performer may invite his own maternal grandfather, his maternal uncle, sister's son, father-in-law, his teacher of the Veda, daughter's son, son-in-law, a *bandhu* (such as mother's sister's son), wife's brother or a *sagotra*, or his family priest, or his pupil. Similar provisions occur in Yāj. I. 220, Kūrma (Uttarārdha 21. 20), Varāhapurāṇa 14. 3, Matsya 16. 10–11, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 15. 2–4 (anukalpeṣvanantarān). But Manu is careful[866] to point out in a later chapter that one who is able to observe the best course, but observes the second best does not reap other-worldly rewards by his actions. Even Āp. Dh. S.[867] expressly says that if strangers do not possess the requisite qualifications, then even one's full brother possessed of all the qualifications (as to Vedic learning, good conduct &c.) and pupils may be fed at a śrāddha. Baud. Dh. S. also allows even a sapiṇḍa to be fed.[868] Gaut. 15. 20 appears to be of the view that even pupils and *sagotras* may be invited when they are possessed of excellent qualities and strangers with good qualifications are not available. Even in these times very learned brāhmaṇas are unwilling to be fed at a śrāddha, particularly within a few years (three or five) from the death of the person for whose benefit the śrāddha is to be performed. Smṛtis attach a certain stigma to the fact of being the recipient of a śrāddha dinner and prāyaścittas are prescribed. For example, the Mit. on Yāj. III. 289 quotes several verses of Bhāradvāja, one of which says 'If a brāhmaṇa dines at a pārvaṇa śrāddha he has to perform six prāṇāyāmas (as expiation), if he dines at a śrāddha from the third month after a person's death to one year, he has to undergo a fast; if he dines at a vṛddhiśrāddha, he has to perform three prāṇāyāmas, and a fast for a day and night if he dines at a sapiṇḍana śrāddha.' The Mit. further quotes a

865. मुख्याभावे योऽनुष्ठीयते प्रतिनिधिन्यायेन सोऽनुकल्प उच्यते। मेधा. on मनु III. 147. The अमरकोश says 'मुख्यः स्यात्प्रथमः कल्पोऽनुकल्पस्तु ततोऽधमः'.

866. प्रभुः प्रथमकल्पस्य योऽनुकल्पेन वर्तते। न साम्परायिकं तस्य दुर्मतेर्विद्यते फलम्॥ मनु XI. 30 (= शान्तिपर्व 165.17) q in तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 191, where the 2nd half is स नाप्नोति फलं तस्य परत्रेति विचारितम्॥.

867. गुणहान्यां तु परेषां समुदेतः सोदर्योऽपि भोजयितव्यः। एतेनान्तेवासिनो व्याख्याताः। आप. ध. सू. II.7.17.5–6.

868. तस्मादेवंविधं सपिण्डमप्याशयेत्। बौ. ध. II. 8. 5. The श्रा. क. ल. p. 40 explains एवंविधं as गुणवन्तम्.

verse from Dhaumya which prescribes Cāndrāyaṇa for dining at a śrāddha on the birth of a son or at sīmantonnayana, in a navaśrāddha etc. Vide also Nirṇayasindhu III. pp. 467–468 for prāyaścittas on eating śrāddha dinners. The Varāhapurāṇa (189. 12–13) provides that if a brāhmaṇa dies while the food offered to a *preta* is still in his stomach he dwells for a *kalpa* in a horrible hell, becomes a rākṣasa and then becomes free from the sin.

According to Gaut. 15. 10 young persons with the requisite qualifications are to be preferred to older ones, while, according to some, young men were to be invited at a śrāddha for one's deceased father and old men for a śrāddha for one's grandfather. On the other hand, Āp. Dh. S. says among brāhmaṇas possessing the same qualifications, the older ones are to be preferred and among those that are old are to be preferred the poor that are anxious to earn money.[868a]

Some of the works lay special emphasis on inviting ascetics or *yogins* at a śrāddha dinner. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. states that yogins[869] are particularly *paṅktipāvana* and quotes a stanza as recited by the pitṛs 'May (a descendant) be born in our family who feeds a brāhmaṇa yogin at a śrāddha by which we are ourselves satisfied.' The Varāhapurāṇa 14. 50 says that a yogin is superior to 100 brāhmaṇas. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa provides 'a wise man should always feed yogins at a śrāddha since the pitṛs rely for support on Yoga; if a yogin is fed by being seated as the first among thousands of brāhmaṇas he saves the performer and the other diners as a boat saves men in water.' Then it quotes stanzas sung by the pitṛs (29. 32–34) to king Aila. The Saurapurāṇa, after mentioning the qualifications (in 19. 2–3),[870] winds up by stating that even one may suffice provided he be a single-minded devotee of Śivā (verse 6).

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868 a. तुल्यगुणेषु वयोवृद्धः श्रेयान् द्रव्यकृशश्चेप्सन्। आप. ध. II 7.17.10.

869. विशेषेण च योगिनः। अत्र पितृगीता गाथा भवति। अपि स स्यात्कुलेऽस्माकं भोजयेद्यस्तु योगिनम्। विप्रं श्राद्धे प्रयत्नेन येन तृप्यामहे वयम्॥ विष्णुध. सू. 83.19–20.

870. The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण III. 9.70 is गृहस्थानां सहस्रेण वानप्रस्थशतेन च। ब्रह्मचारिसहस्रेण योग एव विशिष्यते॥; योगिनश्च सदा श्राद्धे भोजनीया विपश्चिता। योगाधारा हि पितरस्तस्मात्तान् पूजयेत्सदा॥ मार्कण्डेय 29. 29; ब्राह्मणानां सहस्रेभ्यो योगी त्वग्रासने यदि। यजमानं च भोक्तॄंश्च नौरिवाम्भसि तारयेत्॥ वायुपुराण 76. 28, मार्कण्डेय 29. 30; These and other verses occur in ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 112–115. मार्कण्डेय 29.29–30 are ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 110–112 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 411 and श्रा. प्र. p. 72–73. The important पितृगाथाs are 'कदा नः सन्ततावग्र्यः कस्यचिद्भविता सुतः॥ यो योगिभुक्तशेषान्नो भुवि पिण्डं प्रदास्यति। गयायामथवा पिण्डं खड्गमांसं तथा हविः। कालशाकं तिलाढ्यं च तृप्तये कृसरं च नः॥' ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 113–115 and मार्कण्डेय 29. 33–34.

The Matsyapurāṇa (16. 11–12) recommends 'He who expounds (the meaning of) texts; he who enters upon the discussion of śrauta sacrifices and he who knows the rules about the accents of sāmans is a purifier of *paṅktipāvanas*; one proficient in the Sāmaveda, a Vedic student, one endowed with knowledge of the Veda or of *Brahma* —where these are fed in a śrāddha it yields the highest benefit.'[871] Though in the above passages the greatest emphasis was laid on the possession of Vedic learning by the brāhmaṇas to be fed, one had also to see whether they were men of good character and observers of the rules of proper conduct, as provided by Āśv. Gṛ. IV. 7. 2 (note 862), Gaut. 15.9 and Manu II. 118 who says 'a brāhmaṇa[872] knowing only the sacred Gāyatrī but living a well-regulated life is to be preferred and not one who knows the three Vedas but who is not well-regulated in conduct and who eats anything (even forbidden food) and who is a vendor of everything.' The Skandapurāṇa VI. 217. 27 recommends that one should make every effort to know the family of the brāhmaṇas, then their character (śīla), then their age and then the facts about whom they marry or to whom they give their daughters in marriage. The Brahmāṇḍa (Upodghāta, chap. 15) says that there should be no scrutiny of a brāhmaṇa about whom nothing is known because *siddhas* (yogins) roam about on the earth in the form of brāhmaṇas. But if faults in a brāhmaṇa are easily seen or if one knows his disqualifications on account of one's dwelling near him, he should not be invited (verses 5–6). The same Purāṇa (Upodghāta 15. 24–26) arranges the orders of preference as follows: first yati (ascetic), then a brāhmaṇa who knows the four Vedas and itihāsa, then one who knows three Vedas, then one who knows two, then one who knows one Veda, then one who is an *upādhyāya*. Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 443) quotes the Agnipurāṇa[873] as follows: 'what is the use of (birth in a) famous

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871. यश्च व्याकुरुते वाक्यं यश्च मीमांसतेऽध्वरम्॥ सामस्वरविधिज्ञश्च पङ्क्तिपावनपावनः। सामगो ब्रह्मचारी च वेदयुक्तोऽथ ब्रह्मवित्॥ यत्रैते भुञ्जते श्राद्धे तदेव परमार्थवत्। मत्स्यपुराण 16. 11–13.

872. सावित्रीमात्रसारोऽपि वरं विप्रः सुयन्त्रितः। नायन्त्रितस्त्रिवेदोऽपि सर्वाशी सर्वविक्रयी॥ मनु II. 118 = वृद्धगौतम p. 517, which reads चतुर्वेदी. हेमाद्रि p 444 quotes मनु as reading नायन्त्रितश्चतुर्वेदी.

873. तदुक्तमग्निपुराणे। किं कुलेन विशालेन वृत्तहीनस्य देहिनः। कृमयः किं न जायन्ते कुसुमेषु सुगन्धिषु॥ जातूकर्ण्योऽपि। अपि विद्याकुलैर्युक्तान् वृत्तहीनान् द्विजाधमान्। अनर्हान् हव्यकव्येषु वाङ्मात्रेणापि नार्चयेत्॥ हेमाद्रि pp. 443–444, श्रा. प्र. p. 74.

family if the man is himself devoid of good conduct? Are not insects found in fragrant flowers?' Jātūkarṇya says 'one should not honour even with a word (much less with food &c.) in rites for gods and Manes bad brāhmaṇas void of good conduct, even though they be endowed with learning and be born in a good family.' This insistence on worth was due to the conception that pitṛs assuming an aerial form enter brāhmaṇas at the time of śrāddha. Vide Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (Upodghātapāda 11. 49).

These requirements of learning, character and good conduct would naturally make it incumbent on the performer of a śrāddha to inquire into the antecedents, qualities and defects of the brāhmaṇas to be invited. Manu and others lay down several rules about the testing of the brāhmaṇas to be invited. Manu III. 149, Viṣṇu Dh.[874] S. 82.1–2. provide 'at an offering to the gods let a man not enquire into (the qualities of) a brāhmaṇa (when he wants to invite), but at a śrāddha offering to the Manes close inquiry (into qualities) is declared to be proper and just.' Manu III. 130 says that even if a brāhmaṇa be master of the Veda, one should enquire far (into his ancestry). The Vāyupurāṇa[875] appears to provide that inquiry into (the qualifications of) brāhmaṇas should not be always undertaken when gifts are to be made, but enquiry is declared (necessary) in the case of rites for gods and Manes. The Anuśāsanaparva provides[876] that in rites meant for gods a kṣatriya knowing the rules about gifts should not (closely) inquire into the qualifications of brāhmaṇas, but in rites for the gods and Manes such inquiry is quite proper. Vṛddha-Manu and the Matsya-purāṇa[877] lay down that a brāhmaṇa's character is to be inquired into at the place where he resides for a long time, his purity by his acts and transactions with other people, his intelligence by discussion with him: with these three one should inquire whether the brāhmaṇa (to be invited) is a worthy person.

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874. दैवे कर्मणि ब्राह्मणं न परीक्षेत। प्रयत्नात्पित्र्ये परीक्षेत। विष्णुध. सू. 82. 1–2.

875. न ब्राह्मणान्परीक्षेत सदा देये तु मानवः। दैवे कर्मणि पित्र्ये च श्रूयते वै परीक्षणम्। वायु 83. 51 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 511 (reads दैवे तु).

876. ब्राह्मणान्न परीक्षेत क्षत्रियो दानधर्मवित्। दैवे कर्मणि पित्र्ये तु न्याय्यमाहुः परीक्षणम्॥ अनुशासन 90. 2 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 511.

877. परीक्षाप्रकारस्तु वृद्धमनुमत्स्यपुराणयोर्दर्शितः। शीलं संवसनाज्ज्ञेयं शौचं संव्यवहारतः। प्रज्ञा संकथनाज्ज्ञेया त्रिभिः पात्रं परीक्ष्यते। हेमाद्रि p. 513, श्रा. म. p. 102.

The Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa[878] forbids close inquiry into the character and learning of one who comes by chance as a guest at the time of śrāddha. That inquiry was allowed as to brāhmaṇas who were invited and not as to those who came by chance uninvited as *atithis*. There are no doubt certain passages particularly in the Purāṇas where scrutiny into a brāhmaṇa's qualifications is condemned. For example, the Skandapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 455) and Kalpataru (on śr. p. 102) states 'The Vedic revelation is that śrāddha is to be offered (to a brāhmaṇa) after inquiry (into his learning and character), but straightforward action is better than scrutiny. When one offers śrāddha straightforwardly without inquiry his pitṛs are gratified and also gods'. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (q. by Bālambhaṭṭī) states 'It is my view also that one should not test (the qualifications of) brāhmaṇas; one should only consider their caste and not their virtues'. Such passages are explained away as referring to a śrāddha at sacred places or as applicable to gifts or to *atithis* (vide Hemādri on śrāddha p. 513, and Bālambhaṭṭī on ācāra p. 494)[878a].

Brāhmaṇas were declared to be *apāṅkteya*[879] (not fit to sit in the row of brāhmaṇa diners or as defiling a row of diners at śrāddha) on various grounds, such as bodily and mental defects and diseases, pursuit of certain avocations, moral lapses, being guilty of crimes, being followers of unorthodox systems, being inhabitants of certain countries. A distinction has to be made between brāhmaṇas who should not be invited and brāhmaṇas that are *apāṅkteya* or *paṅktidūṣaka*. For example, one should not ordinarily invite a friend or a sagotra brāhmaṇa even

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878. न परीक्षेत चारित्र्यं न विद्यां न कुलं तथा। न शीलं न च देशादीनतिथेरागतस्य हि॥ मन्येत विष्णुमेवैनं साक्षान्नारायणं हरिम्। अतिथिं समनुप्राप्तं विचिकित्सेन्न कर्हिचित्॥ नृसिंहपुराण q by श्रा. प्र. p 102; अविज्ञातं द्विजं श्राद्धे न परीक्षेत पण्डितः। सिद्धा हि विप्ररूपेण चरन्ति पृथिवीमिमाम्। तस्मादतिथिमायान्तमभिगच्छेत्कृताञ्जलिः॥ ब्रह्माण्ड, उपोद्घातपाद, 15. 7.

878 a. इत्यादीनि विप्रपरीक्षानिषेधकानि तानि श्राद्धेतरदानपराणि नित्यश्राद्धपराणि वा तीर्थश्राद्धपराणि अतिथिपूजापराणि वा। बालम्भट्टी on आचार, p. 494.

879. मेधातिथि on मनु III. 167 explains अपाङ्क्तेय (derived from पङ्क्ति) as follows: अपाङ्क्तेयाः पङ्क्तिं नार्हन्ति। भवार्थे ढक् कर्तव्यः। अनर्हत्वमेव पङ्क्त्यनर्हत्वमनेन प्रतीयते। अन्यैर्ब्राह्मणैः सह भोजनं नार्हन्ति। अत एव पङ्क्तिदूषका उच्यन्ते। तैः सहोपविष्टा अन्येऽपि दूषिता भवन्ति। पा. IV.1.20 is स्त्रीभ्यो ढक्.

though learned, but these are not apāṅkteya. The Ap.[880] Dh. S. states that one suffering from white leprosy, a bald man, the violator of another man's bed, the son of a brāhmaṇa who was a soldier by profession, the son of (brāhmaṇa who had become like) a śūdra from a brāhmaṇa woman—these defile the company if they are invited at a śrāddha repast. Vas. Dh. S. XI. 19 also gives a brief list viz. 'one should avoid naked (ascetics), those suffering from white leprosy, impotent men, blind men, those who have black teeth, those afflicted with black leprosy and those who have deformed nails.' Very long lists of persons unfit to be invited at a śrāddha are given by Gaut. XV. 16-19, Manu III. 150-166, Yāj. I. 222-224, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 82. 3-29, Atri (verses 345-359 and 385-388), Bṛhad-Yama III. 34-38, Bṛhat-Parāśara pp. 149-150, Vṛddha-Gautama pp. 580-581, the Vāyu-purāṇa 83.61-70, Anuśāsana-parva 90.6-11, Matsyapurāṇa 16.14-17, Kūrma (II. 21. 23-47), Skanda VII. 1.205.58-72, VI. 217.11-20, Varāhapurāṇa 14.4-6, Brahmapurāṇa 220. 127-135, Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (Upodghāta 15.39-44 and 19.30-41), Mārkaṇḍeya 28.26-30, Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 15.5-8), Nāradapurāṇa (pūrvārdha 28.11-18), Saurapurāṇa (19.7-9) and several other works. The list in the Manusmṛti is one of the longest and that is set out here. One should not invite a brāhmaṇa that is (1) a thief, (2) an outcaste, (3) an impotent man, (4) an atheist, (5) one who wears his hair in braids (a student yet learning Veda); (6) one who does not study the Veda, (7) one who is afflicted with a skin disease, (8) a gambler, (9) one officiating as a priest for a multitude of men, (10) a physician, (11) temple priest (who worships images for money), (12) vendor of meat, (13) one who makes his livelihood as shopkeeper, (14 and 15) a paid servant of a village or of a

880. श्वित्री शिपिविष्टः परतल्पगाम्यायुधीयपुत्रः शूद्रोत्पन्नो ब्राह्मण्यामित्येते श्राद्धे भुञ्जानाः पङ्क्तिदूषका भवन्ति। आप. ध. सू. II. 7.17.21. As the son of a śūdra male from a brāhmaṇa woman was treated as a cāṇḍāla in many smṛtis and therefore could not possibly have been intended to be invited at a śrāddha. Kapardin explained the words शूद्रो...ह्मण्याम् as meaning 'born of a brāhmaṇa male that had become practically a śūdra by first marrying a śūdra woman, then a brāhmaṇa woman and procreating a son on that śūdra wife and then on the brāhmaṇa wife.' This latter (as the son of a शूद्रसम ब्राह्मण) is 'अपाङ्क्तेय'; शूद्रोत्पन्नो ब्राह्मण्यां असमवर्णदारपरिग्रहे ब्राह्मण्यां पुत्रमुत्पाद्य शूद्रायामुत्पादितपुत्र इति कपर्दी' कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 90.), हरदत्त follows कपर्दी. हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 496) omits all reference to marrying a śūdra wife first and explains 'यो विशुद्धजातीयायामपि ब्राह्मण्यां शूद्रात् शूद्रसमानाद् ब्राह्मणादुत्पन्नः'.

king, (16) one with deformed nails, (17) one whose teeth are black (naturally), (18) one who opposes his *guru*, (19) one who has forsaken his sacred fire (*śrauta* or *smārta*) without a proper cause, (20) a usurer, (21) one suffering from consumption, (22) one who subsists by tending cattle (though not in distress), (23 and 24) a younger brother who marries or kindles sacred fires before his elder brother, (25) one who neglects the five (daily) sacrifices, (26) an enemy of brāhmaṇas or of Veda, (27 and 28) an elder brother who marries or kindles sacred fires after his young brother, (29) one who is a member of a guild or corporation, (30) an actor or singer, (31) one who has broken the vow of student-hood by unchastity, (32) one whose (only or first wife) is a śūdra female, (33) the son of a remarried woman, (34) a squint-eyed or one-eyed man, (35) one in whose house a paramour of his wife resides, (36) one who teaches for hire, (37) one who is taught by a hired teacher, (38) one whose teacher is a śūdra. (39) one who instructs śūdra pupils, (40) one whose speech is harsh and untrue, (41) the son of an adulteress, (42) the son of a widow, (43) one who forsakes his mother, father or teacher without (adequate) cause, (44) one who has contracted an alliance with *patitas* either through the Veda (i. e. as teacher or pupil) or through marriage, (45) an incendiary, (46) one who undertakes sea-voyages, (47) a bard, (48) an oil-man, (49) a false witness (or forger of documents or counterfeiter of coins), (50) one who has a dispute with his father in a law court, (51) one who induces others to gamble, (52) one who drinks wine, (53) one afflicted with a disease (in punishment for crimes in former lives), (54) one accused of a grave sin, (55) a hypocrite, (56) a vendor of substances used for flavouring food (such as sugar-cane juice or molasses), (57) a manufacturer of bows and arrows, (58) one who is the husband of a woman married before her elder sister, (59) the betrayer of a friend, (60) the keeper of a gambling house, (61) one who learns (the Veda) from his own son, (62) an epilectic man, (63) one who has scrofulous swellings of the glands, (64) one afflicted with white leprosy, (65) an informer, (66) a lunatic, (67) a blind man, (68) a caviller of the Veda, (69) a trainer of elephants, horses, oxen or camels, (70) one subsisting by the practice of astrology, (71) a bird-fancier, (72) one who gives instructions in the use of weapons, (73) one who diverts watercourses, (74) one engaged in obstructing watercourses, (75) one subsisting by teaching or practising architecture, (76) a messenger, (77) one who plants trees

for money, (78) a breeder of sporting dogs, (79) a falconer, (80) a defiler of a maiden (or who ascribes falsely fault to a maiden), (81) one given to injuring living beings, (82) one who gains his livelihood from śūdras, (83) one who officiates at a sacrifice on behalf of guilds, (84) one who does not follow the ordinary rules of conduct (as welcoming a guest &c.), (85) one who has no energy for religious acts, (86) one who constantly begs for gifts, (87) one who subsists by agriculture (carried on personally), (88) one who suffers from elephantiasis, (89) one who is condemned by good men, (90) a shepherd, (91) a keeper of buffaloes, (92) the husband of a remarried woman, (93) a carrier of dead bodies (for money)[881]. Manu III. 167 says that a brāhmaṇa who knows the sacred laws should avoid or shun at both (sacrifices to Gods and to Manes) the worst of brāhmaṇas enumerated above whose conduct is reprehensible and who are unworthy of sitting in a row of brāh-

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881. There is some divergence of views among the commentators about the meanings of certain words occurring in Manu III. 150–166. For reasons of space that matter is not discussed here in detail. A few points alone are noted here. निराकृति: is explained in two ways viz. (i) one who does not perform the daily five Mahāyajñas, (2) one who after learning the Veda forgets it. The evil diseases are said by Devala to be eight 'उन्मादस्त्वग्दोषो राजयक्ष्मा श्वासो मधुमेहो भगन्दरो महोदरमश्मरीत्यष्टौ पापरोगाः', q. by अपरार्क p. 451, स्मृतिच. (श्रा.) p. 401. वृषली is explained in various ways by Skandapurāṇa VII. 1. 205. 77–80 as meaning a śūdra woman, as one who abandoning her husband cohabits with another, as a girl who is not married though she has reached the age of puberty, as a prostitute, as one who is sterile, or one all whose children are dead. अग्रेदिधिषूपतिः :—When a younger sister gets married before her elder sister the former is called अग्रेदिधिषू while the latter is called दिधिषू. देवल says 'ज्येष्ठायां यद्यनूढायां कन्यायामुह्यतेऽनुजा। सा चाग्रेदिधिषूर्ज्ञेया पूर्वा च दिधिषूर्मता॥' q. by अपरार्क p. 451, मिता. on या. III. 265. अग्रेदिधिषूपति is taken by मेधातिथि as equal to two words viz. अग्रेदिधिषू and दिधिषूपति. The latter means, according to the Amarakośa, the husband of a remarried woman, while the former means 'one who is the first husband of a remarried woman' पुनर्भूर्दिधिषूरूढा द्विस्तस्या दिधिषूः पतिः। स तु द्विजोऽग्रेदिधिषूः सैव यस्य कुटुम्बिनी॥ अमरकोश q. by हरदत्त on गौ 15. 15. मनु. III 173 explains दिधिषूपति as one who lasciviously dallies with the widow of his deceased brother, though she be appointed (to bear a son by him) according to the sacred law. The स्मृतिs said that the brother appointed should cohabit as an act of duty and not through passion for the widow. Hemādri p. 485 gives another meaning of अग्रेदिधिषू 'जीवतस्तावद् भ्रातुर्भार्यायामनुरक्तोऽग्रेदिधिषूः'. वसिष्ठ I. 18 includes both अग्रेदिधिषू and दिधिषूपति among those who are called एनस्विनः. Even the तै. ब्रा. III. 2.8. 12 mentions अग्रेदिधिषु as a sinner and आप. ध. सू. (II. 5. 12. 22) mentions both.

maṇas at a śrāddha repast. Manu III. 170–182 indulge in pointing out how feeding such unworthy brāhmaṇas results in the loss of the gratification of pitṛs and state that the food eaten by such unworthy persons becomes or is to be deemed as equal to foul things. The Kūrmapurāṇa [882] forbids inviting at śrāddhas Bauddha ascetics, Nirgranthas (devotees who have withdrawn from the world and wander about naked or as beggars), those that follow the Pañcarātra and Pāśupata doctrines, those that are kāpālikas (devotees of Śiva of the left hand order) and other similar heretical people. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 18. 70 ff) narrates how a king after a bath in a holy place talked with a heretic and had to pass in consequence through the bodies of a dog, a jackal, wolf, vulture, a crow, a crane and peacock and ultimately became freed from the taint by a bath at the avabhṛtha in an Aśvamedha sacrifice. The same Purāṇa provides (III. 18. 97) that one should avoid talking with or touching heretics, particularly at the time of a religious rite or when one has consecrated for a solemn sacrifice. The Vāyupurāṇa [883] provides that people who are 'nagna' should not be allowed to see a śrāddha and then defines 'nagna' people as follows: 'the three Vedas are declared to be a protective covering for all beings and therefore those who foolishly abandon the Vedas are called 'nagna'; those who vainly keep matted hair, those who shave their heads for no purpose, those who are *nagna* (naked) without any cause, those who engage in certain observances and mutter certain words aimlessly are called *nagnādi*'. Just as certain countries were declared unfit for the performance of śrāddhas (vide note 853 above), so certain brāhmaṇas hailing from certain countries were declared in some

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882. बुद्धश्रावकनिर्ग्रन्थाः पञ्चरात्रविदो जनाः । कापालिकाः पाशुपताः पाषण्डा ये च तद्विधाः ॥ कूर्म (उत्तरार्ध) 21. 32 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 476 and 365; बुद्धश्रावकनिर्ग्रन्थशाक्याजीवककापिलान् । ये धर्माननुवर्तन्ते ते वै नग्नादयो जनाः ॥ ब्रह्माण्डपुराण III. 14.38–39 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 520. The same verse occurs in a corrupt form in वायु 78.30–31.

883. सर्वेषामेव भूतानां त्रयी संवरणं स्मृतम् । परित्यजति यो मोहात्ते वै नग्नादयो जनाः ॥...वृथा जटी वृथा मुण्डी वृथा नग्नश्च यो द्विजः । वृथा व्रती वृथा जापी ते वै नग्नादयो जनाः ॥ वायुपुराण 78.26 and 31. q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) p. 520 (the first verse from ब्रह्माण्डपुराण). The स्मृतिच. (श्रा.) p. 411 reads वर्णानां for भूतानां and ascribes that verse to the ब्रह्माण्डपुराण. ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद 14.35–41) has these verses. अपरार्क. 473 ascribes verse सर्वेषामेव भूतानां to ब्रह्माण्डपुराण, which is found in उपोद्घातपाद 14.35.

works as not fit to be invited at a śrāddha.[884] For example, the Matsyapurāṇa states that brāhmaṇas that are ungrateful, that are atheists, that stay in *Mleccha* countries or the countries of Triśaṅku, Karavīra, Āndhra, Cīna, Draviḍa and Koṅkaṇa should be carefully avoided at the time of śrāddha. Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 505) quotes from the Saurapurāṇa the following : 'Brāhmaṇas hailing from the countries of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Saurāṣṭra, (Kāthiawar), Gurjara, Ābhīra, Koṅkaṇa, Draviḍa, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Avanti and Magadha should be avoided at śrāddhas. It will be noticed that putting the above two passages together, brāhmaṇas from half of modern India would have been ineligible for being invited at śrāddhas if these passages were literally followed. This was probably a counsel of perfection prompted by the false pride and prejudices of the authors of those works. The Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara (pp. 39–41) contains one of the longest lists of persons unfit to be invited at a śrāddha.

The following reason is advanced by the Varāhapurāṇa[885] and others for honouring a guest who comes by chance at the time when a śrāddha rite is in progress: "Yogins wander over the earth assuming different forms that prevent recognition, but doing good to people; therefore a wise man should honour a guest who arrives at the time of the performance of a śrāddha". The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa[886] similarly says that an *atithi* (guest) at a śrāddha is one who comes when least thought of and not one who had arrived before the śrāddha rite started. The Mārkaṇḍeya (26. 30) provides that one should not ask such an *atithi* about his *gotra* or *caraṇa* or his Vedic study nor should one consider whether he has a fine appearance. Hemādri (on śrāddha pp. 430–433) quotes verses from the Śivadharmottara,

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884. कृतघ्नान्नास्तिकांस्तद्वन्म्लेच्छदेशनिवासिनः । त्रिशङ्कुबर्बरद्राववीतद्राविडकोङ्कणान् (त्रिशङ्कुकरवीरान्ध्रचीनद्रविड°?)। वर्जयेल्लिङ्गिनः सर्वान् श्राद्धकाले विशेषतः । मत्स्य 16. 16–17 q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) p. 505, कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 94).

885. योगिनो विविधै रूपैर्नराणामुपकारिणः । भ्रमन्ति पृथिवीमेतामविज्ञातस्वरूपिणः॥ तस्मादभ्यर्चयेत् प्राप्तं श्राद्धकालेऽतिथिं बुधः । श्राद्धक्रियाफलं हन्ति द्विजेन्द्रापूजितो हरिः॥ वराह 14. 18–19, विष्णुपुराण 15. 23–24; compare वायुपुराण 79. 7–8 (सिद्धा हि विप्ररूपेण चरन्ति पृथिवीमिमाम्। तस्मादतिथिमायान्तमभिगच्छेत् कृताञ्जलिः).

886. अचिन्त्योऽभ्यागतो यस्मात्तस्मादतिथिरुच्यते॥ अतिथिं तं विजानीयान्न पुनः पूर्वमागतः॥ भविष्य. I. 184. 9–10 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 427; न पृच्छेद्गोत्रचरणं स्वाध्यायं चापि पण्डितः। शोभनाशोभनाकारं तं मन्येत प्रजापतिम्॥ अनित्यं हि स्थितो यस्मात्तस्मादतिथिरुच्यते । मार्कण्डेय 26. 30–31.

Viṣṇudharmottara and Vāyu (71.74–75) Purāṇas that gods, *siddhas* and yogins wander over the earth in the form of brāhmaṇa *atithis* in order to favour people and to see how śrāddhas are being performed. About the definition of an *atithi* and the necessity and mode of honouring a guest in general, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 749–756.

Hemādri (Śrāddhakāṇḍa, pp. 380–385) holds an interesting discussion as to whether a performer of śrāddha belonging to one recension of a Veda must restrict himself to inviting brāhmaṇas that are students of the same recension of the Veda or whether he can invite any brāhmaṇa that may have studied any of the three Vedas. Some people relying on a maxim ('as in the case of a bride so in the case of an offering') invite only brāhmaṇas of their own *śākhā* possessed of the qualifications above set forth. Hemādri replies that this is a wrong notion, relies on Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 9 'one should feed [887] in all (religious) acts brāhmaṇas that are pure (in their conduct) and that have studied the Veda' and asserts that no smṛti, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Gṛhyasūtra nor Kalpasūtra contains the restriction of inviting only brāhmaṇas of the performer's own śākhā. He further says that in such texts as 'triṇāciketas-trimadhuḥ' (quoted in note 862a above) the rule laid down is to invite brāhmaṇas that have studied different śākhās and Vedas. He rejects the idea about any restriction as to selecting a bridegroom of the same śākhā as the bride's father and remarks that if some people are not prepared to give their daughters in marriage to young men belonging to other śākhās, that is due to ignorance about the families and is also due to pride and vanity. He winds up by saying that in Āryāvarta countries it is found on all sides that marriage connections are entered into with persons studying different śākhās but living in the same district, (such connections) not being condemned, while persons who study the same śākhā of the Veda but do not know each other do not enter into marital connections.[888] As a contrast to this commonsense view it should be

887. शुचीन् मन्त्रवतः सर्वकृत्येषु भोजयेत् । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15 9, on which हरदत्त explains 'मन्त्रवतः अधीतवेदान्। सर्वकृत्येषु श्रौतेषु गार्ह्येषु स्मार्तेषु च कर्मसु दैवेषु पित्र्येषु मानुषेषु च भोजयेत्।'.

888. अत्र केचिद्यथा कन्या तथा हविरिति कन्यासाधर्म्येण हविषां स्वशाखीयप्रतिपाद्यत्वं मन्यमानाः स्वशाखीयमेव श्रोत्रियत्वादिगुणविशिष्टं श्राद्धे नियोजयन्ति। तदसत्। स्मृतीतिहास-

(*Continued on the next page*)

noted that the author of the Bālambhaṭṭi recommends that 'Mahārāṣṭra brāhmaṇas should not invite brāhmaṇas of other castes (of brāhmaṇas) and particularly the Koṅkaṇastha brāhmaṇas should be avoided and it goes so far as to say that a person belonging to one's own caste not possessed of good qualities and of a blemished character (provided he is not guilty of mahāpātakas or the like) should be preferred to one belonging to another sub-caste even if endowed with good qualities.

The Vas. Dh. S. provides [889] that the performer should invite ascetics, house-holders, well conducted men, who are not very old &c. The Kūrmapurāṇa states [890] 'that man whose offer-

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(*Continued from the last page*)

पुराणगृह्यकल्पसूत्रेषु क्वचिदपि स्वशाखीयनियमाश्रवणात् । प्रत्युत स्मृत्यादिषु त्रिणाचिकेतत्रिमधुत्रिसुपर्णो ज्येष्ठसामग इत्यादिभिर्नानाशाखीयानां नानावेदाध्यायिनामेव विधिदर्शनाच्च ...किं च कन्यायामेव तावदेकशाखाध्यायिनियमः कुतोऽवगतो यद्बलेन हविष्यपि साध्यते। ... आर्यावर्तेषु च समानदेशवासिनां नानाशाखाध्यायिनामप्युपलभ्यन्त एव परस्परमनवगीयमानाः सर्वतो विवाहसम्बन्धाः । अविज्ञातपरस्पराणामेकशाखाध्यायिनामपि नोपलभ्यन्ते।...अतो न कन्यादाने नापि हविर्दाने स्वशाखीयद्विजनियम इति सिद्धम्। हेमाद्रि (श्राद्ध) pp. 380–381. The words यथा कन्या तथा हविः occur in a verse of गर्ग 'नैकगोत्रे हविर्दद्याद्यथा कन्या तथा हविः। अभावे ह्यन्यगोत्राणामेकगोत्रांस्तु भोजयेत् ।' q. by श्रा. प्र. p. 75. हेमाद्रि p. 450 reads it as नैक...दद्यात्समानप्रवरे तथा। न चाज्ञातकुले दद्याद्यथा कन्या तथा हविः ॥; श्रा. क. ल. p. 39 quotes this verse and the half verse अभावे...न भोजयेत् also. The निर्णयसिन्धु III. p 397 follows हेमाद्रि and relies on मनु III. 145–146. एवमपि महाराष्ट्रैर्विजातीया न ग्राह्यास्तत्रापि कोङ्कणस्थादयः सर्वथा न ग्राह्या इति श्राद्धदीपकलिकादिषु प्रामाणिकनिबन्धेष्विति सर्वशिष्टसंमतम् ।...वर्ज्याश्च द्विविधाः दोषवन्तः सजातीयाः गुणवन्तोऽपि विजातीयाः सुतरां दोषवन्तः । तत्र सजातीयेषु अनिषिद्धलाभेऽभिशस्तत्वादिप्रबलदोषरहितो दुष्टोपि ग्राह्यः । विजातीयस्तु गुणवानपि तत्त्वादेव त्याज्यः किमुत दोषवान् ।... केवलां चिन्तयेज्जातिं...। कन्यादानादिसम्बन्धयोग्यां जातिं यथा कन्या तथा हविरित्युक्तेस्तेन तेपि सर्वथा हेया एवेति दिक्। बालम्भट्टी on आचार p. 497.

889. पूर्वेद्युर्ब्राह्मणान् संनिपात्य यतीन् गृहस्थान्साधून्वा परिणतवयसोऽविकर्मस्थान् श्रोत्रियान् शिष्याननन्तेवासिनः । वसिष्ठ XI.17. q. by हेमाद्रि p. 379 who explains 'यतयः प्रव्रजिताः तदसम्भवे गृहस्थान्'. The होडरानन्द (श्राद्धसौख्य folio 37b) arranges the persons to be invited at a श्राद्ध in the following order: तदयं संक्षेपः । आदौ त्रिदण्डयतिस्तदलाभे वानप्रस्थस्तदलाभे ब्रह्मचारी तदलाभे गृहस्थस्तत्रापि पङ्क्तिपावनादय उत्कृष्टास्तदलाभे यो ह्यसम्बद्धः सत्कर्मा च तदलाभे तत्सम्बद्धा अपि तदलाभे सदाचारः शिष्योऽपि ।.

890. प्रकृतेर्गुणतत्त्वज्ञो यस्याश्नाति यतिर्हविः । फलं वेदान्तवित्तस्य (वेदविदां तस्य?) सहस्रादतिरिच्यते ॥ तस्माद्यत्नेन योगीन्द्रमीश्वरज्ञानतत्परम् । भोजयेद्धव्यकव्येषु अलाभादितरान्द्विजान् । कूर्म (उत्तरार्ध 21. 17–18) q. by श्रा. प्र. p. 73, हेमाद्रि p. 413 (2nd verse) and p. 417 (first verse).

ing (of food) is eaten by a *yati* that knows the truth about *prakṛti* (primordial matter) and the *guṇas* (*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*) reaps the reward (merit) of feeding a thousand (other brāhmaṇas). Therefore one should feed in offerings to gods and manes an excellent *yogin* who is intent on true knowledge of God and others only if such a one is not available.' Similar verses about ascetics and yogins occur in Varāhapurāṇa 14. 50, Skanda (VI. 217. 7 ff) and Vāyupurāṇa[891] chap. 71. 65-73, chap. 76. 28 &c. Bṛhaspati provides[892] a special rule that, if a person cannot afford to feed at a śrāddha more than one brāhmaṇa, then he should feed one who has studied the Sāmaveda, since in him all the three viz. Ṛks, the Yajus and Sāmans co-exist, that the father is pleased by Ṛks (i. e. by the feeding of a brāhmaṇa who has studied the Ṛgveda), the grand-father by Yajus, the great-grand-father by a Sāman and a *chandoga* (a chanter of the whole of Sāmaveda) is superior. A verse of Śātātapa is[893] quoted to the effect that if a student of the Atharvaveda is fed in a rite for the gods or manes, that yields endless and inexhaustible rewards.

Some of the smṛtis were very strict in laying down the qualifications of brāhmaṇas to be invited at a śrāddha. Auśanasa (chap. 4) asserts: 'that brāhmaṇa[894] is called *durbrāhmaṇa* and should never be invited at a śrāddha in whose family Veda study and Vedī (i. e. the performance of Śrauta sacrifices) have been stopped for three generations'. The same

891. गृहस्थानां सहस्रेण वानप्रस्थशतेन च। ब्रह्मचारिसहस्रेण योगी त्वेको विशिष्यते॥ वायुपुराण 71.69 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 413, श्रा. प्र p. 73; it occurs also in ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद) 9.70. यतिस्तु सर्वविप्राणां सर्वेषामग्रभुग्भवेत्। इतिहासपञ्चमान् वेदान् यः पठेत द्विजोत्तमः॥ अनन्तरं यतेः सोऽयं नियोक्तव्यो विजानता। त्रिवेदोऽनन्तरस्तस्माद् द्विवेदस्तदनन्तरः। एकवेदस्ततः पश्चादयायाध्यायी ततः परम्। वायुपुराण 79. 53-55 q by हेमाद्रि (p. 419). The printed वायु reads सर्वेषामन्य उत्सवे; almost the same verses occur in ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद 15.24-26).

892. यद्येकं भोजयेच्छ्राद्धे छन्दोगं तत्र भोजयेत। ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि त्रयं तत्र तु विद्यते॥ ऋचा तु तृप्यति पिता यजुषा तु पितामहः। पितुः पितामहः साम्ना छन्दोगो ह्यधिकस्ततः॥ बृहस्पति q. by हेमाद्रि p. 385, स्मृतिमु. p. 765, कल्पतरु on श्राद्ध p. 58.

893 भोजयेच्चाथर्वाणं दैवे पैत्र्ये च कर्मणि। अनन्तमक्षयं चैव फलं तस्येति वै श्रुतिः॥ शातातप q by हेमाद्रि p. 385, स्मृतिमु. p. 765, कल्पतरु (श्रा.) p. 59.

894. यस्य वेदश्च वेदी च विच्छिद्येते त्रिपुरुषम्। स वै दुर्ब्राह्मणो ज्ञेयः श्राद्धादौ न कदाचन॥ औशनसस्मृति (Jiv. I. p. 524). बौ. गृ. परिभाषासूत्र I. 10. 6 (which reads नाम यश्चैव वृषलीपतिः); q. by अपरार्क p. 286 and p. 449 and हेमाद्रि p. 357, as यम's. Vide त्रिकाण्डमण्डन I. 134-135 for similar definitions.

author[895] further says that six persons are merely *brahmabandhus* (i. e. brāhmaṇas by birth or caste alone) viz. one who is hired by a śūdra or a king as a servant, who has a śūdra woman as his wife, who is a village priest and he who subsists by killing (animals) or by catching them. So early as the Mahābhāṣya[896] it was stated that austerities (leading a life of restraint and strict observances), Vedic learning and birth (from brāhmaṇa parents) are the causes of (a man being called) a brāhmaṇa and that he who is devoid of the first two is a mere brāhmaṇa by caste (but not a real brāhmaṇa). It is curious to note that Yama stated that, if brāhmaṇas that do not declare (or point out) the auspicious nakṣatra or *tithi* or day or muhūrta and other auspicious matters, eat (śrāddha) food it becomes inexhaustible.

But the requisite qualifications were so exacting that it must have been found almost impossible to secure for a śrāddha brāhmaṇas altogether free from any of the blemishes set out above from Manu. Gautama (15. 15–18) contains long lists[897] of over 50 kinds of brāhmaṇas that were not to be invited at a śrāddha dinner or at a sacrifice for gods, but Gaut. adds that according to some only those beginning with '*durvāla*' (Gaut. in 15. 18) were to be shunned at a śrāddha (but could be invited at a sacrifice for the gods). The persons so to be shunned, according to some who flourished before Gautama (i. e. at least before 600 B. C.) are: a bald man, a man who has deformed nails or has black teeth (naturally), one suffering from white

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895. शूद्रप्रेष्यो भृतो राज्ञा वृषली ग्रामयाजकः । वधबन्धोपजीवी च षडेते ब्रह्मबन्धवः ॥ औशनस (Jiv. I.) p. 525, q. by अपरार्क p. 449. ब्रह्मबन्धु is a contemptuous term for one who is a ब्राह्मण in name only (and has not studied the Veda).

896. तपः श्रुतं च योनिश्चेत्येतद् ब्राह्मणकारकम् । तपःश्रुताभ्यां यो हीनो जातिब्राह्मण एव सः ॥ महाभाष्य on पाणिनि II. 2.6 (ed. by Kielhorn, vol. I. p 411). This appears to be a quotation. अनुशासनपर्व 121. 7 is तपः...ब्राह्मण्यकारणम् । त्रिभिर्गुणैः समुदितो ततो भवति वै द्विजः ॥. In the महाभाष्य on पा. IV. 1. 44, vol. II. p. 220 ब्राह्मणाख्य is defined as त्रीणि यस्यावदातानि विद्या योनिश्च कर्म च । एतच्छिवं विजानीहि ब्राह्मणाग्र्यस्य लक्षणम् ॥; 'नक्षत्रतिथिपुण्याहान् मुहूर्तान्मङ्गलानि च । न निर्दिशन्ति ये विप्रास्तैर्भुक्तं ह्यक्षयं भवेत् ॥' यम q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 390), कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 62). नियमेषु तपःशब्दः । आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 1. हेमाद्रि p. 347 quotes a similar verse from बौधायन.

897. कुण्डाशि-सोमविक्रय्यगारदाहि-गरदावकीर्णि-गणप्रेष्यागम्यागामि-हिंस्र-परिवित्ति-परिवेत्तृ पर्याहित-पर्याधातृ-त्यक्तात्म-दुर्वाल-कुनखि-श्यावदन्त-श्वित्रि-पौनर्भव-कितवाजप-राजप्रेष्य-प्रातिरूपिक-शूद्रापति-निराकृति-किलासि-कुसीदि-वणिक्-शिल्पोपजीवि-ज्यावादित्रताल-नृत्य-गीतशीलान् ।... दुर्वालादीन् श्राद्ध एवैके । अकृतान्नश्राद्धे चैवम् । गौ. 15. 18, 31–32. Words joined by *sandhi* rules have not been separated by a hyphen.

leprosy, the son of a re-married woman, a gambler, one who neglects *japa* (the recitation of Vedic mantras), a servant of the king, one who uses false weights and measures, one whose (only) wife is a śūdra female, one who does not perform the daily five sacrifices, one who suffers from a virulent skin disease, a usurer, one who lives by trade or by handicrafts, one who makes his living by (manufacturing) bows (and arrows) or by playing on musical instruments or by keeping time (when another is singing), or by dancing or singing. Vas. quotes a verse [898] as follows: If a brāhmaṇa knowing the Vedas is afflicted with physical defects which (ordinarily) exclude a person from a row of diners, Yama declares that he is irreproachable and that he does sanctify the row of diners. But it must be said that even in modern times emphasis is laid on inviting learned and well-conducted brāhmaṇas for śrāddha. The idea (expressed by Manu III. 189 and the Padmapurāṇa) persists that the *pitṛs* enter into and hover round the invited brāhmaṇas and that the latter are to be looked upon as representing the *pitṛs*.[899] The Garuḍapurāṇa states that Yama allows the departed souls and the pitṛs to visit the world of men at the time of śrāddha from the nether regions.

The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (79. 19–21) prescribes that the performer should avoid wrath, should not shed tears and should not do things in a hurry. The Varāhapurāṇa [900] provides that the performer should not employ twigs for brushing the teeth (but should rinse his mouth twelve times with water), should remain chaste and pure. Āp. Dh. S. prescribes [901] that the performer should not eat food from the commencement (from the time he goes out to invite) up to the end of the śrāddha rite. The

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898. अथाप्युदाहरन्ति। अथ चेन्मन्त्रविद्युक्तः शारीरैः पङ्क्तिदूषणैः। अदुष्यं तं यमः प्राह पङ्क्तिपावन एव सः॥ वासिष्ठधर्मसूत्र XI. 20, q. by मेधातिथि on मनु III. 168. The verse is also अत्रि 350–51 and लघुशङ्ख 22.

899. निमन्त्रिताश्च पितर उपतिष्ठन्ति तान् द्विजान्। वायुभूता निगच्छन्ति तथासीनानुपासते॥ पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड 9. 85–86). Vide note 759 above. श्राद्धकाले यमः प्रेतान् पितॄंश्चापि यमालयात्। विसर्जयति मानुष्ये निरयस्थांश्च काश्यप॥ गरुडपुराण, प्रेतखण्ड chap. X. 28–29.

900. वराहपुराणे। दन्तकाष्ठं च विसृजेद् ब्रह्मचारी शुचिर्भवेत्। q. by कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 104), श्रा. प्र. p. 112.

901. आरब्धे चाभोजनमा समापनात्। आप. ध. सू II. 7.17.24.

Kūrma (uttarārdha 22. 8) states that if a person first invites a brāhmaṇa and then foolishly invites another (passing over the first) then he becomes a greater sinner (than the brāhmaṇa who after accepting one invitation promises to dine at another śrāddha) and is born as a worm in human faeces. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa [902] provides that honouring gods, pitṛs and men and feeding (brāhmaṇas) should not be done without wearing an upper garment; otherwise the rite will bear no fruit.

About the number of brāhmaṇas to be invited at a śrāddha there were several options and several views. The Āśv. Gṛ. S. states [903] that at the Pārvaṇa—śrāddha (performed on a *parvan* day i. e. on Amāvāsyā), the Ābhyudayika śrāddha, the Ekoddiṣṭa or *Kāmya*, the larger the number of brāhmaṇas the greater is the reward, that in no case should a person invite only one brāhmaṇa at a śrāddha meant for all pitṛs or he may optionally invite only one brāhmaṇa except at the first śrāddha, that he may invite one, two or three brāhmaṇas for each of the three paternal ancestors. The Śāṅ. Gṛ. (IV. 1.2) and Kauṣītaki Gṛ. III. 14. 1-2 prescribe that one should [904] invite an uneven number of brāhmaṇas, at least three, to sit down as (representing the) fathers. Gaut. requires [905] 'He shall feed an uneven number

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902. पितृदेवमनुष्याणां पूजनं भोजनं तथा। नोत्तरीयं विना कार्यं कृतं स्यान्निष्फलं यतः॥ भविष्य I.185.23.

903. ब्राह्मणान् श्रुतशीलवृत्तसम्पन्नानेकेन वा काले ज्ञापितान् स्नातान् कृतपच्छौचानाचान्तानुदङ्मुखान् पितृवदुपवेश्यैकैकमेकस्य द्वौ द्वौ त्रींस्त्रीन्वा वृद्धौ फलभूयस्त्वं न त्वेवैकं सर्वेषाम्। काममनाद्ये। आश्व. गृ. सू. IV. 7. 2-3. पितृवत् is explained in two ways by नारायण 'पितृवदिति वचनं ममैते पितर इति मनसा ध्यायन्नुपवेशयेदित्येवमर्थमित्येके।' अन्ये तु पितृवृद्धं पितामहाय वृद्धतरं प्रपितामहाय वृद्धतममित्येवं यथावय उपवेशनार्थमिति। The words नत्वेवैकं सर्वेषाम् in आश्व. are opposed to मनु III. 125. नारायण gives several meanings of अनाद्ये, viz. आद्य refers to सपिण्डीकरण which is the first of the śrāddhas for a deceased person in which three ancestors are invoked; आद्य may refer to पार्वण which is mentioned first by आश्व. गृ सू.; or अनाद्य means अभोजन and so refers to आमश्राद्ध or हिरण्यश्राद्ध; or अनाद्ये means दुर्भिक्षे. The words एकैकमेकस्य... त्रींस्त्रीन्वा contradict आश्व. गृ. II. 5.11-12 'नवावरान् भोजयेत्। अयुजो वा.'

904. अथ मासि मासि पितृभ्यो दद्यात्। ब्राह्मणान्वेदविदुषोऽयुग्मान् त्र्यवरार्ध्यान् पितृवदुपवेश्यायुग्मानि तिलपात्राणि तिलैरवकीर्य ब्राह्मणानां पाणिषु निनयेत्। कौषीतकिगृ. III. 14.1-2.

905. अमावास्यां पितृभ्यो दद्यात्।...नवावरान् भोजयेदयुजः। यथोत्साहं वा। श्रोत्रियान्वाग्रूपवयःशीलसम्पन्नान्।...एके पितृवत्। गौ. ध. सू. 15.2, 7-9, 11. हरदत्त explains 'एके मन्यन्ते पित्राद्यनुरूपं दानमिति। यथा पित्रे तरुणाः पितामहाय वृद्धाः प्रपितामहाय वृद्धतरा इति'. गौतम and others simply echo what is said in शतपथ-ब्रा. II. 4.2.7-8 about offering food to pitṛs on *amāvāsyā*.

of brāhmaṇas, at least nine or as many as he is able (to feed) and that they should be learned in the Veda and endowed with polished speech, good appearance, mature age and good character'. If five were invited two would be for gods and three for pitṛs; if seven, then four for gods and three for pitṛs and so on. Vas. XI. 27 (= Manu III. 125 = Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 29), Yāj. I. 228, Matsya 17. 13–14, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 15.14 provide that one must feed two brāhmaṇas at the rite for the gods and three for the manes or one only for each of the two purposes and even a rich man should not go in for a large company. The Padmapurāṇa (Sṛṣṭi 9.98 and 141) says the same thing. So the number of brāhmaṇas to be invited did not depend so much upon the means of the inviter, but upon the point whether the inviter would be able to honour them all properly and with ease. The idea was that at the same time when śrāddha was to be performed two brāhmaṇas should be fed for gods and three for the pitṛs. When only one brāhmaṇa could be invited or was available, Vas. (XI. 30–31) provides that portions of the several foods cooked should be put in a vessel and should be placed at the place where Vaiśvadevika brāhmaṇa would have been seated, then served in a plate and the *viśve devāḥ* be invoked and should be contemplated as present and then the food should be thrown into the fire or offered to a Vedic student (as alms) and then śrāddha rite should be continued. Śaṅkha[906] 14.10 provides a similar rule. The result is that if a man can afford to invite only one brāhmaṇa or can secure one only, then that brāhmaṇa is meant for the rite in honour of pitṛs and the offering for the gods is to be cast into fire. Baud. Dh. S. II. 8.30, Manu III. 126, Vas. XI. 28, Kūrma (uttarārdha 22.28) contain the same verse which emphatically states 'A large company destroys these five *desiderata*, viz. the respectful treatment (of those invited), the securing of a proper place (such as one sloping to the south) and time, purity and (the

906. भोजयेदथवाप्येकं ब्राह्मणं पङ्क्तिपावनम्। दैवे कृत्वा तु नैवेद्यं पश्चाद्वह्नौ तु तत्क्षिपेत्॥ शङ्ख 14.10. The श्रा. क. ल. p. 40 remarks 'एकब्राह्मणपक्षे विश्वेदेवस्थाने पात्रं प्रकल्प्य दैवे निवेद्य तमेकं विप्रं पित्रादिषु मातामहादिषु च नियुञ्जीत.' हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1523) explains Vas. XI.31 as 'अन्नस्य प्रत्येकमेकदेशं समुद्धृत्य देवतायतने वैश्वदेविकद्विजोपवेशनोचिते स्थाने पात्रमासाद्य तत्र परिवेश्य तत्रत्यासने च विश्वान् देवानावाह्य तान् पुरोवर्तिन इवानुध्याय...विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्य इदमन्नं स्वाहा ओं तत्सदिति उक्त्वा' &c. The translation in S. B. E. vol. 14 of देवतायतने in Vas. XI.31 (at p. 54) is wrong.

choice of) meritorious brāhmaṇas; therefore one should not desire a large company'[907]. The Kūrmapurāṇa (uttarārdha 22.32) insists that an *atithi* must be fed at a śrāddha or otherwise the śrāddha is not praiseworthy. Though these ancient works insisted upon the avoidance of large preparations and expenses for śrāddhas in honour of a deceased person, there were other smṛtis that favoured lavish distribution of wealth in śrāddhas. For example, Bṛhaspati lays down: '(An heir) should lay aside half of the wealth that comes to him (by inheritance) for the benefit of the deceased owner and should expend it in the monthly, six-monthly and yearly śrāddhas'. The Dāyabhāga XI. 12 approves[908] of this and also quotes Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13.3 'On the failure of a sapiṇḍa the teacher of the Veda takes the wealth of the deceased, on failure of the teacher, the pupil takes it and having inherited it he should employ it in the performance of works of charity for the benefit of the deceased' (or he himself may enjoy it). These passages show to what lengths the cult of benefit to the soul of the deceased was carried in India by certain writers. More practical authors such as Haradatta did not relish these extreme views. In several purāṇas such as the Vāyu[908a] and Viṣṇu there are express directions that when a śrāddha is performed at Gayā, it should be on a profuse scale and no stinginess[909] (lit. cheating in money matters) in spending wealth should be shown there; otherwise the performer would not reap the benefit of the performance of śrāddha at that holy place. The Padmapurāṇa appears to inculcate profuse

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907. सत्क्रियां देशकालौ च शौचं ब्राह्मणसम्पदः। पञ्चैतान् विस्तरो हन्ति तस्मान्नेहेत विस्तरम्॥ मनु. III. 126.

908. धनार्जनस्य हि प्रयोजनद्वयं भोगार्थत्वं दानाद्यदृष्टार्थत्वं च, तत्रार्जकस्य तु मृतत्वाद्धने भोग्यत्वाभावेनादृष्टार्थत्वमेव शिष्टम्। अत एव बृहस्पतिः। समुत्पन्नाद्धनादर्धं तदर्थं स्थापयेत्पृथक्। मासषाण्मासिके श्राद्धे वार्षिके च प्रयत्नतः।' दायभाग XI.13. आपस्तम्ब-धर्मसूत्र II. 6.13.3 is: तदभावे आचार्य आचार्याभावे अन्तेवासी हृत्वा तदर्थेषु धर्मकृत्येषु वोपयोजयेत्।'; हरदत्त explains 'वाशब्दात् स्वयं वोपयुञ्जीत'.

908 a. वित्तशाठ्यं न कुर्वीत गयाश्राद्धे सदा नरः। वित्तशाठ्यं तु कुर्वाणो न तीर्थफल-भाग्भवेत्॥ वायु 82.19. This is quoted from another Purāṇa by the स्मृतिच. (श्राद्ध) p. 388, which adds 'अतो वित्तानुसारेण शारीरबलानुसारेण च गयायां श्राद्धं कार्यम्'.

909. सतिलं नामगोत्रेण दद्याच्छक्त्या च दक्षिणाम्॥ गोभूहिरण्यवासांसि भव्यानि शयनानि च। दद्याद्यदिष्टं विप्राणामात्मनः पितुरेव च॥ वित्तशाठ्येन रहितः पितृभ्यः प्रीति-माहरन्। पद्मपुराण, सृष्टिखण्ड 9. 179-181.

expenditure of wealth in all śrāddhas. The Vāyupurāṇa [910] (82. 26–28) further says that the brāhmaṇas of Gayā are supermen, that when they are gratified (at a śrāddha) the gods together with pitṛs become gratified, that no question should be raised about the family, the character, the learning and the austerities (of the Gayā brāhmaṇas), that by honouring them a man attains liberation, that a man after honouring the brāhmaṇas should proceed according to his resources and strength to the performance of śrāddha; thereby he secures all heavenly desires and obtains the means of *Mokṣa*. The Skandapurāṇa goes so far as to say that Gayā brāhmaṇas even if they are depraved in their conduct and are backward deserve to be invited at śrāddha and are superior to brāhmaṇas who have mastered the Veda and Vedāṅgas. The Nirṇayasindhu (III, p. 401) notes that, according to the Tristhalīsetu of his grandfather, this provision holds good only in the case of the śrāddha at the Akṣayya Vaṭa in Gayā and nowhere else. In modern times the brāhmaṇas at Gayā used to require the performer of śrāddha while he was in the sacred Phalgu river to make a declaration about his wealth and demanded fees accordingly, thereby carrying to the letter the words of the Vāyupurāṇa. Many people returned from Gayā thoroughly disillusioned and disgusted with the conduct of the brāhmaṇas at Gayā. In the Varāhapurāṇa [911] it is said that two verses were sung by the pitṛs viz. 'Would such a blessed and intelligent man be born in our family who will offer piṇḍas (i. e. śrāddha) to us without being stingy about wealth and who would bestow on brāhmaṇas with reference to us (i. e. for our benefit) jewels, clothes, land, costly vehicles and all other kinds of wealth including water, when he has riches enough?' Here lavish expenditure on all śrāddhas (not only at Gayā-śrāddha) appears to be strongly recommended. Devala pre-

910. अमानुषतया विप्रा (अमानुषा गयाविप्रा?) ब्रह्मणा (ब्रह्मणा?) ये प्रकल्पिताः। तेषु तुष्टेषु सन्तुष्टाः पितृभिः सह देवताः ॥ न विचार्यं कुलं शीलं विद्यां च तप एव च। पूजितैस्तैस्तु राजेन्द्र मुक्तिं प्राप्नोति मानवः ॥ ततः प्रवर्तयेच्छ्राद्धं यथाशक्तिबलाबलम्। कामान्स लभते दिव्यान्मोक्षोपायं च विन्दति ॥ वायु 82. 26–28. The first two verses are quoted from another (unnamed) पुराण by स्मृतिच. (श्रा.) pp. 388–389; 'अथाचारपरिभ्रष्टाः श्राद्धार्हा एव नागराः। बलीवर्दसमानोऽपि ज्ञातीयो यदि लभ्यते। किमन्यैर्बहुभिर्विप्रैर्वेदवेदाङ्गपारगैः॥' स्कन्दपुराण VI. 222. 23.

911. अपि धन्यः कुले जायादस्माकं मतिमान् नरः। अकुर्वन् वित्तशाठ्यं यः पिण्डान्नो निर्वपिष्यति ॥ रत्नवस्त्रमहीयानं सर्वं तोयादिकं वसु। विभवे सति विप्रेभ्यः अस्मानुद्दिश्य दास्यति ॥ वराहपुराण 13. 50–51, विष्णुपुराण III. 14. 22–23 (reads यानमहाभोगादिकं वसु).

vides that on the days of *śrauta* sacrifices, of the celebration of charitable acts, of śrāddhas on the anniversary of death or on amāvāsyā, on lucky occasions (*vṛddhi*), on Aṣṭakā days, one should never give a frugal or poor dinner to[911a] the worthy brāhmaṇas invited for dinner.

If no brāhmaṇa is available, then the Śrāddhaviveka, Śrāddhatattva and other digests say that effigies of brāhmaṇas made with seven or nine darbhas (except in the case of a performer following the Sāmaveda who is not restricted as to the number of darbhas) should be got ready and śrāddha should be performed and afterwards the fee and other materials may be given later on to other brāhmaṇas[912].

Rules were laid from very ancient times about the method of inviting brāhmaṇas. The Āp. Dh. S. states[912a] that the performer should make a request to the brāhmaṇas on the previous day, that on the day of the śrāddha he should request a second time (saying 'today is the śrāddha day') and then he should address them a third time (with the words 'food is ready, come'). Haradatta on the first of the three sūtras explains that the request should be 'tomorrow there is a śrāddha, you should do me the favour of being in the place of the Āhavanīya fire' i. e. you should partake of the food that will be prepared. Manu III. 187 also says that the invitation should be on the previous day or on the day of the śrāddha

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911 a. इष्टापूर्तमृताहेषु दर्शवृद्ध्यष्टकासु च। पात्रेभ्यस्तेषु कालेषु देयं नैव कुभोजनम्॥ देवल q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा.) p. 410.

912. ब्राह्मणासम्पत्तौ कुशमयब्राह्मणे श्राद्धमुक्तं श्राद्धविवेके। ... ब्राह्मणानामसम्पत्तौ कृत्वा दर्भमयान् द्विजान्। श्राद्धं कृत्वा विधानेन पश्चाद्विप्रेषु दापयेत्। इति श्राद्धसूत्रभाष्यकारसमुद्रकरधृतवचनाच्च। श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 194 and again at p. 199 'एवं ब्राह्मणानामसम्पत्तौ पक्षत्रयासनेषु दर्भवटुत्रयोपवेशनम्'. The three पक्षs are दैव, पितृ and मातामह.

912 a. पूर्वेद्युर्निवेदनम्। अपरेद्युर्द्वितीयम्। तृतीयमामन्त्रणम्। आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 17. 11–13; हरदत्त explains 'श्वः श्राद्धं भविता तत्र भवताहवनीयार्थे प्रसादः कर्तव्य इति।'. The exact procedure would be पूर्वेद्युर्निशि ब्राह्मणगृहं गत्वा दर्भपाणिरुदङ्मुखः पातितदक्षिणजानुरुपवीती प्राङ्मुखोपविष्टद्विजदक्षिणजानुं दक्षिणकरेण स्पृशन् श्वो नः पितृकार्यं भविता तत्र विश्वेदेवस्थाने आहवनीयार्थे भवद्भिः क्षणः स्वीकर्तव्यः प्रसीदत।' पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय (on श्राद्ध) folio 55a. For पैतृकब्राह्मणनिवेदन the difference will be पातितवामजानुर्दक्षिणामुखः प्राचीनावीती उदङ्मुखं ब्राह्मणं &c.

itself. The Matsyapurāṇa[913] and Padma (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa 9.85-88) provide that the person intending to perform a śrāddha should in an humble manner invite the brāhmaṇas on the previous day or (in the morning of) the day of śrāddha, that he should touch the right knee (of the brāhmaṇa to be invited) with the words 'you are given this invitation by me' and repeat in their hearing the following observance 'you should be free from anger, should be intent on purity (of body and mind) and should abstain from sexual intercourse and I, the performer of śrāddha, shall also act in the same way and that the pitṛs in an aerial form wait upon the invited brāhmaṇas.' The Bṛhan-nāradīya-purāṇa states that the invitation should be in the words 'O best men! You should do me a favour and accept the invitation for śrāddha.' It is noteworthy that the Prajāpati-smṛti (63) prescribes that one should invite brāhmaṇas for a śrāddha or sacrifice for gods in the evening of the previous day after uttering the verse 'akrodhanaiḥ &c.'[914] The Skandapurāṇa VI. 217. 37 says that the performer should address the brāhmaṇa as follows: 'my father (is or will enter) into this your body and so will my grand-father; let him (the grand-father) come with his father and you should strictly observe the *vrata*' (the rules). The invitation to the brāhmaṇas representing pitṛs is to be given with the sacred thread in the *prācīnāvīta* form and to those for Vaiśvadevika in the *yajñopavīta* form. On the question whether the Vaiśvadevika brāhmaṇas were to be invited first or the brāhmaṇas for pitṛs were to be invited first

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913. पूर्वेद्युरपरेद्युर्वा विनीतात्मा निमन्त्रयेत्। निमन्त्रितान्हि पितर उपतिष्ठन्ति तान् द्विजान्। वायुभूता नु गच्छन्ति तथासीनानुपासते॥ दक्षिणं जानुमालभ्य त्वं मया तु निमन्त्रितः। एवं निमन्त्र्य नियमं श्रावयेत्पितृबान्धवान्॥ अक्रोधनैः शौचपरैः सततं ब्रह्मचारिभिः। भवितव्यं भवद्भिश्च मया च श्राद्धकारिणा॥ मत्स्य 16. 17-20. q. by श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 81, श्राद्धतत्व p. 194. The verse निमन्त्रितान् occurs in मनु III. 189 (which reads वायुवच्चानुगच्छन्ति). हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 763) quotes the verse दक्षिणं जानुं (but reads श्रावयेत् पैतृकान् बुधः) and स्मृतिच. (श्रा.) p. 406 quotes both. पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड 9. 85-88) has the same verses with some slight variations. Vide हेमाद्रि (on श्रा.) p. 1258.

914. अक्रोधनैः शौचपरैरिति गाथामुदीरयन्। सायमामन्त्रयेद्विप्रान् श्राद्धे दैवे च कर्मणि॥ प्रजापति 63. It is therefore likely that the Prajāpati-smṛti is much later than the Matsyapurāṇa or it is possible that the verse अक्रोधनैः is an ancient one and only repeated by the मत्स्य. Compare मनु III. 192 where we have the words 'अक्रोधनाः शौचपराः सततं ब्रह्मचारिणः'. नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 28. 20) puts the request as 'श्राद्धे क्षणस्तु कर्तव्यः प्रसादश्चेति सत्तम'. This supports the Mit. on Yāj. I. 225.

there is a conflict among smṛtis and the medieval digests propose an option (vide Hemādri on śrāddha pp. 1154–1157). Manu III. 205 appears to lay down that the daiva brāhmaṇa should be invited first (daivādyantam tad-īheta). Yama quoted by several digests [915] says that the performer should request in the evening of the previous day brāhmaṇas with the words 'You should all be free from exertions and should avoid passion and anger for the śrāddha in my house which is to be performed tomorrow,' that the brāhmaṇas should reply 'let it be so if the night passes happily and without any mishap to us.' The digests (e. g. Śrāddhakriyākaumudī p. 81, Śrāddhatattva p. 194 and Nirṇayasindhu III. p. 804) say that the verse 'sarvāyāsa &c.' may be repeated when the invitation is given on the day previous to the day of śrāddha and the verse 'akrodhanaiḥ' when the invitation is given on the morning of the śrāddha day. The words of invitation differ according to different authorities. For example, according to the Mit. on Yāj. I. 225 the words are 'śrāddhe kṣaṇaḥ kriyatām.' Vide Śr. Pr. p. 106 also. Manu III. 187 and 191 show that the words 'nimantraṇa' and 'āmantraṇa' are used as synonyms. In the Śrāddhasūtra [916] of Kātyāyana the word 'āmantraṇa' is used. But Pāṇini [917] (III. 3. 161) apparently makes a difference between the meanings of the two words and the Mahābhāṣya explains that invitation is called 'nimantraṇa' which if rejected (without proper cause) involves a fault or sin, while that invitation which one is free to reject (without incurring blame) is called 'āmantraṇa.' Therefore, it must be held that the few writers such as Kātyāyana who employ āmantraṇa use it in a secondary sense. The invitation should be given by a performer himself or by his son,

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915. प्रार्थयेत प्रदोषान्ते भुक्त्वाचान्तं शयितान् द्विजान्॥ सर्वायासविनिर्मुक्तैः कामक्रोधविवर्जितैः। भवद्भिर्भवितव्यं नः श्वोभूते श्राद्धकर्मणि॥ ते तं तथेत्यविघ्नेन याति चेद्रजनी सुखम्। यथाश्रुतं प्रतीक्षेरन् श्राद्धकालमतन्द्रिताः॥ यम q. by श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 80, श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 194, मद. पा. 564 (from अत्रि).

916. अपरपक्षे श्राद्धं कुर्वीतोर्ध्वं वा चतुर्थ्या यदहः सम्पद्यते तदहर्ब्राह्मणानामन्त्र्य पूर्वेद्युर्वा। श्राद्धसूत्र I (of कात्यायन).

917. विधिनिमन्त्रणामन्त्रणाधीष्टसंप्रश्नप्रार्थनेषु लिङ्। पाणिनि III. 3. 161. The महाभाष्य explains (Kielhorn, vol. II. p. 165): यन्नियोगतः कर्तव्यं तन्निमन्त्रणम्। किं पुनस्तत्। हव्यं कव्यं वा। ब्राह्मणेन सिद्धं भुज्यतामित्युक्तेऽधर्मः प्रत्याख्यातुः। आमन्त्रणे कामचारः।'. The श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 82, टोडरानन्द (श्राद्धसौख्य folio 51) and श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 192 refer to this distinction between the two words.

brother or a pupil or a brāhmaṇa, but it should not be given through a person of another *varṇa* [918] or a woman or a child or person belonging to another *gotra* nor from a distance (Prajāpati 64). Pracetas provides that a brāhmaṇa performer of śrāddha when giving an invitation should touch the right knee, a kṣatriya inviter the left knee of the invitee, a Vaiśya inviter should hold both feet of the invitee and a śūdra should prostrate himself at the feet of the invitee (vide Śr. Pr. p. 106 and S. K. L. p. 47). The Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 35) states an exception that if, when a śrāddha rite is going on, brāhmaṇas or Vedic students or ascetics come by chance begging for food, the performer should make them pleased by falling at their feet and feed them (i. e. no formal invitation is necessary in these cases). Vide Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 15. 12 for feeding uninvited ascetics. It is provided by Bhṛgu quoted by Hemādri that the brāhmaṇas on accepting the invitation should pronounce the finely-worded and comprehensive Vedic benediction quoted below.[919]

Uśanas [919a] provides that the performer should wash the floor of his house with water, cowdung it and cleanse the vessels on the day previous to the śrāddha and then give an invitation to the brāhmaṇas with the words 'tomorrow I am going to perform śrāddha'. The Varāhapurāṇa and the Kūrma also provide for this and for the washing of the clothes. Manu III. 206 also requires that the spot where śrāddha is to be performed should be clean, secluded, cowdunged and should slope to the south.

The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana [920] prescribes that a brāh-

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918. अभोज्यं ब्राह्मणस्यान्नं क्षत्रियाद्यैर्निमन्त्रितैः। स्कन्द VII. 1. 206. 4.

919. आ ब्रह्मन् ब्राह्मणो ब्रह्मवर्चसी जायतामास्मिन् राष्ट्रे राजन्य इषव्यः शूरो महारथो जायतां दोग्ध्री धेनुर्वोढाऽनड्वानाशुः सप्तिः पुरन्धिर्योषा जिष्णू रथेष्ठाः सभेयो युवाऽस्य यजमानस्य वीरो जायतां निकामे निकामे नः पर्जन्यो वर्षतु फलिन्यो न ओषधयः पच्यन्तां योगक्षेमो नः कल्पताम्। तै. सं. VII. 5. 18, तै. ब्रा. III. 8. 13 (where this is explained), वाज. सं. 22. 22. Vide हेमाद्रि (on श्रा. p. 1159).

919 a. तत्रोशनाः। गोमयेनोदकैश्च भूमिमार्जनं भाण्डशौचं कृत्वा श्वः कर्तास्मीति ब्राह्मणान् निमन्त्रयेत्। स्मृतिच. (श्राद्ध) p. 409, श्रा. प्र. p. 108, हेमाद्रि on श्रा. p. 51; वस्त्रशौचादि कर्तव्यं श्वः कर्तास्मीति जानता। स्थानोपलेपनं चैव कृत्वा विप्रान् निमन्त्रयेत्। वराहपुराण q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा.) p. 403, श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 76, हेमाद्रि (on श्रा.) p. 1150, श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 192. हेमाद्रि explains 'आदिशब्दश्च प्रकारवचनः। तेन श्राद्धोपयोगिसम्भारसंपादनभाण्डमेलनशोधनादि गृह्यते'.

920. अनिन्द्येनामन्त्रितो नापक्रामेदामन्त्रितो नान्यदन्नं न प्रतिगृह्णीयात्। श्राद्धसूत्र of कात्यायन (I) q. by श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 189 (as गोभिल).

maṇa who has been invited (to a śrāddha dinner) by a faultless performer should not refuse the invitation nor should he, after being invited (and having accepted the invitation), accept a gift of even (uncooked) food from another person. Manu III. 190 and Kūrmapurāṇa provide that if a brāhmaṇa after receiving an invitation for a sacrifice to gods or manes according to śāstra directions and after having accepted it violates the appointment, he incurs sin and becomes a hog[921] (in his next birth). This does not apply where he is unable to go on account of illness or other valid reason.

The smṛtis laid down some strict and elaborate rules which were to be observed by the brāhmaṇas invited for śrāddha and by the performer himself. Many of the rules are applicable to both. Gaut. prescribes[922] that the brāhmaṇa who has partaken of śrāddha dinner should remain chaste (i. e. shun sexual intercourse) that whole day, and if he has intercourse with a wife of the śūdra caste he thereby makes his own *pitṛs* stay in the ordure of that wife. Vas. XI. 37 makes this rule applicable both to the performer and the invited brāhmaṇa and as regards wives of all *varṇas*. Manu III. 188 provides that the brāhmaṇa invited to dine at a sacrifice in honour of pitṛs and the performer of the śrāddha should remain controlled (i. e. chaste and free from anger and passion) and should not study the Veda (except *japa*). Yāj. I. 225 (latter half) briefly puts the matter by saying 'they should be controlled as to their bodies, speech and thoughts'. The Matsyapurāṇa[923] prescribes that both the performer of śrāddha and the brāhmaṇa invited to dine at it should avoid dining again (after the śrāddha dinner), journey, going in a conveyance, exertions, sexual intercourse, study of the Veda, quarrel and sleeping by day. Similar rules to observe continence are laid down for both on the day of śrāddha if invitation be given on the morning of the day of

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921. आमन्त्रितो ब्राह्मणो वै योऽन्यस्मिन् कुरुते क्षणम्। स याति नरकं घोरं सूकरत्वं प्रयाति च॥ कूर्म, उत्तरार्ध 22. 7 q. by श्रा. प्र. p. 110.

922. सद्यः श्राद्धी शूद्रातल्पगस्तत्पुरीषे मासं नयति पितॄन्। तस्मात्तदहर्ब्रह्मचारी स्यात्। गौ. 15. 23-24; on श्राद्धी हरदत्त explains "श्राद्धमनेन भुक्तमिति, अत इनिठनौ". This is पा. V. 2. 85 'श्राद्धमनेन भुक्तमिनिठनौ'. This explains the two forms श्राद्धिन् and श्राद्धिक.

923. पुनर्भोजनमध्वानं यानमायासमैथुनम्। श्राद्धकृच्छ्राद्धभुक्चैव सर्वमेतद्विवर्जयेत्॥ स्वाध्यायं कलहं चैव दिवास्वप्नं च सर्वदा। मत्स्य 16. 27-28 q. by श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 98 (which reads पूतमायास°). These verses are also पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड) 9. 123-124.

śrāddha and also on the previous day if invitation be given on the day previous to the śrāddha day. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 69. 2–4. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 79 appears to strike a dissenting note about sexual intercourse with one's wife during the days from the 5th to the 16th; while most other medieval writers such as Hemādri (śr. pp. 1036–7) and Śr. P. p. 111 are opposed to this view. The Śrāddhasūtra[924] of Kātyāyana provides that the performer should, from the time of giving invitation to the time when the brāhmaṇas sip water (i. e. perform *ācamana* after śrāddha dinner), remain pure, free from anger, hurry, negligence, should speak the truth and should shun a journey, sexual intercourse, hard work and study of the Veda and control speech (should remain mostly silent) and the brāhmaṇas invited should observe the same rules. Auśanasa (Jīv. vol. I. pp. 526–527) contains verses very similar in import to Kātyāyana. The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 106–108), Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 31–33) and Anuśāsana 125.24 have identical verses[925] and Vāyu 79. 60–61 are very similar in import. Laghu-Śaṅkha 29, Laghu-Hārīta 75 and Likhita 60 have the same verse requiring the invited brāhmaṇas to avoid eight matters, viz. dining again, journey, carrying loads, Vedic study, sexual intercourse, making gifts, accepting gifts, performing homa, while Prajāpati 92 substitutes the brushing of the teeth (with a twig), *tāmbūla*, bath after applying oil to the body, and fast for the first four of the above eight. The Anuśāsanaparva (90. 12–13) and Padma (Pātālakhaṇḍa 101. 94–95) also contain a list of actions that should be avoided. Briefly put, the following were the observances for both inviter and invitee, viz. avoidance of sexual intercourse, dining again, falsehood, hurry, vedic study, heavy work, gambling, carrying burdens, giving gifts and acceptance of gifts, theft, journey, sleep by day, quarrels; the performer alone was to abstain from eating tāmbūla, shaving, applying oil to the body, brushing the teeth with a twig; while the brāh-

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924. तदहः शुचिरक्रोधनोऽत्वरितोऽप्रमत्तः सत्यवादी स्यादध्वमैथुनश्रमस्वाध्यायान्वर्जयेदावाहनादि वाग्यत आोपस्पर्शनादामन्त्रिताश्चैवम्। श्राद्धसूत्र I of कात्यायन. पुनर्भोजनमध्वानं भाराध्ययनमैथुनम्। दानं प्रतिग्रहं होमं श्राद्धभुक्त्वष्ट वर्जयेत् ॥ लघुशङ्ख 29, q. by मिता. on या. I. 249 (without name); compare. कूर्मपुराण (II. 22. 6) and नारदीय (पूर्वार्ध 28. 4) for very similar verses.

925. श्राद्धं दत्त्वा च भुक्त्वा च पुरुषो यः स्त्रियं व्रजेत्। पितरस्तस्य तं मासं तस्मिन्रेतसि शेरते। अनुशासनपर्व 125. 24. Almost the same words occur in मार्कण्डेय 28. 32–33 and in अनुशासन 90. 12–13, वसिष्ठ 11. 37. The मिता. on या I. 79 says 'एवं गच्छन् ब्रह्मचार्येव भवति। अतो यत्र ब्रह्मचर्यं श्राद्धादौ चोदितं तत्र गच्छतोऽपि न ब्रह्मचर्यस्खलनदोषोऽस्ति'.

maṇa invited was (alone) to observe the following, viz. not absenting oneself after accepting an invitation, making no delay when called for dinner (vide Śrāddhakalikā folio 4b and 5a and Pitṛ-bhakti on śrāddha [926]).

Elaborate provisions are made from ancient times about the substances and utensils proper for being used at śrāddha and about those that should not be used therein. Ap. Dh. [927] S. remarks: 'the materials in śrāddha are sesamum, māṣas, rice, yavas (barley), water, roots and fruits; but the pitṛs are extremely gratified by food that is mixed with clarified butter and for a very long time; so also they are gratified by wealth that is obtained lawfully and is bestowed on worthy persons'. Manu III. 267 (= Vāyu 83. 3) is to the same effect as Āp. Dh. S. Yāj. I. 258 is content to say that food which is fit to be offered in sacrifices (*haviṣya*) should be served. Manu III. 257 explains that food eaten by hermits in the forest, (cow's) milk, soma juice, meat that is not prepared with spices (or that is free from a bad smell), rock salt are by their very nature *havis* (sacrificial food). According to Gaut. 27. 11 the sacrificial food (*havis*) comprises boiled rice, food obtained by begging, ground barley (after being baked or fried), grain separated from husk, barley gruel, vegetables, milk, curds, clarified butter, roots, fruits and water. [928] Other smṛtis and digests very much elaborated these brief indications in the early works. The three kinds of wealth (viz. *śukla*, *śabala* and *kṛṣṇa*) and the several lawful or uncondemned means of acquiring wealth have been described already in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 130 ff. The Mārkaṇḍeya (29. 14-15) condemns the use in śrāddhas of wealth that is obtained by taking bribes or from a *patita* (one guilty of a grave sin), that springs from bride-price or that is declared to be unlawful or is obtained by saying to another 'give me for the sake of a śrāddha to be offered to my father' (q. by Sm. C. on

926. निमन्त्रितः श्राद्धकर्ता च पुनर्भोजनं श्रमं हिंसां त्वरां प्रमादं भारोद्वहनं दूरगमनं कलहं शस्त्रग्रहणं च वर्जयेत् । शुचिः सत्यवादी क्षमी ब्रह्मचारी च स्यात् । पितृभक्ति of श्रीदत्त.

927. तत्र द्रव्याणि तिलमाषा व्रीहियवा आपो मूलफलानि । स्नेहवति त्वेवान्ने पितृणां प्रीतिर्द्राघीयांसं च कालम् । तथा धर्माहृतेन द्रव्येण तीर्थप्रतिपन्नेन । आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 16. 22-24.

928. चरुभैक्षसक्तुकणयावकशाकपयोदधिघृतमूलफलोदकानि हवींष्युत्तरोत्तरं प्रशस्तानि । गौ. 27. 11. On आश्व. गृ. I. 9. 6 नारायण quotes a verse of similar import 'पयो दधि यवागूश्च सर्पिरोदनतण्डुलाः । सोमो मांसं तथा तैलमापस्तानि दशैव तु ॥'.

śrāddha p. 412). The Skandapurāṇa emphasizes that at a śrāddha purity (*śuddhi*) must be specially secured in seven matters viz. the body (of the performer), the materials, the wife, the place (where śrāddha is to be performed), the mind, the mantras and brāhmaṇas.[929] Manu III. 235 (= Vas. 11.35) states: three are the sanctifying things in a śrāddha, viz. a daughter's son, a Nepal blanket and sesamum grains and three are commended in śrāddha viz. cleanliness, freedom from anger and absence of hurry.[929a] Pracetas mentions several kinds of corn that are commended as food in śrāddha. Manu III. 255 summarises that in śrāddha the riches (i. e. the most important matters) are afternoon, *darbhas*, proper cleansing of the place (or house) for śrāddha, sesame, generous expense (on food &c.), seasoning food, eminent brāhmaṇas.

The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa says that several kinds of corn-yielding plants (some due to tillage in villages and some growing wild) were produced by Brahmā when he milked the earth for famished people, while Brahmavaivarta (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 537) affirms that when a few particles fell down on the earth while Indra drank Soma, from them arose such corn as *śyāmāka*, wheat, *yava*, *mudga* and red paddy and as they were produced from soma they were like nectar to the pitṛs and food prepared from these should be offered to pitṛs. The Mārkaṇḍeya speaks of seven kinds of *grāmya* corn and seven kinds of wild (*āraṇya*) corn. Prajāpati 119 recommends the use of eight kinds of corn, viz. nīvāra, māṣa, mudga, wheat, paddy, yava, grain and sesamum. The Matsya (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 538) narrates that when the Sun drank nectar some drops fell down from which arose the several kinds of

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929. शरीरद्रव्यदाराभूमनोमन्त्रद्विजन्मनाम्। शुद्धिः सप्तसु विज्ञेया श्राद्धकाले विशेषतः॥ स्कन्द VII. 1. 205. 17.

929 a. त्रीणि श्राद्धे पवित्राणि दौहित्रः कुतपस्तिलाः। त्रीणि चात्र प्रशंसन्ति शौचमक्रोधमत्वराम्॥ मनु. III. 235, वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र XI. 35. This very verse (the first half) is quoted in several Purāṇas as in विष्णुपुराण III. 15. 52, भविष्य I. 185. 20, मार्कण्डेय 28. 64, स्कन्दपुराण (प्रभासखण्ड 205. 13). The पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड 47. 278-279) has the whole verse but reads श्राद्धे त्रीणि...दौहित्रं and सत्यमक्रोधमत्वरा. It appears clear from the preceding verse that in Manu at least दौहित्र means daughter's son. But in the स्कन्द (प्रभासखण्ड 205 14 ff) several meanings of दौहित्र are given such as 'a vessel made of the horn on the nose of the rhinoceros' or 'clarified butter made from the milk of a cow of variegated colour.' The word कुतप also has nine meanings acc. to a Smṛti text quoted by Aparārka p. 474 'ब्राह्मणः कम्बलो गावः सूर्योऽग्निरतिथिरेव च। तिला दर्भाश्च कालश्च नवैते कुतपाः स्मृताः॥'; vide note 847 for कुतप.

paddy, *mudga*, sugarcane and that therefore sugar is sacred and may be employed in sacrifices to gods and manes. The Mārkaṇḍeya [930] mentions several kinds of corn that may be employed for śrāddha food. The Brahma-purāṇa 220. 154–155, Vāyu 82. 3, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 16. 5–6, Viṣṇu, Dh. S., [931] Brahmāṇḍa II. 7. 143–152 and III. 14. contain similar lists of different kinds of corn that may be used in śrāddhas. The Vāyupurāṇa (80. 42–48) mentions various desirable eatables prepared from corn of various kinds, sugar and clarified butter and milk.[932]

Certain kinds of corn and cereals were forbidden. For example, the Matsya-purāṇa and Padma (Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa, chap. 9. 62–66)[933] declare that masūra, linseed, niṣpāva, rājamāṣa, kusumbhika, kodrava, udāra, gram, kapittha, madhūka and linseed are forbidden. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 79. 18 provides that the performer should avoid the bean called rājamāṣa, masūra, stale food and salt manufactured from seawater. The Ṣaṭ-triṁśa-nmata [934] forbids the use in śrāddha of all kinds of cereals covered with dark husk except sesamum, *mudga* and *māṣa*.

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930. राजश्यामाकश्यामाकौ तद्वच्चैव प्रशातिका। नीवाराः पौष्कराश्चैव वन्यानि पितृतृप्तये॥ यवव्रीहिसगोधूमतिलमुद्गाः ससर्षपाः। प्रियङ्गवः कोद्रवाश्च निष्पावाश्चातिशोभनाः। वर्ज्या मर्कटकाः श्राद्धे राजमाषास्तथाणवः। विप्रुषिका मसूराश्च श्राद्धकर्मणि गर्हिताः॥ मार्कण्डेय 29,9–11 q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा. pp. 542–43) and explained as प्रशान्तिकाः मध्यदेशे प्रसिद्धो धान्यविशेषः पौष्कराः पद्मबीजानि निष्पावाः वल्लाः. The last are called वाल in modern Marathi.

931. तिलैर्व्रीहियवैर्माषैरद्भिर्मूलफलैः शाकैः श्यामाकैः प्रियङ्गुभिर्नीवारैर्मुद्गैर्गोधूमैश्च मासं प्रीयन्ते। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 80.1.

932. द्रव्याणि संप्रवक्ष्यामि श्राद्धे वर्ज्यानि यानि तु॥ मसूरशणनिष्पावराजमाषकुसुम्भिकाः।...कोद्रवोदारचणकाः कापित्थं मधुकातसी॥ मत्स्य 15.36–38 q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) pp. 548–549 and श्रा. प्र. p. 40; पद्मपुराण (V. 9.64–67) q. by हेमाद्रि p. 548 has almost the same list. हेमाद्रि explains मधुक as ज्येष्ठीमधु and reads कोद्रवोद्दालवरककपित्थ० in मत्स्य. वरक is वरी in Marathi.

933. राजमाषमसूरपर्युषितकृतलवणानि च। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 79.18; राजमाषान्मसूरांश्च कोद्रवान् कोरदूषकान्। लोहितान् वृक्षनिर्यासान् श्राद्धकर्मणि वर्जयेत्॥ शङ्ख 14.21 q. by हेमाद्रि on श्राद्ध p. 548, who explains कोरदूषकः वनकोद्रवः.

934. षट्त्रिंशन्मते। कृष्णधान्यानि सर्वाणि वर्जयेच्छ्राद्धकर्मणि। न वर्जयेत्तिलांश्चैव मुद्गान्माषांस्तथैव च। q. by हेमाद्रि (श्राद्ध) p. 544, श्रा. प्र. p. 38. 'हविष्यं श्राद्धहविर्योग्यं व्रीहिशालियवगोधूममुद्गमाषमुन्यन्नकालशाकमहाशल्कैलाशुण्ठीमरीचहिङ्गुगुडशर्कराकर्पूरसैन्धवसाम्भरपनसनालिकेरकदलीबदरगव्यपयोदधिघृतपायसमधुमांसप्रभृति स्मृत्यन्तरप्रसिद्धं वेदितव्यम्। हविष्यमित्यनेनैवायोग्यस्य स्मृत्यन्तरप्रतिषिद्धस्य कोद्रवमसूरचणककुलित्थपुलाकनिष्पावराजमाषकूष्माण्डवार्ताकबृहतीद्वयोपोदकीवंशाङ्कुरपिप्पलीवचाशतपुष्पोषर—बिडलवणमाहिषचामरक्षीरदधिघृतपायसादीनां निवृत्तिः। मिता. on या. I. 240.

From considerations of space this matter cannot be pursued further. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 240 puts together a long list of allowed and of condemned kinds of grains and other articles.

What milk should be ordinarily partaken of and what should be avoided has been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 782–783. A few words are added here. Manu III. 271 and Yāj. I. 258 provide that if cow's milk or rice cooked therein (called *pāyasa*) is offered in śrāddha the pitṛs are satisfied for one year. Vāyu 78. 17, Brahma[935] 220.169, Mārkaṇḍeya 32.17–19, Viṣṇupurāṇa III.16.11 forbid the use in a śrāddha of the milk of a she-buffalo, of a camarī or female deer, of sheep or ewes, of she camels, of human females and of all animals with one hoof and the use of the curds and clarified butter prepared from such milk. But ghee prepared from buffalo milk was allowed by Sumantu and Devala (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 572).

The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa[936] (29.15–17), Vāyu (78.16) and Viṣṇupurāṇa (III.16.10) lay down that the water to be employed in śrāddha must not have a bad smell, must not be foamy, or taken from a puddle or a small reservoir which cannot slake the thirst of a cow, must not have been brought overnight, must not be taken from a reservoir not dedicated to all or from a trough or the like meant for beasts.

Several rules are laid down about the fruits, roots and vegetables recommended or condemned for use in śrāddha. For example, the Brahma-purāṇa (220.156–158) enumerates several kinds of fruits such as mangoes, *bilva*, pomegranate, cocoanut, dates, grapes, as fit to be given in śrāddha. Vide Śaṅkha 14.22–23 also. Vāyu (78.11–15) states[936a] that garlic, leeks and onions, other things that are of bad odour or taste

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935 माहिषं चामरं मार्गमाविकैकशफोद्भवम्। स्त्रैणमौष्ट्रमाविकं च (०ष्ट्रमजाधीकं ?) दधि क्षीरं घृतं त्यजेत्॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 220.169 q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) p. 573.

936. दुर्गन्धि फेनिलं चाम्बु तथैवाल्पतरोदकम्॥ न लभेद्यत्र गौस्तृप्तिं नक्तं यच्चाप्युपाहृतम्। यन्न सर्वार्थमुत्सृष्टं यच्चाभोज्यनिपानजम्॥ तद्वर्ज्यं सलिलं तात सदैव पितृकर्मणि॥ मार्कण्डेय 29. 15–17. Vide also ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद 14. 26).

936 a. लशुनं गृञ्जनं चैव पलाण्डुं पिण्डमूलकम्। करम्भाद्यानि चान्यानि हीनानि रसगन्धतः॥...अवेदोक्ताश्च निर्यासा लवणान्यौषराणि च। श्राद्धकर्मणि वर्ज्यानि याश्च नार्यो रजस्वलाः॥ वायु 78.12 and 15 q. in हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 555) and स्मृतिच. (श्रा.) p. 416. The स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 415) quotes a verse and a half from Suśruta for ten varieties of पलाण्डु.

and all exudation from trees not permitted by the Veda and salt gathered from saltish earth, should be avoided in śrāddha. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra[937] (79.17) contains a long list of fruits, bulbs and vegetables that were not to be employed in śrāddha. The Rāmāyaṇa states[938] that Rāma when an exile in the Daṇḍakā forest gratified his pitṛs by offering the fruits of *inguda*, *badara*, and *bilva* trees and generalises that deities are offered that food which is partaken of by a person (who is a devotee of that deity). From considerations of space detailed references to the smṛtis and purāṇas are passed over. The Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 52–53, Śrāddhaviveka (pp. 43–47) of Rudradhara and other digests collect in one place the foods, vegetables, fruits and roots that are allowed to be offered in śrāddha and that are condemned in śrāddha. Manufactured salt was forbidden, but natural salt from a lake (called saindhava) was allowed. Salt was not to be served directly (as Viṣṇudharmasūtra 79. 12 says) but when put in while cooking vegetables it was not prohibited. There was a difference of opinion about the employment of asafœtida (vide Hemādri on Śrāddha p. 565). The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (79. 5–6) provides that flowers having a strong (or nasty) odour or no odour at all, the blossoms of thorny plants and red flowers should not be given, but one may give white and sweet-smelling flowers even though they are taken from thorny plants and flowers though red in colour may be taken from aquatic plants. Śaṅkha (14. 15–16) is to the same effect (q. by Hemādri p. 684). Vāyu (75. 33–35) is to the same effect and adds that the flowers called Japā, Bhaṇḍi, Rūpikā (of arka plant), Kuraṇṭaka should be avoided in śrāddha. The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 162–165) specifies the several kinds of flowers that may be offered in śrāddha such as jāti, campaka, mallikā, mango blossom, tulasī, tagara, ketakī and various kinds of lotuses (white, blue and red &c.). The Smṛtyarthasāra includes *tulasī* among things to be avoided in śrāddha. The Sm. C. notes this and remarks

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937. पिप्पली-मुकुन्दक-भूस्तृण-शिग्रु-सर्षप-सुरसा-सर्जक-सुवर्चल-कूष्माण्ड-अलाबु-वार्ताकु-पालङ्क्या-उपोदकी-तण्डुलीयक-कुसुम्भ-पिण्डालुक-माहिषीक्षीराणि वर्जयेत् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र. 79. 17.

938. इङ्गुदैर्बदरैर्बिल्वै रामस्तर्पयते पितॄन् । यदन्नं पुरुषो भुङ्क्ते तदन्नास्तस्य देवताः ॥ रामायण, अयोध्या 103.30, 104.15 q. by हेमाद्रि on श्राद्ध p. 561, मेधातिथि on मनु V. 7, स्मृतिच. (श्रा.) p. 416, स्कन्द (नागरखण्ड) 220. 49 is 'यदन्नं पुरुषोऽश्नाति तदन्नास्तस्य देवताः'.

that it is not clear on what this dictum prohibiting tulasī is based [938a]**.**

Kuśas are required in śrāddha. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 657 for general remarks on kuśas. A few words may be added here. The Śat. Br. VII. 2. 3. 2 states that the waters that loathed Vṛtra went out to waterless deserts and became bushes of darbhas [939]. Similarly, Āśv. Gṛ. III. 2.2 summarizes a Brāhmaṇa text stating that darbhas are the essence of waters and herbs (apāṁ vā eṣa oṣadhīnāṁ raso yad-darbhāḥ). Prajāpati (verse 98) [939a] provides that darbhas should be gathered from a pure spot in the morning by a brāhmaṇa, should have mantras repeated over them, should be greenish in colour, should be as long as a cow's ear and then they are holy. The Gobhila gṛ. (I. 5. 16–17) states 'the *barhis* consists of kuśa grass cut off at the points at which the blades diverge from the main stalk and that the blades should be cut off near the roots at the rites meant for the Fathers'. Dakṣa (II. 33 and 35) provides that the second part of the day (divided into eight parts) is the proper time for collecting fuelsticks, flowers and kuśas. The Gobhilasmṛti (I. 20–21) says [940] that the darbhas used in sacrifices are greenish, those to be used in Pākayajñas should be yellowish, those in rites for the pitṛs must be taken out from the roots and those that are to be used in Vaiśvadeva should be dark-pale, and that

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938 a. उपोदकी—तुलसी—कृष्णातसी-शिग्रुमहासर्षप-पत्रशाक-कृष्णसर्षप-पूतिगन्ध-शाकानि कूष्माण्डपोलिकाद्याश्च (वर्ज्यानि)। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 53; स्मृत्यर्थसारे तु तुलस्यपि वर्ज्येत्युक्तं तत्र मूलं चिन्त्यं प्रसिद्धस्मृतिसमुच्चयेषु तुलसीनिषेधस्यादर्शनात् । स्मृतिच. (श्रा) p. 435. The टोडरानन्द (श्राद्धसौख्य) remarks: ग्रन्थान्तरे तुलसीनिषेधस्तु शाकविषयः प्रेतश्राद्धविषयश्च। तत्र तुलसीवर्ज्यं भृङ्गराजादि प्रशस्तम्। (folio 47 b.).

939. The शतपथब्राह्मण has the following legend about *darbha* and derives the word from दृभ् 'आपश्च ह्येता ओषधयश्च या वै वृत्राद् बीभत्समाना आपो धन्व दृभन्त्य उदायंस्ते दर्भा अभवन् यद्दृभन्त्य उदायंस्तस्माद्दर्भाः। ता हैताः शुद्धा मेध्या आपो वृत्राभिप्रक्षरिता यद्दर्भास्तेनौषधय उभयेनैवैनमेतदन्नेन प्रीणाति। VII. 2.3.2.

939 a. मन्त्रपूता हरिद्वर्णाः प्रातर्विप्रसमुद्धृताः। गोकर्णमात्रा दर्भाः स्युः पवित्राः पुण्यभूमिजाः॥ प्रजापति 98. The उत्पादनमन्त्र is 'विरिञ्चिना सहोत्पन्न परमेष्ठिन् निसर्गज॥ नुद पापानि सर्वाणि भव स्वस्तिकरो मम॥ q. by. स्मृतिच. I. p. 107, अपरार्क p. 458.

940. हरिता यज्ञिया दर्भाः पीतकाः पाकयज्ञिकाः। समूलाः पितृदैवत्याः कल्माषा वैश्वदेविकाः॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 21 q. by स्मृतिच. I. p. 109, अपरार्क p. 458, श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 46 (which last explains: समूला मूलसमीपे लूना इत्यर्थः); हरिता वै सपिञ्जूलाः शुद्धाः स्निग्धाः समाहिताः। रत्निमात्राः प्रमाणेन पितृतीर्थेन संस्कृताः॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 21 and ब्रह्माण्ड, उपोद्घातपाद 11. 74–75, quoted as from ब्रह्मपुराण by अपरार्क p. 458, which explains 'पञ्जूलाद्भिः करो रत्निः, संस्कृताः परामृष्टाः.' Vide वायुपुराण 75.38–39 for a similar verse.

greenish *darbhas* together with ends uncut, that are smooth and well nourished, one *aratni* in length and touched with that part of the hand called *pitṛtīrtha* are pure. The Padmapurāṇa (Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 11.92) and Skanda VII.1. 205.16 state that kuśas and black sesamum spring from the body of Viṣṇu and the Viṣṇudharmottara I. 139.12 says that *tilas* and *darbhas* sprang from the perspiration and hair of Viṣṇu in the Boar incarnation. The Matsya (22.89) says the same.

The Garuḍa[941] (Pretakhaṇḍa 2.21-22) states that all the three gods dwell in kuśa grass viz. Brahmā at its root, Viṣṇu in the middle and Śaṅkara at the end and that brāhmaṇas, mantras, kuśas, fire, tulasī leaf—these do not become *nirmālya* (stale and so unfit to be used again) even when the same are employed again and again. But an exception is made by Gobhila[942] that those *darbhas* which are spread on the ground for placing piṇḍas on them or that are used in *tarpaṇa* and those that are held in the hand while a man is answering the calls of nature should be given up (and not used again). The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 79.2 and Vāyu 75.41 provide that if kuśas are not available, kāśa grass or Dūrvā may be substituted. The Skandapurāṇa VII (Prabhāsakhaṇḍa) part 1.206.17 says that straight darbhas are used in giving gifts, at baths, in *japa*, *homa*, dinner and worship of gods, but they are double-folded when used in rites for pitṛs. The Skanda VII. 1. 205.16 provides that the top of darbhas is for divine rites, while darbha with the root and tip is meant for *paitṛka* rites. This is based on the Śat. Br. II. 4. 2.17 which states that the top of the *darbha* belongs to gods, the middle to men and the root part to the fathers.

Great importance was attached to the use of *tila* (sesamum) in śrāddha. The Jaiminigṛhya II.1 states that the whole house should have sesamum grains scattered about in it. Baud. Dh. S. II. 8.8 provides that when the invited brāhmaṇas come they should be given water mixed with sesame. The Baud. gṛ. II. 11.64 provides that sesamum grains are holy in śrāddha for making gifts of them or as part of food or for being mixed in

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941. विप्रा मन्त्राः कुशा वह्निस्तुलसी च खगेश्वर। नैते निर्माल्यतां यान्ति क्रियमाणाः पुनः पुनः॥ गरुड (प्रेतखण्ड 2. 22).

942. पिण्डार्थं ये स्तृता दर्भाः तर्पणार्थं (दर्भास्तर्पणार्थे?) तथैव च। धृतैः कृते च विण्मूत्रे त्यागस्तेषां विधीयते॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 22, q. by अपरार्क p. 458, हेमाद्रि p. 640, श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 49.

water. The Prajāpatismṛti speaks[943] of four kinds of *tilas* viz. white, black, very black and *jartilas* and states that each succeeding one gives greater gratification to the pitṛs than each preceding one. The Tai. S. V. 4.3.2 refers to jartilas and Jai. X. 8.7 holds a discussion thereon. The Nāradapurāṇa (pūrvārdha 28.36)[944] provides that the performer of śrāddha should scatter *tilas* in the midst of the brāhmaṇas invited and at the doors with the mantra 'apahatā' (may the asuras and evil spirits that sit on the altar be struck and run away). Yaj. I. 234 also recommends this mantra (which is Vāj. S. II. 29). The Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 22. 18) states that sesame should be scattered all round and a goat should be tied near the spot, since śrāddha polluted by *asuras* becomes purified by sesame and a goat. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 16.14) prescribes that by tilas scattered on the ground one should ward off evil spirits (Yātudhāna). The Garuḍapurāṇa[945] (Pretakhaṇḍa 2. 16) makes Śrīkṛṣṇa say 'tilas have sprung from the perspiration on my body and are holy; *asuras*, *dānavas* and *daityas* run away on account of tilas.' The Anuśāsana-parva (90.22) says that *yātudhānas* and goblins snatch away the *havis* when the śrāddha is offered without *tilas*. The Kṛtyaratnākara (p. 540) quotes a verse as follows: 'he who applies as unguent *tilas*, who bathes with water in which *tilas* are mixed, offers *tilas* into fire, makes gifts of *tilas*, eats *tilas* and who grows *tilas*—these six never sink (i. e. are not unlucky nor in trouble).

A great deal is said about the vessels to be used in offering *arghya* (water for honouring the invited brāhmaṇas and piṇḍas), for cooking śrāddha food, for dining and for serving. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana[946] provides that the arghya water

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943. शुक्लः कृष्णः कृष्णतरश्चतुर्थो जार्तिलास्तिलः। उत्तरोत्तरतः श्राद्धे पितृणां तृप्तिकारकाः॥ प्रजापति 99. जर्तिलs are wild tilas. The तै. सं. V. 4.3.2 has this passage 'जार्तिलयवाग्वा वा जुहुयाद्गवीधुकयवाग्वा न ग्राम्यान् पशून् हिनस्ति नारण्यानथो खल्वाहुरनाहुतिर्वै जार्तिलाश्च गवीधुकाश्चेत्यजक्षीरेण जुहोति'. शबर appears to quote काठकसंहिता 6. 3 also. The conclusion arrived at by Jai. X. 8.7 is that the passage about जर्तिलs is an अर्थवाद for praising पयोहोम. The स्मृतिच. (श्राद्ध) p. 433 says जार्तिलास्तु तिलाः प्रोक्ताः कृष्णवर्णा वने भवा इति सत्यव्रतेनाभिधानात्.

944. The मन्त्र is अपहता असुरा रक्षांसि वेदिषदः। वाज. सं. II 29.

945. श्रीकृष्ण उवाच। मम स्वेदसमुद्भूतास्तिलास्तार्क्ष्य पवित्रकाः। असुरा दानवा दैत्या विद्रवन्ति तिलैस्तथा॥ गरुड (प्रेतखण्ड) 2. 16; तिलोद्वर्ती तिलस्नायी तिलहोता तिलप्रदः। तिलभक्षी तिलावापी षट्तिली नावसीदति॥ q. by कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 540.

946. याज्ञियवृक्षचमसेषु पवित्रान्तर्हितेषु एकैकस्मिन्नप आसिञ्चति शन्नो देवीरिति।... सौवर्णराजतौदुम्बरखड्गमणिमयानां पात्राणामन्यतमेषु यानि वा विद्यन्ते पत्रपुटेषु वैकैकस्यैकेन ददाति सपवित्रेषु हस्तेषु। श्राद्धसूत्र (of कात्यायन) II.

should be taken in camasas (cups) made of sacrificial trees (such as palāśa, aśvattha, udumbara) or in vessels of gold, silver, copper, rhinoceros horn, precious stones whichever may be available, or in a vessel made of leaves. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (79. 14–15) provides that the performer should employ metallic vessels, particularly vessels made of silver. The Mārkaṇḍeya (31.65) and Vāyu (74.3) state that in a vessel of silver the (ancient) pitṛs milked *svadhā* and hence a silver vessel is highly desired by pitṛs and brings delight to them. Yāj. I. 237 also specially recommends silver vessels. The Vāyu (74. 1–2), Matsya (17. 19–22), Brahmāṇḍa (Upodghāta 11. 1–2) and Padma (Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 9. 147–150) state that vessels of gold, silver or copper are the (proper) ones for pitṛs; that even the talk about silver or the sight or gift of silver gives inexhaustible results to pitṛs in heaven, that vessels to be used for *arghya*, for piṇḍa and for the food to be offered should be preferably of silver and that in rites for gods a silver vessel is not auspicious. Atri (q. by Sm. C. II. p. 464) says that in rites for the gods and pitṛs, vessels of gold and silver should be respectively employed and in default of these vessels of other metals (such as copper, bell-metal) should be used (as stated by Viṣṇu Dh. S. 79.22 and 24). The Padma provides [947] that the vessels may be of sacrificial wood or of *palāśa* or of silver or made from a sea product (such as conch shell) and that since silver was produced from the eye of Śiva, it is a great favourite with pitṛs. Prajāpati (111) provides that the three piṇḍas should be cast in a vessel of gold or silver or copper or bell-metal or of rhinoceros horn but not in earthenware or a wooden vessel, that (verse 112) the cooking vessels should be of copper or of any metal, but an earthen vessel baked in fire and immersed in water is the best (for cooking), that food cooked in an iron vessel is like crow's flesh, that (115) the vessels to be used for taking food by the brāhmaṇas should be made of gold, silver or of an alloy of five metals or they may take their food in *patrāvali* (i. e. leaves stitched together); vide also Matsya

947. पात्रं वनस्पतिमयं तथा पर्णमयं पुनः॥ राजतं वा प्रकुर्वीत तथा सागरसम्भवम्। सौवर्णं राजतं पात्रं पितॄणां पात्रमिष्यते। ...वार्यपि श्रद्धया दत्तमक्षयायोपकल्पते। अर्घार्थं पितृपिण्डेषु पितॄणां राजतं स्मृतम्।...शिवनेत्रोद्भवं यस्मात्तस्मात्पितृवल्लभम्। पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड 9. 147–151); तथार्घपिण्डभोज्यादौ पितॄणां राजतं मतम्। शिवनेत्रो...वल्लभम्। अमङ्गलं तद्यत्नेन देवकार्येषु वर्जयेत्॥ मत्स्य 17. 22–23.

17. 19–20. The use of plantain leaves for bhojana is forbidden[947a] by some. Brāhmaṇas should not take *ācamana* from a vessel made of bell-metal, kharpara, śukra, stone, clay, wood, fruit or iron. Ācamana should be performed with water from a copper vessel. Atri (153) prescribes that no food should be served from an iron vessel; if so served the food is like ordure to the diner and the server goes to hell. The vessels for cooking śrāddha food are to be made of gold, silver, copper or bell-metal or even of clay provided the last are new ones and strong (well baked) but never of iron. Vide Śr. Pr. p. 155 for details. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (79. 24) quotes a verse which says that food offered in vessels of gold, silver, copper, rhinoceros horn or of *phalgu* wood becomes inexhaustible.

Viṣṇu Dh. S. 79. 11 provides that for unguents (*anulepana*) to be applied to the bodies of the invited brāhmaṇas, sandalwood, saffron, camphor, *aguru*, *padmaka* may be used. The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 165–166) mentions kuṣṭha, jaṭā-māṅsī, nutmeg, uśīra, mustā and some others as proper perfumed articles to be used at śrāddhas.

It has already been seen at pp. 413–14 what kinds of food were recommended or condemned for śrāddha. The Matsyapurāṇa[948] states that food containing milk and curds and clarified butter from cow's milk mixed with sugar gives satisfaction to all pitṛs for one month and that whatever food, whether cow's milk or ghee or rice cooked in milk, is mixed with honey, yields inexhaustible results. The Brahmapurāṇa also (220. 182–184) provides that such eatables as are sweet and oily and are slightly sour and pungent should be served in śrāddha and one should shun eatables that are very sour or very saltish or very pungent, since they are *āsura* (fit for *asuras*). Great emphasis was laid on serving preparations of food made from *māṣa*

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947 a. यत्त्वाङ्गिरसोक्तम् 'न जातिकुसुमानि न कदलीपत्रम्' इति कदलीपत्रमत्र भोजनार्मिति पात्रतया प्रासं निषिध्यते । स्मृतिच. (श्रा) p. 434. Others said that there is an option as to कदलीपत्र, as certain smṛtis (e. g. लघ्वाश्वलायन 23. 42) allowed plantain leaves. ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्धातपाद 21. 35–40) mentions that the leaves of पलाश, अश्वत्थ, उदुम्बर, विकङ्कत, काश्मर्य, खदिर, प्लक्ष, न्यग्रोध, बिल्व may be used for taking food in and that vessels made of Phalgu wood, of Bilva wood and bamboo are allowed and yield certain good rewards.

948. अन्नं सदधिक्षीरं गोघृतं शर्करान्वितम्। मासं प्रीणाति वै सर्वान् पितॄनित्याह केशवः॥ ...यत्किञ्चिन्मधुसंमिश्रं गोक्षीरं घृतपायसम्। दत्तमक्षयमित्याहुः पितरः पूर्वदेवताः॥ मत्स्य 17. 30–36, the first being q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा.) p. 431.

beans. The Auśanasa[949]—smṛti pronounces the threat that the brāhmaṇa, who, when dining at śrāddha, does not eat māṣa food, becomes a beast for twenty-one births after death. The Sm. C. quotes a smṛti text saying that a śrāddha in which no māṣa preparation is offered is as good as not performed.

The greatest divergence has prevailed about the employment of flesh at śrāddhas among writers from the earliest times. The subject of flesh-eating in general has been discussed at great length in the History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. II. pp. 772–782. A few remarks about flesh in relation to śrāddha will not be out of place here. The Āp. Dh. S. prescribes[950] that the obligatory śrāddha (to be performed every month) must contain food mixed with fat, the best course (for supplying fat) is to employ clarified butter and flesh; on failure of these two, sesamum oil and vegetables may be employed. The same sūtra also provides[951] that the pitṛs are gratified for a year by the offering of cow's flesh in a śrāddha, that by the flesh of a buffalo the gratification of pitṛs extends to more than a year, that this rule extends to the flesh of wild animals (like hares) and village (or domesticated) animals (like goats) that are declared to be fit for being sacrificed, that the gratification of pitṛs extends to endless time if the flesh of a rhinoceros is offered to brāhmaṇas seated on rhinoceros skin, so also by the flesh of the

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949. यो नाश्नाति द्विजो माषं नियुक्तः पितृकर्मणि। स प्रेत्य पशुतां याति सन्ततामेकविंशतिम्॥ औशनसस्मृति (V.) p. 531 (Jiv. I.).

950. नैयमिकं तु श्राद्धं स्नेहवदेव दद्यात्। सर्पिर्मांसमिति प्रथमः कल्पः। अभावे तैलं शाकमिति। आप. ध. सू. II. 8. 19. 13–15.

951. संवत्सरं गव्येन प्रीतिः। भूयांसमतो माहिषेण। एतेन ग्राम्यारण्यानां पशूनां मांसं मेध्यं व्याख्यातम्। खड्गोपस्तरणे खड्गमांसेनानन्त्यं कालम्। तथा शतबलेर्मत्स्यस्य मांसेन वार्ध्राणसस्य च। आप. ध. सू. II. 7.16.25—II. 7. 17. 3. वार्ध्राणस or वार्ध्रीणस is explained as a red-coloured goat that is *tripiba* (whose ears are so long that they touch the water it drinks), that is old and the foremost of the herd. त्रिपिबमिन्द्रियक्षीणं यूथस्याग्रचरं तथा। रक्तवर्णं तु राजेन्द्र छागं वार्ध्रीणसं विदुः॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 141. 48 q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 431) The Mit On या. I. 260 and मेधातिथि on मनु. III. 271 quote a slightly different verse: त्रिपिबमिन्द्रियक्षीणं श्वेतं वृद्धमजापतिम्। वार्ध्रीणसं तु तं प्राहुर्याज्ञिकाः श्राद्धकर्मणि॥ and Mit. explains त्रिपिब as 'पिबतः कर्णौ जिह्वा च यस्य जलं स्पृशन्ति स त्रिभिः पिबतीति त्रिपिबः'. अपरार्क p. 552 cites this verse as a निगम. हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 590) states that the 2nd verse is a various reading of the first. अपरार्क p. 553 quotes another verse according to which वार्ध्रीणस is a white-feathered bird with red head and dark throat 'कृष्णग्रीवो रक्तशिराः श्वेतपक्षो विहङ्गमः। स वै वार्ध्रीणसः प्रोक्त इत्येषा नैगमी श्रुतिः॥'. Several forms are met with in printed works viz. वार्ध्रीणस or वार्ध्राणस or वार्ध्रीणस. The दीपकलिका gives the two explanations of वार्ध्रीनस (this is the reading of the printed work) as a white goat and as a bird.

fish called 'śatabali' and the flesh of a *Vārddhrīṇasa.* Vas. XI. 34 contains the following remarkable verse: 'an ascetic, when invited in a rite for the gods or pitṛs, who avoids (does not partake of) flesh, dwells in Hell for as many years as the number of hair (on the body of the animal whose flesh he avoids).' Even the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa (I. 140. 49–50) emphatically asserts that he who does not partake of flesh-food in a row of diners at a śrāddha which has been properly employed goes to hell Manu V. 35 and Kūrma II. 17.40 contain a similar verse applicable to all those who are invited as brāhmaṇas at a śrāddha. The Kūrmapurāṇa II. 22.75 provides that the brāhmaṇa who is employed for the performance of a śrāddha and does not eat flesh offered therein becomes a beast for 21 births. Manu III. 257 states that the following are said to be proper offerings in a śrāddha by their very nature viz. food (prepared from *nīvāra* grain and the like) fit for a forest hermit, milk, soma juice, flesh that does not emit foul smell and unmanufactured salt. An ascetic was ordinarly required not to partake of flesh; but Vasiṣṭha insisted on his partaking of it when invited at a śrāddha.

Manu III. 267–272, Yāj. I. 258–260, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 80. 1 ff, Anuśāsanaparva chap. 88, the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (kaṇḍikās. 7–8), Kūrmapurāṇa II. 20. 40–42, 29. 2–8, Vāyu 83. 3–9, Matsya 17. 31–35, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 16.1–3, Padmapurāṇa (Sṛṣṭi 9. 158–164), Brahmapurāṇa 220.23–29, Viṣṇudharmottara I. 141.42–47 state at length the periods of time for which pitṛs are gratified by the flesh of certain animals being served at a śrāddha. The verses of Yāj. being the shortest in all these works are given below. Yāj.[952] states; Pitṛs are gratified by the serving of sacrificial food (such as rice, fruits, roots & c.) for a month, for a year by (cows's milk or) rice cooked in cow's milk, for 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 months respectively by the flesh of fishes (pāṭhīna), of (red coloured) deer, of a ram, of a bird (such as a *tittiri*), of a goat, of a spotted deer, of a dark-coloured deer, of a *ruru* deer, of a wild boar, of a hare; the offering of rhinoceros flesh, of a fish called Mahāśalka, of

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952. हविष्यान्नेन वै मासं पायसेन तु वत्सरम्। मात्स्यहारिणकौरभ्रशाकुनच्छागपार्षतैः॥ ऐणरौरववाराहशाशैर्मांसैर्यथाक्रमम्। मासवृद्ध्याभितृप्यन्ति दत्तैरिह पितामहाः। खड्गामिषं महाशल्कं मधु मुन्यन्नमेव वा। लोहामिषं महाशाकं मांसं वार्ध्रीणसस्य च॥ यद्ददाति गयास्थश्च सर्वमानन्त्यमश्नुते। या. I. 258–261. महाशाकं is explained as कालशाकं by the मिताक्षरा, while the स्मृतिच. (श्रा p, 431) frankly admits that it does not know what कालशाक is: 'कालशाकं कीदृशमिति न विद्मः।'.

honey, of food fit for hermits (wild corn such as *nīvāra*), the flesh of a red goat, of Mahāśāka (i. e. Kālaśāka), and the flesh of Vārdhrīṇasa—these secure inexhaustible fruit. There is some divergence of views among the several works. For example, Manu III. 267 and 271, Kātyāyana (in śrāddhasūtra 7) appear to hold that by offering food prepared from village corn (such as rice, māṣa & c.) or wild eatables (such as *nīvāra* or fruits and roots) the gratification is only for one month and the flesh of Vārdhrīṇasa produces gratification for twelve years only (and not for all time). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 80.10 and Manu III. 270 bring in buffalo flesh and tortoise flesh as giving gratification for ten and eleven month respectively. Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 590)[953] is careful to point out that these words about the duration of time are not to be taken literally but what is really intended is to convey greater and greater gratification of the pitṛs according to the kind of flesh offered. Pulastya quoted by the Mit. and Aparārka p. 555 provides that a brāhmaṇa should generally or mainly offer at a śrāddha hermit's food, a kṣatriya or a vaiśya should offer flesh, a śūdra should offer honey and all varṇas may offer anything else (except these three) which is not forbidden.[954] Whoever may be the offerer, the eater at a śrāddha dinner was to be a brāhmaṇa alone and so it follows that brāhmaṇas invited to a śrāddha by a kṣatriya or vaiśya had to eat flesh. Yet it is remarkable that even the Mitākṣarā and the Kalpataru written about 1100-1120 A. D. do not expressly say that in the Kali age flesh-eating at śrāddha is totally prohibited at least for brāhmaṇas. It has been shown already (H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 775-776) that even when animal sacrifices were the order of the day in the Ṛgveda and the Brāhmaṇas there was an undercurrent of thought that the offerings of fuel-sticks or of boiled rice when made with heartfelt devotion to the gods were as good as flesh offerings for

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953. इह सर्वत्र प्रीत्यतिशयो विवक्षितः। न तु यथाश्रुत एव कालः। तथा सति द्वादशवर्षपर्यन्तं पितॄणां तृप्तत्वात् श्राद्धाकरणे प्राप्ते सति न 'प्रतिवर्षं यत्नात्कार्यम्' इत्येतद्वचनं विरुध्यत इति हरिहरादयः। हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 590).

954. अत्र यद्यपि मुन्यन्नमांसमध्वादीनि सर्ववर्णानां सामान्येन श्राद्धे योग्यानि दर्शितानि तथापि पुलस्त्योक्ता व्यवस्थादरणीया। मुन्यन्नं ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं मांसं क्षत्रियवैश्ययोः। मधुप्रदानं शूद्रस्य सर्वेषां चाविरोधि यत्। मिता. on या. I. 260; तथा च श्राद्धप्रकरणे बृहन्नारदीये यथाचारं भवेयं तु मधुमांसादिकं तथा—इति। तथा मांसादनं तथा श्राद्धे इति कलिवर्ज्यनियमानभिधाय देशाचाराः परिग्राह्यास्तद्देशीयजैर्नरैः। अन्यथा पतितो ज्ञेयः सर्वधर्मबहिष्कृतः॥—इति तत्रैवान्यत्राभिहितत्वात्। पृथ्वीचंद्रोदय on श्राद्ध (folio 416) quoting नारदीयपुराण.

securing their favour. In course of time that conception grew stronger and stronger, so much so that Manu (V. 27–44 and V. 46–47) and Vasiṣṭha appear to be in two minds (vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 778–780). Gradually the offering of flesh in Madhuparka and in śrāddhas came to be totally condemned in works of the 12th and 13th centuries and onwards as a matter prohibited in the Kali age (Varātithipitṛbhyaśca paśūpākaraṇakriyā). (Vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 945–946 and p. 964). Now except among the brāhmaṇas (in Northern India) who have no objection to include fish in diet as permissible to them no brāhmaṇa offers flesh in śrāddha. The usage of Northern India would be in accordance with the view set out in Bṛhannāradīya-purāṇa that one should offer honey, flesh and other things according to the usage of the country, as explained by the Pṛthvīcandrodaya.

Manu (V.11–18) contains long lists of animals, birds and fishes whose flesh was not to be eaten even by those who were flesh-eaters.

If a person is destitute, some of the Purāṇas such as the Viṣṇu (III. 4.24–30) and the Varāha (13.53–58) mercifully provide in identical[955] verses that instead of entertaining brāhmaṇas with a sumptuous dinner or flesh the poor man may offer only uncooked corn, or some vegetables growing wildly or some slight *dakṣiṇā* if he cannot offer even uncooked food or vegetables, or he may offer a few grains of sesamum (7 or 8) to a brāhmaṇa with water in his folded hands, or grass to a cow enough for one day and if he cannot afford even any one of these, then he may repair to a thicket of trees, raise his arms so that his armpits are exposed and loudly address the guardians of the worlds such as the Sun in the following words: 'I have neither wealth nor money nor anything else fit to be offered by way of śrāddha; I bow to my pitṛs; may the pitṛs be satisfied by my devotion; I have stretched these arms in space!' (lit. the path of the wind).

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955. असमर्थोऽन्नदानस्य धान्यं मांसं स्वशक्तितः ।...सर्वाभावे वनं गत्वा कक्षमूलप्रदर्शकः । सूर्यादिलोकपालानामिदमुच्चैः पठिष्यति ॥ न मेऽस्ति वित्तं न धनं न चान्यच्छ्राद्धस्य योग्यं स्वपितॄन्नतोऽस्मि । तृप्यन्तु भक्त्या पितरो मयैतौ भुजौ ततौ वर्त्मनि मारुतस्य ॥ वराहपुराण. 13. 57–58 = विष्णुपुराण III. 14. 29–30, q. by मद. पा. pp. 515–16 from विष्णु and by निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 467 from both. This passage explains the origin and the present meaning of the Marathi phrase खाका वर करणें. बृहत्पराशर (chap. 5 p. 152) has similar provisions. The पृथ्वी० (folio 56 b) notes 'धान्यं मांसमित्यत्र वन्यं शाकमिति वराहपुराणीयः पाठः'; in the printed विष्णुपुराण the reading is not धान्यं मांसं, but the निर्णयसिन्धु had these words and it appears that the text was tampered with in modern times.

It is now time to describe the procedure of the Pārvaṇa-śrāddha[955a] which is the pattern or norm (prakṛti) of the other śrāddhas[956] (even including the *Aṣṭakās*). Here one meets with great divergences of views even from the times of the sūtras up to modern times. Though the main items and stages in the rite of śrāddha are generally the same, there is variation in the mantras, the details and sometimes in the order of the several items. Kātyāyana lays down that every man has to follow his own *sūtra* as to the use of the word 'svāhā' or the words 'svadhā namaḥ', as to wearing the sacred thread in the yajñopavīta or prācīnāvīta way and as to the number of *āhutis*[957].

It would be very interesting first to find out the vestiges of the sacrifice to the fathers in the most ancient Vedic texts. The Tai. S. (I. 8 5. 1–2) deals[958] with the Mahāpitṛyajña per-

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955 a. Terms already explained such as '*Pārvaṇa*' and '*Ekoddiṣṭa*' are not explained again. Vide n. 855 above for those two words. Śrāddha on amāvāsyā is obligatory (*nityā*) as laid down by Gaut. 15.1 q. in note 935 above, while the śrāddhas performed on the other tithis of the dark half of a month are *kāmya*.

956. The अनाकुला of हरदत्त on आप. गृ. 21.1 states 'पुनरपि पाकयज्ञानन्तरं पुरुषत्रयसंप्रदानकं ताहशानामष्टकादीनां प्रकृतिभूतं मासिकसंज्ञकं पित्र्यं कर्मोपदिश्यते.'

957. तथा च कात्यायनः। स्वाहा स्वधा नमः सव्यमपसव्यं तथैव च। आहुतीनां तु या संख्या सावगम्या स्वसूत्रतः॥ q. by मद. पा. p. 592, स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 458). हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 356) says 'एते देवाविविधयो यदीयेषु कल्पसूत्रगृह्येष्वुक्तास्ते तदीया एवेति व्यवस्थया बोद्धव्याः।'.

958. सोमाय पितृमते पुरोडाशं षट्कपालं निर्वपति पितृभ्यो बर्हिषद्भ्यो धानाः पितृभ्योऽग्निष्वात्तेभ्योऽभिवान्यायै दुग्धे मन्थमेतत्ते तत ये च त्वामन्वेतत्ते पितामह प्रपितामह ये च त्वामन्वत्र पितरो यथाभागं मन्दध्वं सुसंदृशं त्वा वयं मघवन्मन्दिषीमहि। प्र नूनं पूर्णवन्धुरः स्तुतो यासि वशाँ अनु। योजा न्विन्द्र ते हरी। अक्षन्नमीमदन्त ह्यव प्रिया अधूषत। अस्तोषत स्वभानवो विप्रा नविष्ठया मती। योजा न्विन्द्र ते हरी। अक्षन् पितरोऽमीमदन्त पितरोऽतीतृपन्त पितरोऽमीमृजन्त पितरः। परेत पितरः सोम्या गम्भीरैः पथिभिः पूर्व्यैः। अथा पितॄन् सुविदत्राँ अपीत यमेन ये सधमादं मदन्ति॥ तै. सं I.8.5. 1–2. सायण explains: अभिवान्या मृतवत्सा धेनुः। क्षीरे यवपिष्टं प्रक्षिप्य मिश्रीकृतं द्रव्यं मन्थः।. सायण quotes तै. ब्रा. I. 6.8 'अभिवान्यायै दुग्धे भवति सा हि पितृदेवत्यं दुहे' and explains 'मृताः पुरुषाः पितरो भवन्ति। अभिवान्या च मृतवत्सेति सजातीयत्वात्तत्र तेषां प्रीतिः'. The milk of an अभिवान्या cow is kept in a vessel in which are put half-ground barley grains, then the milk is stirred once or thrice with a piece of sugarcane to which a string is tied. This preparation is called मन्थ. Vide मैत्रायणीसंहिता 1. 10. 17 (यदेष मन्थस्तेन पितृयज्ञोऽभिवान्याया गोर्दुग्धे स्यात्...इक्षुशलाकयोपमन्थति) and आप. श्रौ. 8.14.14. The Tai. Br. (I. 6. 8–9) expounds the above Tai. S. passage in its own way. The two verses सुसंदृशं and अक्षन्नमीमदन्त are वाज. सं. III. 52 and 51 and are the same as मै. सं. I. 10.3. तै. ब्रा. II. 6.16 brings together the mantras employed in पिण्डपितृयज्ञ as याज्या, पुरोनुवाक्या or सामिधेनी verses.

formed in Sākamedha, the third of the four Cāturmāsyas: "He offers to Soma accompanied by the pitṛs a cake baked on six potsherds, to the pitṛs Barhiṣadaḥ (sitting on darbha grass or in a yajña) fried grains, for the pitṛs called Agniṣvātta he milks a drink from a cow which has to be won over (to another calf). This for thee, O father and for those who come after thee (i. e. for thy descendants); this for thee, O grandfather, great-grandfather and for those who come after thee; do, ye Pitṛs rejoice in your portions. May we gladden thee, O Indra, that castest thy glance at us, come forth now with full chariot seat; being praised (by us) thou goest to places desired by you. Yoke, O Indra, thy two bay steeds. They (*pitaraḥ*) have eaten, they have rejoiced, the dear ones have dispelled (evil); the radiant sages have been praised with newest hymn, Yoke, O Indra, thy two bay steeds. The pitṛs have eaten, the pitṛs have rejoiced, the pitṛs have been glad, the pitṛs have purified themselves. Go away, O Pitṛs, that art soma-loving by your majestic ancient paths. Then reach ye the *pitṛs* that well know you (or everything) and that revel in the company of Yama."

In the Tai.[959] Br. I. 2.10 the Piṇḍapitṛyajña is dealt with at some length. In the note below the important passages are set forth leaving out the legends, repetitions and matters not relevant to our purpose: "Therefore the rite (called piṇḍapitṛyajña) is performed the day previous (to the Darśeṣṭi).

959. तस्मात्पितृभ्यः पूर्वेद्युः क्रियते।...सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नम इत्याह।...अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम इत्याह। य एव पितॄणामग्निस्तं प्रीणाति। तिस्र आहुतीर्जुहोति त्रिर्निदधाति षट्सम्पद्यन्ते। षड् वा ऋतवः। ऋतूनेव प्रीणाति।...ऋतवः खलु वै देवाः पितरः।... सकृदाच्छिन्नं बर्हिर्भवति। सकृदिव हि पितरः। त्रिर्निदधाति। तृतीये वा इतो लोके पितरः। तानेव प्रीणाति। पराङावर्तते। ह्रीका हि पितरः। ओष्मणो व्यावृत उपास्ते। उष्मभागा हि पितरः।... अत्रघ्रेयमेव तन्नेव प्राशितं नेवाप्राशितम्। वीरं वै पितरः प्रयन्तो हरन्ति। वीरं वा ददति। दशां छिनत्ति। हरणभागा हि पितरः। पितॄनेव निरवदयते। उत्तर आयुषि लोम छिन्दीत। पितॄणामेतर्हि नेदीयः। नमस्करोति। नमस्कारो हि पितॄणाम्। नमो वः पितरो रसाय नमो वः पितरः शुष्माय। नमो वः पितरो जीवाय। नमो वः पितरः स्वधायै। नमो वः पितरो मन्यवे। नमो वः पितरो घोराय। पितरो नमो वः।...एष वै मनुष्याणां यज्ञः। देवानां वा इतरे यज्ञाः। तै. ब्रा. I. 3, 10, 1-10. The words नमो वः पितरो रसाय to पितरो घोराय occur in वाज. सं. II. 32 and मै. सं. I, 10. 3 but in a slightly different order and वाज. सं. reads शोषाय for शुष्माय. It may be noted that though the तै. ब्रा. speaks of three āhutis it mentions only two deities; the third is supplied by the सूत्रकार in the words यमायाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते स्वधा नमः।. Vide note 781 above. On 'देवाः पितरः' सायण says 'द्विविधा हि पितरः देवात्मका मनुष्यात्मकाश्च। पितृलोकस्वामिनो देवात्मकाः। मृताः सन्तो भोगार्थं तल्लोकं प्राप्ता मनुष्यात्मकाः।'. On वीरं...ददति, सायण explains 'वैकल्ये पुत्रं मारयन्ति साकल्ये पुत्रं प्रयच्छन्ति। अत्र वैकल्यस्य दुष्परिहरत्वेन पुत्रमरणाभावत्वेन वस्त्रायमीषत्सूत्रं छित्वा पिण्डेषु निदध्यात्।'.

He says 'to Soma drunk by the pitṛs, *svadhā*! Adoration!' He says 'to Agni, the carrier of *kavya*, svadhā! Adoration! (Thereby) he pleases the fire that pertains to the pitṛs. He offers (into fire) three oblations; he puts down (on the darbhas spread on the ground) three piṇḍas. (These) thus come to six in number. Six indeed are the seasons. He (thereby) pleases the seasons. The seasons are indeed the shining (or divine) pitṛs......The darbha grass is cut with one stroke; the pitṛs have as it were (passed away) once for ever. He puts down thrice (the piṇḍas). The pitṛs are indeed in the third world from here. He (thereby) pleases them. He (the performer) turns his face away (to the north from the south), for the Fathers are shy. He remains with his face turned away till the steam (of the boiled rice of the piṇḍas) ceases to rise, for the Fathers have the steam of rice as their share; he should simply smell (the piṇḍas). That as if does not amount to eating or non-eating. The pitṛs when departing (from the śrāddha rite) take away or grant a valiant son. He cuts off the fringe (of a garment to place it on the piṇḍas), for the share of Fathers is taking away (what is offered). He (thereby) allots their proper share to the pitṛs (and dismisses them). When (the performer) is in the latter part of life (i. e. over 50 years of age) he cuts off hair (from his chest instead of presenting a *daśā*). At that time he is nearer to the pitṛs (when above 50 years of age). He offers adoration, because adoration (*namaskāra*) is dear to the pitṛs. Adoration to you, O Fathers, for vigour; adoration to you, O fathers, for life; adoration to you, O fathers, for *svadhā*; adoration to you, O fathers, for ardour; adoration, O fathers, for the terrible! O fathers! here is adoration to you. This (piṇḍapitṛyajña) is indeed a sacrifice of men (i. e. sacrifice to departed men) and other sacrifices belong to the gods." In the Tai. Br. I. 4. 10 the Pitṛyajña performed in *sākamedha* is praised (in 2) and further on it is said that *Ṛtus* (seasons) are pitṛs and they offered pitṛyajña to Prajāpati, their father. This passage supports the provision made in Manu and some of the digests that the *Ṛtus* are to be identified with pitṛs and obeisance is to be made to them.[960]

960. तस्मात्साकमेधैर्यजमानः इवावत्सरीणां स्वस्तिमाशास्त इत्याशासीत। यत्पितृयज्ञेन यजते देवानेव तदन्ववस्यति। 2...ऋतवः पितरः प्रजापतिं पितरं पितृयज्ञेनायजन्त। त एतं लोकमजयन् यस्मिन्नृतवः। यत्पितृयज्ञेन यजते एतमेव लोकं जयति यस्मिन्नृतवः। ऋतूनामेव साधुष्यवपीति। तै. ब्रा. I. 4.10.8. The word पितृयज्ञ here and in तै. सं. III. 2.2.3, मै. सं. I.10.17 (यदेव पितृयज्ञस्तेनैवास्य पितरोऽभीष्टाः प्रीता भवन्ति) means a sacrifice

(*Continued on the next page*)

The Śat. Br. (II. 4. 2) contains the following somewhat fuller account of the Piṇḍa-pitṛyajña, omitting legendary or other irrelevant matters:—When the moon is not seen either in the east or in the west, then he (the performer of the Darśa sacrifice) presents food to the Fathers in each month ...... He presents it in the afternoon. The forenoon indeed belongs to the gods; the midday to men; and the afternoon to the Fathers; therefore he presents (food to the Fathers) in the afternoon. While seated behind the Gārhapatya fire with his face turned towards the south and the sacred thread on his right shoulder he takes that material (for the offering from the cart). Thereupon he rises from thence and threshes the rice while standing north of the Dakṣiṇa fire and facing the south. Only once does he clean the rice, for it is once for all that the fathers have passed away. He then boils it. While it stands on (the Dakṣiṇa fire) he pours some clarified butter on it. After removing it (from the fire) he offers to the gods two oblations in the fire ...... Here he is engaged in a sacrifice to the Fathers; hence he thereby propitiates the gods and being permitted by the gods, he presents that food to the Fathers. He offers to both Agni and Soma ... He offers with the formula 'To Agni, the carrier of *kavya* (what is offered to the Manes), svāhā!', 'To Soma accompanied by the Fathers, svāhā!' (Vāj. S. II. 29). He then puts the pot-ladle (mekṣaṇa) on the fire, that being in lieu of the Sviṣṭakṛt. Thereafter he draws (with the *sphya*, the wooden sword) one line south of the Dakṣiṇa fire, that being in lieu of the altar. He then lays down a firebrand at the further (south) end of the line. For, were he to present that food to the Fathers without having laid down a firebrand, the Asuras and Rākṣasas would certainly tamper with it. ... He lays it down with the text 'whatsoever Asuras roam about being attracted by the *svadhā* (offering to Fathers), assuming various shapes, be they large-bodied or small-bodied, may Agni expel them from this world (Vāj. S. II. 30) ... He then takes the water jar and makes the Fathers wash (their hands) merely saying 'N. N., wash thyself' (naming) the sacrificer's father; 'N. N. wash thyself (naming the sacrificer's) grandfather; 'N. N., wash thyself

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offered to the manes, while it is doubtful whether in Ṛg X. 16. 10 the word पितृयज्ञ means the same thing. But as the verse that immediately follows (Ṛg. X. 16.11) mentions pitṛs in the plural, it looks as if the meaning of पितृयज्ञ being well known was used in a secondary sense in Ṛg. X. 16.10.

(naming) the sacrificer's great-grandfather. As one would pour out water (for a guest) when he is about to take food, so in this case. Now those (stalks of sacrificial grass) are severed with one stroke and cut off near the root; the top belongs to the gods, the middle part to men and the root part (of darbhas) to the fathers.. Therefore they are cut off near the roots ...... He spreads them along with the line with their tops towards the south. Thereon he presents (to the fathers the three round cakes of rice). He presents thus:—for the gods they offer thus: for men they ladle out; and in the case of the fathers they do in this very way; therefore he presents (the cakes to the fathers) thus. With 'N. N., this for thee!' he presents one cake to the sacrificer's father. Some add 'for those that come after thee', but let him not say this, since he himself is one of those to whom it would be offered in common. Let him therefore merely say 'N. N., this for thee!' as to the sacrificer's father; 'N. N., this for thee' as to his grandfather; 'N. N., this for thee' as to his great-grandfather...He then mutters 'Here, O fathers, regale yourselves; like bulls come hither each to his own share!' (Vāj. S. II. 31). Whereby he says 'Eat each his own share'. He then turns round to the left so as to face the opposite (north) side; for the fathers are far away from men; and thereby he also is far away (from the fathers). 'Let him remain (standing with bated breath) until his breath fail' say some; 'for thus far extends the vital energy'. However, having remained so far a moment—he again turns round (to the right) and mutters 'the Fathers have regaled themselves; like bulls they have come each to his own share' (Vāj. S. II. 31); whereby what he says is 'they have eaten each his own share'. Thereupon he takes the water jar and makes them wash themselves (by pouring water on the piṇḍas), merely saying 'N. N., wash thyself' (naming) the sacrificer's father; 'N. N. wash thyself' (naming) his grandfather; 'N. N., wash thyself' (naming) his paternal great-grandfather. Even as one would pour out (water for a guest). When he has taken his meal, so it is here. He then pulls down the tuck (of the sacrificer's garment) and performs obeisance. The tuck is sacred to the Fathers; therefore he performs obeisance to them after pulling down the tuck. ... Six times he performs obeisance, for there are six seasons and the fathers are the seasons. He mutters 'Give us houses, O fathers', for the fathers are the rulers of houses; and this is the prayer for blessing at this sacrificial performance. After the

piṇḍas have been put back (in a dish) the sacrificer smells at (the rice); this (smelling) being the sacrificer's share. The stalks of darbha cut with one stroke he puts on the fire; and he also throws away the firebrand on to the fire.[960a]

It will be noticed that many of the fundamental conceptions of a pārvaṇa-śrāddha are very clearly brought out in the Śat. Br. Wearing the sacred thread on the right shoulder, afternoon as the proper time, cleansing the paddy only once, boiling the rice on the Dakṣiṇa fire, offering into the same fire two oblations to the gods first, the two formulas of presentation to Agni Kavyavāhana and to Soma Pitṛmat, drawing a line or

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960 a. अथैनं (प्रजापतिं) पितरः प्राचीनावीतिनः सव्यं जान्वाच्योपासीदंस्तानब्रवीन्मासि मासि वोऽशनं स्वधा वो मनो जवो वश्चन्द्रमा वो ज्योतिरिति। शतपथ II. 4. 2. 2... मासि मास्येव पितृभ्यो ददतो यदैवैष न पुरस्तान्न पश्चाद्ददृशेऽथैभ्यो ददाति...(7)।...स वा अपराह्णे ददाति पूर्वाह्णो वै देवानां मध्यन्दिनो मनुष्याणामपराह्णः पितॄणां तस्मादपराह्णे ददाति। स जघनेन गार्हपत्यं प्राचीनावीती भूत्वा दक्षिणासीन एतं गृह्णाति। स तत एवोपोत्थायोत्तरेणान्वाहार्यपचनं दक्षिणा तिष्ठन्नवहन्ति सकृत् फलीकरोति सकृदु ह्येव पराञ्चः पितरस्तस्मात्सकृत् फलीकरोति। (9) तं श्रपयति तस्मिन्नधिश्रित आज्यं प्रत्यानयति...। (10) स उद्वास्याग्नौ द्वे आहुती जुहोति देवेभ्यः। ...अथैतत्पितृयज्ञेनैवाचारीत्...स देवैः प्रसूतोऽथैतत्पितृभ्यो ददाति। ... (11) स वाऽग्नये सोमाय च जुहोति...। (12) स जुहोति। अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहेत्यग्नौ मेक्षणमभ्यादधाति तत्स्विष्टकृद्भाजनमथ दक्षिणेनान्वाहार्यपचनं सकृदुल्लिखति तद्वेदिभाजनम्...। (13) अथ परस्तादुल्मुकं निदधाति। स यदनिधायोल्मुकमथैतत्पितृभ्यो दद्यादसुररक्षसानि हैषामेतद्विमथ्नीरन्...। (14) स निदधाति। ये रूपाणि प्रतिमुञ्चमाना असुराः सन्तः स्वधया चरन्ति। परापुरो निपुरो ये भरन्त्यग्निष्टाँल्लोकात्प्रणुदात्यस्मादिति।...। (15) अथोदपात्रमादायावनेजयति। असाववनेनिक्ष्वेत्येव यजमानस्य पितरमसाववनेनिक्ष्वेति पितामहमसाववनेनिक्ष्वेति प्रपितामहं तद्यथाशिष्यतेऽभिषिञ्चेदेवं तत्। (16) अथ सकृदाच्छिन्नान्युपमूलं दिनानि भवन्ति अग्रमिव वै देवानां मध्यमिव मनुष्याणां मूलमिव पितॄणां तस्मादुपमूलं दिनानि भवन्ति...। (17) तानि दक्षिणोपस्तृणाति। तत्र ददाति स वा इति ददातीतीव वै देवेभ्यो जुह्वत्युद्धरन्ति मनुष्येभ्योऽथैवं पितॄणां तस्मादिति ददाति। (18) स ददाति। असावेतत्त इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रे ये च त्वामन्वित्यु हैक आहुस्तदु तथा न ब्रूयात्स्वयं वै तेषां सह येषां सह। तस्मादु ब्रूयादसावेतत्त इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रेऽसावेतत्त इति पितामहायासावेतत्त इति प्रपितामहाय...। (19) तत्र जपति। अत्र पितरो मादयध्वं यथाभागमावृषायध्वमिति यथाभागमश्नीतेत्येवैतदाह। (20) अथ पराङ् पर्यावर्तते। तिर इव वै पितरो मनुष्येभ्यस्तिर इवैतद्भवति स वा आतमितोरासीतेत्याहुरेतावान्ह्यसुरिति स वै मुहूर्तमेवासित्वा। (21) अथोपपर्यावृत्य जपति। अमीमदन्त पितरो यथाभागमावृषायिषतेति यथाभागमाशिषुरित्येवैतदाह। (22) अथोदपात्रमादायावनेजयति। असाववनेनिक्ष्वेत्येव यजमानस्य पितरमसाववनेनिक्ष्वेति पितामहमसाववनेनिक्ष्वेति प्रपितामहं तद्यथा जक्षुषेऽभिषिञ्चेदेवं तत्। (23) अथ नीविमुद्वृह्य नमस्करोति। पितृदेवत्या वै नीविस्तस्मान्नीविमुद्वृह्य नमस्करोति...षट्कृत्वा नमस्करोति षड्वा ऋतव ऋतवः पितरः...गृहान्नः पितरो दत्तेति गृहाणां ह पितर ईशते। एषो एतस्याशीः कर्मणोऽथावजिघ्रति प्रत्यवधाय पिण्डान् स यजमानभागोऽग्नौ सकृदाच्छिन्नान्यभ्यादधाति पुनरुल्मुकमपि सृजति। (24).

furrow to the south of the Dakṣiṇa fire, laying down a firebrand, making the three paternal ancestors wash (*avanejana*),[961] darbha grass severed from near the root, spreading the darbhas on the line or furrow and offering three piṇḍas to the three ancestors to regale themselves, turning away from the piṇḍas for a moment and then resuming his position and saying that the ancestors have regaled themselves, offering water for washing (pratayavanejana), pulling down the tuck and performing obeisance six times (and identifying the Fathers with seasons) and praying to the Fathers to bestow houses, smelling the boiled rice, throwing the darbhas and firebrand into the fire—these are the principal matters even now in the Pārvaṇa-śrāddha performed by students of the Śukla Yajurveda, although several other details (such as the introduction of the mother's paternal ancestors) and some mantras are added. The Kātyāyana Sr. IV. 1. closely follows the Śat. Br., but adds certain details viz. he folds his hands and repeats the six mantras (Vāj. S. II. 32 'namo vah pitaro rasāya' &c.) throwing three threads on each piṇḍa with the mantra 'etadvaḥ' (Vāj. S. II. 32) or the woollen fringe of a garment or hair from the chest of the sacrificer when he is beyond fifty years of age, sprinkling water on the piṇḍas or on the ground near them with (Vāj. S. II. 34)[962].

The other *saṁhitās* also contain identical mantras. For example, the Vāj. S. II. 29–34[963] are mantras most of which are

961. On 'wash thyself' the com. on कात्या. श्रौ. सू. IV. 1. 10 says 'अपसव्यं यथा स्यात् हस्तस्य सव्यप्रदेशाद्दक्षिणप्रदेशेनोदकनिनयनं यथा स्यात्तथाङ्गुष्ठप्रदेशिन्योरन्तरालेनावनेजयति अवानिक्ताज् छुब्धीन् करोति पिण्डदानाय। असाविति सम्बुद्ध्यन्तगोत्रनामादेशपूर्वकं, अमुकसगोत्र यजमानस्य पितरमुकशर्मन्नवनेनिक्ष्व'. Some other sūtrakāras provide अमुकगोत्र for अमुकसगोत्र.

962. About the use of the words 'those that come after thee' vide n. 781 for the Tai. S. passage where those words are employed and also notes 1040, 1052, 1053. 'He presents them thus'—When the piṇḍa is to be offered to the Fathers it is done with the *pitṛtīrtha* (the part of the hand between the thumb and forefinger). This is indicated by the teacher by means of a gesture. 'He then pulls down the tuck—' The sacrificer (or adhvaryu) puts on an upper garment when the rite commences, the *daśā* or unwoven edge of which he tucks under the waistband. This he loosens or pulls out at this stage. It will have been noticed that the Sat. Br. in dealing with Piṇḍapitṛyajña employs Vāj. S. II. 29 (except 'apahatā asurā rakṣāṁsi vediṣadaḥ'), 30, 31.

963. अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा। अपहता असुरा रक्षांसि वेदिषदः॥ ये रूपाणि॥...मपुदात्यस्मात्॥ अत्र पितरो मादयध्वं...वृषायिध्वम्॥ नमो वः पितरो रसाय...नमो वः पितरो मन्यवे नमो वः पितरः पितरो नमो वो गृहान्नः पितरो दत्त सतो

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employed in the Piṇḍapitṛyajña in Sākamedha[964]. Similarly, in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā[965] I. 10.3. 10–21 these are mantras for the pitṛyajña employed in Sākamedha many of which are the same as in Vāj. S. or Tai. Br. M. S. I. 10. 3.11 is the same as Vāj. S. III. 52 and M. S. I. 10. 3. 17–20 are the same as Vāj. S. III. 51, 53–55. M. S. I. 10. 3. 13–14 greatly resemble Vāj. S. II. 32 and Tai. Br. I. 3. 10. 8.

Coming to the sūtra literature, it is best to begin with the procedure of *pārvaṇaśrāddha* as described in the Āśv. gṛ. IV. 7–8[966]. It is stated by the Anākulā on Āp. gṛ. 21.1 that the

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वः पितरो देष्मैतद्वः पितरो वास आधत्त॥ आधत्त...सत्॥ ऊर्जं वहन्तीरमृतं घृतं पयः कीलालं परिस्रुतम्। स्वधा स्थ तर्पयत मे पितॄन्॥ वाज. सं. II. 29–34. The verse ये रूपाणि and the mantras अत्र...वृषायिषत are quoted above in n. 960a from the शतपथब्रा. For नमो वः पितरो, vide n. 959 and for आधत्त...सत् n. 780. Both the commentators, Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara, of Vāj. S., hold that rasa, śoṣa and the other four are to be identified with the six seasons from spring (madhu etc.) and some of the digests provide for the worship of ऋतुs in śrāddha in this way. The कात्या. श्रौ. सू. (V. 9.24–25) states that with this mantra (Vāj. S. II. 32) the performer folds his hands or makes six obeisances. Vide Hemādri (Śr. pp. 1459–60) who quotes the Vāj S. (II. 32) and Tai. Br. and explains them.

964. अक्षन्नमीमदन्त...ते हरी॥ सुसन्दृशं...ते हरी॥ मनो न्वाह्वामहे नाराशंसेन स्तोमेन। पितॄणां च मन्मभिः॥ आ न एतु मनः पुनः क्रत्वे दक्षाय जीवसे। ज्योक् च सूर्यं दृशे॥ पुनर्नः पितरो मनो ददातु दैव्यो जनः। जीवं व्रातं सचेमहि॥ वाज. सं. III. 51–55. वाज. सं. III. 51–52 are the same as Ṛg I. 82.2–3.

965. मै. सं. I. 10.3.13–14 are as follows: अमीमदन्त पितरो नमो वः पितर इषे, नमो वः पितर ऊर्जे, नमो वः पितरः शुष्माय, नमो वः पितरो रसाय, नमो वः पितरो यज्जीवं तस्मै, नमो वः पितरो यद्घोरं तस्मै, स्वधा वः पितरो नमो नमो वः पितरः। एषा युष्माकं पितर इमा अस्माकं जीवा वो जीवन्त इह सन्तः स्याम।. Compare also अथर्ववेद 18.4. 81–85.

966. अथातः पार्वणे श्राद्धे काम्य आभ्युदयिक एकोद्दिष्टे वा। ब्राह्मणान् श्रुतशील... सर्वेषाम्। काममनाद्ये। पिण्डैर्व्याख्यातम्। अपः प्रदाय। दर्भान् द्विगुणभुग्नानासनं प्रदाय। अपः प्रदाय। तैजसाश्ममयमृण्मयेषु त्रिषु पात्रेष्वेकद्रव्येषु वा दर्भान्तर्हितेष्वप आसिच्य शन्नो देवीरभिष्टय इत्यनुमन्त्रितासु तिलानावपति तिलोऽसि सोमदेवत्यो गोसवे देवनिर्मितः। प्रत्नवद्भिः प्रत्तः स्वधया पितॄनिमाँल्लोकान् प्रीणयाहि नः स्वधा नम इति प्रसव्येन। इतर पाण्यङ्गुष्ठान्तरेणोपवीतित्वाद् दक्षिणेन वा सव्योपगृहीतेन पितरिदं ते अर्घ्यं पितामहेदं ते अर्घ्यं प्रपितामहेदं ते अर्घ्यमिति। अप्पूर्वम्। ताः प्रतिग्राहयिष्यन्सकृत्सकृत् स्वधा अर्घ्या इति। प्रसृष्टा अनुमन्त्रयेत या दिव्या आपः पृथिवी सम्बभूवुर्या अन्तरिक्ष्या उत पार्थिवीर्याः। हिरण्यवर्णा यज्ञियास्ता न आपः शंस्योना भवन्त्विति। संस्रवान्समवनीय ताभिरद्भिः पुत्रकामो मुखमनक्ति। नोद्धरेत्प्रथमं पात्रं पितॄणामर्घ्यपातितम्। आवृतास्तत्र तिष्ठन्ति पितरः शौनकोऽब्रवीत्॥ एतस्मिन्काले गन्धमाल्यधूपदीपाच्छादनानां प्रदानम्। उद्धृत्य घृताक्तमन्नमनुज्ञापयत्यग्नौ करिष्ये करवै करवाणीति प्रत्यभ्यनुज्ञा क्रियतां कुरुष्व कुर्विति। अथाग्नौ जुहोति यथोक्तं पुरस्तात्। अभ्यनुज्ञायां पाणिष्वेव वा। अग्निमुखा वै देवाः पाणिमुखाः पितर इति हि ब्राह्मणम्। यदि पाणिष्वाचान्तेष्वन्यदन्नमनुदिशन्ति अन्नमन्ते। सृष्टं दत्तमृध्नुकामि इति। तृप्ताञ्ज्ञात्वा मधुमतीः श्रावयेदक्षन्नमीमदन्तेति च। सम्पन्नमिति पृष्ट्वा यद्यदन्नमुपभुक्तं तत्तत्स्थालीपाकेन सह पिण्डार्थमुद्धृत्य शेषं निवेदयेत्।

(Continued on the next page)

monthly śrāddha (māsi-śrāddha) is the prakṛti of Aṣṭakā and other śrāddhas in which three ancestors are to be invoked. It is as follows: Now then at a Pārvaṇa-śrāddha, or at a śrāddha celebrated for securing some desired object, or at an Ābhyudayika-śrāddha or at an Ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha, the performer causes to sit down brāhmaṇas who are endowed with learning, moral character and proper conduct or who are endowed with (at least) one (of these three characteristics), who have been invited already in proper time, who have taken a bath, whose feet are washed (by the performer) and who have sipped water (taken *ācamana*), as representatives of (or equal to) the Fathers, with their faces turned to the north, one for each of the Fathers, or two for each or three for each. The larger the number of brāhmaṇas invited the greater is the fruit or reward. But in no case (should he invite) only one for all (the Fathers); or he may invite only one brāhmaṇa except at the first śrāddha[967]. By the exposition of the Piṇḍapitṛyajña the rules for the pārvaṇa-śrāddha have been declared. Having given water (into the hands of the invited brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas after they sit down) and double-folded darbha blades as a seat (on which the darbhas are to be kept), having again given water to them and having poured water into three vessels of metal (silver &c.), of stone and of earthenware or into three vessels made of the same substance (out of these three) which are covered over with *darbha* blades and having recited (over the water in the vessels) the verse 'śanno &c.' (Ṛg. X. 9.4)[968] the performer puts sesamum grains into the water with the *mantra* "Sesamum art thou, Soma is thy deity, at the Gosava[969]

(*Continued from the last page*)

अभिमतेऽनुमते वा शुक्लपक्षस्यनाद्यान्तेषु पिण्डानिदध्यात । आद्यान्तेष्वेके । मक्षीर्यावसुपबीयों स्वधोच्यतामिति विसृजेत् । अस्तु स्वधेति वा । आश्व. गृ. सू. IV. 7-8. For the second and third sūtras vide n. 903. कृतपञ्चौधान्-मनु IV. 76 states आर्द्रपादस्तु भुञ्जीत, which is almost the same as अनुशासनपर्व 104.61-62. The first half of the verse या दिव्या आपः occurs in तै. ब्रा. II. 7. 15. 4. The ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व reads मत्नमाद्भिः पृक्तः and प्रीणाहि (folio 78), and explains अद्भिः पृक्तः जलेन मिश्रितः पितॄन् लोकान् पितृपितामहान् मत्नं चिरकालं स्वधया स्वधोच्चारणेन प्रीणाहि प्रीतान् कुरु. This yields a good sense. Different editions of the आश्व. सू number the sūtras differently. Here the Nirṇ. edition of 1894 is relied upon.

967. Vide n. 903 above for the several meanings of 'anādye'.

968. The verse is शं नो देवीरभिष्टय आपो भवन्तु पीतये । शंयोरभि स्रवन्तु नः ॥ ऋ. X 9.4. This मन्त्र is recited only once.

969. For the गोसव sacrifice, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1213 n 2644. The mantra about sesamum is repeated over each of the three vessels.

sacrifice thou hast been created by the gods, thou hast been offered by persons who are like ancient ones; through the *svadhā* mayst thou make the Fathers and these worlds pleased with us! svadhā! Adoration!" The different items of the rite are performed from the right to the left [970]. With the part of the other hand (i. e. left) between the thumb [971] (and forefinger) since he wears the sacred thread over the left shoulder, or with the right which he seizes with the left, (he offers the Arghya water) to Fathers with the words 'Father, this is the *arghya* for thee; Grand-father, this is the arghya for thee; Great-grand-father, this is the arghya for thee; after first offering (ordinary) water to the Fathers. When about to induce the brāh-

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970. The rules about Piṇḍapitṛyañja have been set forth in Āśv. Sr. S. II. 6. Nārāyaṇa notes (on Āśv. gr. IV. 7. 2) that Āśvalāyana treats of only the procedure relating to the rite for pitṛs and that he does not at all refer to the dinner given to *daiva* or Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas at the time of śrāddha. It is therefore possible that feeding daiva brāhmaṇas was added to the ancient ritual, though it must be said that Manu III. 125, Yāj. I. 224–28 and Vas. XI. 27 prescribe such feeding. Dr. Caland (in 'Ahnencult' p. 161) asserts that he can prove that the detail of feeding *daiva* brāhmaṇas spread from the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana to the other sūtras and he relies on the fact that Kātyāyana (in Kaṇḍikā 2) prescribes that the viśve devāḥ should be invoked with the verse 'Viśve devāsa āgata' and the performer should mutter the verse 'viśve devāḥ śṛṇutemam' which are respectively Vāj. S. VII. 34 and XXXIII. 53. But Dr. Caland tries to prove too much. The first verse occurs twice in the Ṛg. (II. 41. 13 and VI 52.7) and the second occurs in Ṛg. VI. 52. 13, Tai. S. II. 4. 14. 5. They are not found only in the Vāj. S. as Dr. Caland seems to have thought. It is possible that other works took over those mantras from the Ṛgveda or the Tai. S. It may also be noted that Yāj. I. 229 mentions only 'Viśve devāsa' and specifies that it is a ṛk (and not a mantra or yajus). So Yāj. at least does not appear to have borrowed the prescriptions of Kātyāyana. It is not necessary to examine the other arguments.

971. The part of the hand between the thumb and forefinger is called पितृतीर्थ and water is offered by that part of the hand for the pitṛs; vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 316 note 652. नारायण explains इतरपाण्यङ्गुष्ठा० in two ways as follows: 'येन पाणिना कर्म करोति दक्षिणेन वा सव्येन वा तस्मिन्नंसे यज्ञोपवीते स्थिते प्राचीनावीती भवति ततोऽन्यस्मिन्नंसे स्थिते उपवीती भवति। अत्र तूपवीतित्वात्प्राचीनावीतित्वसिद्ध्यर्थं सव्यपाणिपितृतीर्थेन दातव्यमित्यर्थः। अथवा सव्यपाणेः शिष्टगर्हितत्वाद्दक्षिणं पाणिं सव्येन पाणिना गृहीत्वा दक्षिणेनैव पाणिनोपवीत्येवार्घ्यं प्रयच्छेत् ॥. The कल्पतरु (on श्रा. p. 148) explains: प्रसव्येन वामेन हस्तेन। तथापि न केवलं वामेनैव अपि तु इतर पाण्यङ्गुष्ठान्तरेण इतरस्य दक्षिणस्य पाणेः अङ्गुष्ठान्तरेण पितृतीर्थेन। तेनैतदुक्तं भवति। वामहस्तेन अर्घ्यपात्रं धृत्वा दक्षिणहस्तेन पितृतीर्थे संस्पृश्य यथा ब्राह्मणहस्तेषु जलं पतति तथा देयमिति।. अर्घ्य is respectful offering of water or water with husked rice grains, flowers etc. to gods or venerable persons.

maṇas to accept the arghya water he should once only (for each brāhmaṇa or group of brāhmaṇas for each of the Fathers) say to them 'svadhā! these are arghya waters' and then over the waters that are poured out he recites the verse (separately for each brāhmaṇa) 'The heavenly waters which have been produced on the earth, in the aerial regions and the waters that are terrestrial, that are golden-hued, and fit for sacrifice-may these waters bring us welfare and be favourable to us'. Pouring together (in the first vessel) what has been left in the vessels (for holding *arghya* water) he anoints his face with that water if he (the performer) desires that a son be born to him. 'He should not remove the first vessel into which the arghya water for the Fathers has been poured (till the end of the rite). The Fathers dwell therein concealed; thus did Śaunaka say'[972]. Just at that time the gifts of sandalwood paste, flowers, incense, lamp, and clothes are to be offered (to the brāhmaṇas).[973] Having taken some food (from the Sthālīpāka prepared for Piṇḍapitṛyajña) and smeared it with ghee he asks the brāhmaṇas' permission in the words 'I shall offer it in the fire' or in the words 'let me offer in the fire'. The permission is given (by the brāhmaṇas) in the words 'Let it be done' or in the words 'do it'. He then sacrifices in the fire as stated before[974] or (if the brāhmaṇas give permission) in the hands of the brāhmaṇas; since the Brāhmaṇa text says 'fire is verily the mouth of the Fathers'. If he offers in the hands of the brāh-

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972. 'He should not remove etc.' नारायण gives two explanations of this verse of Saunaka 'तृतीयेन पात्रेण प्रथमपात्रस्यापिधानमिच्छन्ति। अन्ये तु तत्रोक्त तृतीयार्थे सप्तमी। अर्घ्यपातितं प्रथमं पात्रं न्यग्बिलं कुर्यात् तच्च नोद्धरेदा समाप्तेरिति व्याचक्षुः।' आश्व. गृ. IV. 8. 14.

973. Gifts of गन्ध etc.—नारायण notes on आश्व. गृ. IV, 7. 10 that from अर्घ्यदान up to (excluding) the gift of the five articles गन्ध etc. the performer is यज्ञोपवीती (i. e. wears the sacred thread on the left shoulder and under the right arm). When giving these he becomes प्राचीनावीती (i. e, wears the sacred thread on the right shoulder and under the left arm).

974. यथोक्तं पुरस्तात्. The reference is to आश्व. श्रौ. सू. II, 6. 12 which reads: प्राचीनावीतीध्ममुपसमाधाय मेक्षणेनादायावदानसम्पदा जुहोति। सोमाय पितृमते स्वधा नमः अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम इति.' The word अथ in आश्व. गृ. IV. 8. 4 indicates that all the items of the पिण्डपितृयज्ञ upto होम (i. e. excluding it) are performed before this stage is reached. If the performer has no sacred fire and offers into the hands of the brāhmaṇas the same mantras are employed. The आश्व. श्रौ. सू. II. 6.13 allows an option viz. the word स्वाहा may be used but then the order of मन्त्रs will be अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा, सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा and he will be यज्ञोपवीती.

maṇas [975], then he assigns other food to them after they have sipped water and the food (that remains) is mixed with the food that is served to the brāhmaṇas, since it is said 'what is abandoned and given to (brāhmaṇas) [976] brings prosperity'. When he sees that the brāhmaṇas are satiated (with the food served at the dinner) he (the performer) should recite to the brāhmaṇas the verses containing the word 'madhu' (Ṛg. I. 90. [977] 6–8) and also the verse 'they have eaten, they have enjoyed themselves' (Ṛg. I. 82.2). Having asked the brāhmaṇas 'was the dinner perfect?' (they should reply that it was) and then having taken (portions of) the different foods that were enjoyed by the brāhmaṇas together with the sthālīpāka food in order [978] to make lumps (piṇḍas) thereof he should present all (the rest of the food) to the brāhmaṇas. After the brāhmaṇas have either accepted (the rest of the food) or given him permission (to use it for his family and friends), and after they have finished eating he should, before they have sipped water (performed ācamana after finishing their dinner), put down the lumps [979] (piṇḍas) for the Fathers. According to some teachers (piṇḍas are put down) after the brāhmaṇas have sipped water (on getting up from the dinner). Having strewn the food on the ground (near the remnants of food) and wearing the sacred thread on his left shoulder [980] he should (after turning the first vessel with top upside and after giving *dakṣiṇā* to the brāhmaṇas) bid adieu to the brāhmaṇas saying 'utter Om!

975. 'If in the hands.' मनु III. 212 provides that if a man has no Smārta fire, he should offer in the hand of the brāhmaṇa only. सृष्टं is explained by हरदत्त and नारायण as प्रभूतम्.

976. On IV. 8. 7. नारायण remarks: अर्धद्वयमत्र विधातुमिष्टमिति गम्यते। तत्राग्नौ हुत्वा भोजनेषु भोजनार्थमन्यदन्नमनुविशति ददात्येकोऽर्थः। यदि पाणिहोमः कृतस्तदाचान्तेषु अन्यदन्नं ददातीत्यपरः।.

977. Ṛgveda I. 90. 6–8 (मधुवाता ऋतायते etc.) are called मधुमती verses because each contains the word मधु several times.

978. On 'स्थालीपाकेन सह' नारायण observes 'स्थालीपाकेन सहेति भाष्यापूर्वः स्थालीपाकश्चोद्यते।...तेन यत्र स्थालीपाको विहितस्तत्र तेन भुक्तशेषेण च पिण्डनिपरणं भवति। यत्र तु स्थालीपाकविधिर्नास्ति तत्र भुक्तशेषेणैव केवलेन निपरणं भवति।'. In some श्राद्ध such as काम्यश्राद्ध, आभ्युदयिक, अष्टमीश्राद्ध and एकोद्दिष्ट there is no स्थालीपाक.

979. 'He should put down the lumps'. Here आश्वलायन appears to differ from मनु III. 253, 260.

980. The word 'उपवीय' shows that till then the performer was प्राचीनावीती.

Svadhā' or he should say 'Om! Svadhā!' (and they should reply 'Om! Svadhā!).[980a]

From considerations of space it is impossible to set out all the differences among the several gṛhyasūtras of the Ṛgveda, of the Taittirīya śākhā (viz. Baudhāyana, Āp., Hir., Bharadvāja and Vaikhānasa), of the Vājasaneya śākhā (such as Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana), of the Sāmaveda (such as Gobhila and Khādira) and of the Atharvaveda (being Kauśika sūtra). A few matters may be set out by way of illustration. The Āp. gṛ. (21. 3–4)[981] states that (after the brāhmaṇas are invited for śrāddha dinner) from the food prepared for the dinner a portion is taken out in a vessel and therefrom seven *āhutis* are cast into the fire with the seven mantras beginning with 'yan me mātā' (in Āp. M. P. II. 19. 1–7), the first two for the father, the next two for the grand-father, next two for the great-grand-father and the 7th to pitṛs in general with svāhā (but without naming any one) and then six oblations of clarified butter are offered with the six formulas beginning with 'svāhā pitre' (Āp. M. P. II. 19. 8–13). Thus the agnaukaraṇa in Āp. consists of two parts viz. āhutis of food and of clarified butter, while in Āśv. it is made only with food. Then the performer should touch all food (cooked food and the remainder of what is employed for offering into fire) with the three mantras 'eṣa te tata madhumān' (Āp. M. P. II. 19. 14–16), he should make the brāhmaṇas touch the food served to each with the *Yajus* formula 'the earth is thy vessel' (Āp. M. P. 2. 20. 1) quoted in n. 992 below.

Āp. gṛ. prescribes the mantra, 'putrān pautrān' (Āp. M. P. II. 20. 24) for moistening the piṇḍas, while Baud. gṛ. and Vaikhānasa gṛ. (IV. 6) employ the mantra 'ūrjam vahantīr' (Vāj. S. II. 34) for the same purpose. It may be noted that

980 a. It will be noticed that Āśv. omits several details viz. (1) he does not say that the brāhmaṇas for all the gods are to be seated, facing the east; (2) he mentions no mantra such as 'ye agnidadghā &c.;' (3) nothing is said about *dakṣiṇā* or about the performer following the brāhmaṇas a few paces and then returning with their permission.

981. The आप. गृ. 20. 9 sets down the whole procedure very succinctly after the brāhmaṇas have taken the dinner as follows: भुक्तवतोऽनुव्रज्य प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य द्वंद्वं दक्षिणाग्रान् दर्भान् संस्तीर्य तेषूत्तरैरपो दत्त्वोत्तरैर्दक्षिणापवर्गान् पिण्डान् दत्त्वा पूर्ववदुत्तरैरपो दत्त्वोत्तरैरुपस्थायोत्तरयोदपात्रेण त्रिः प्रसव्यं परिषिच्य न्युब्ज्य पात्राण्युत्तरं यजुरनवानं त्र्यवरार्ध्यमावर्तयित्वा प्रोक्ष्य पात्राणि द्वन्द्वमभ्युदाहृत्य सर्वतः समवदायोत्तरेण यजुषा शेषस्य ग्रासावरार्ध्यं प्राश्नीयात्।. The mantras referred to here occur in आप. म. पा. II. 19. 1 to II. 20. 26.

these sūtras which belong to the Taittirīya śākhā employ a verse from another recension viz. the Śukla Yajurveda.

The Hir. Gṛ. (II. 10–13) is more elaborate than the Āp. Gṛ. and not only sets out at length many of the mantras in Āp. M. P. II. 19–20, but adds some more. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (1–3) sets out the procedure of the monthly śrāddha almost in the same way as the Yājñavalkyasmṛti (which is set out below). It states that in the monthly śrāddha first come the daiva rites and then the various items occur as in the Piṇḍa-pitṛyajña 'piṇḍapitṛyajña-vad-upacāraḥ' (first sūtra of the 2nd kaṇḍikā). Some details which it contains (and Yāj. does not expressly mention) may be set out here. It gives in full the mantras 'tilosi', 'yā divyā' (both of which occur in Aśv. gṛ.), 'pṛthivī to pātram' (which is Āp. M. P. II. 20.1). It prescribes that in addition to the Gāyatrī and the Madhumatī verses the word 'madhu' should be repeated thrice. The holy texts to be repeated while the brāhmaṇas are engaged in eating according to Kātyāyana are the Gāyatrī (once or thrice), the five Rākṣoghnī verses (Ṛg. IV. 4. 1–5, Vāj. S. XIII. 9–13, Tai. S. I. 2. 14. 1–2), Puruṣasūkta, the Apratiratha hymn (Ṛg. X. 103. 1–13 = Vāj. S. 17. 33–34, 46 = Tai. S. IV. 6. 4. 1–4) and others. It expressly states that the *svadhāvācana* (Yāj. I. 244) relates to both paternal and maternal ancestors. Besides the blessing contained in Yāj. I. 246, Kātyāyana provides that the performer is to pray for and the brāhmaṇas are to pronounce two more viz. 'May the pitṛs be kind (lit. not dreadful) to us' and 'May our family prosper'. Dr. Caland in his learned work 'Altindischer Ahnencult' (pp. 150–152) appears inclined to hold that when a sūtrakāra has not actually said anything on certain items in the śrāddha ritual, one has no right to anticipate, on the authority of later authors, that those items existed in the times of that sūtrakāra. I demur to this conclusion. Dr. Caland has attached no weight to the fact that Jaimini (as stated in H. of Dh. vol. III p. 870) laid down the principle that one may include certain items from another śākhā. Jaimini's sūtras cannot be supposed to have laid down those propositions for the first time. Jaimini's sūtras are at least as old as some of the extant śrauta sūtras such as that of Kātyāyana. Therefore hardly any chronological conclusions can be drawn with certainty from the silence of a sūtrakāra as to a certain item in the śrāddha ritual.

We shall now turn to the metrical smṛtis. Manu treats of the procedure of śrāddha at some length in III. 208–265. But

as the procedure prescribed by the Yājñavalkyasmṛti (I. 226–249) is more compact and at the same time more lucid it is set out here. "When the invited brāhmaṇas come in the afternoon the performer having a *pavitra*[982] in his hand should seat them on seats and make them sip water. The brāhmaṇas invited should be even in number (2, 4 &c.) according to the performer's resources at the *daiva* rite (i. e. the Vaiśvadevika brāhmaṇas should be two, four &c.) and uneven (three or five &c.) at a (pārvaṇa) śrāddha for the *pitṛs*; the brāhmaṇas should be seated in a pure (cowdunged) plot screened on all sides and sloping towards the south. At the *daiva* (part of pārvaṇa-śrāddha when Viśve-devāḥ are to be invoked) two brāhmaṇas facing the east should sit down and three brāhmaṇas facing the north should be seated in the rite for the pitṛs or only one may be seated for each (i. e. in *daiva* and in *pitrya*). The same rule applies to a śrāddha for maternal ancestors. In both (pitṛśrāddha and mātāmahaśrāddha) the worship of Viśve-devas may be performed separately or simultaneously[983]. Then having poured water on the hands of the brāhmaṇas (meant for the rite in honour of viśve-devāḥ) and having given kuśa blades for a seat[984] (towards their right side on the seat already

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982. For the meaning of *pavitra* see H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 657 notes 1553–54. It is a ring-like loop of *darbhas* to be worn in the right hand or in both hands on the finger next to the little finger. The Mit. supplies that the invited brāhmaṇas also should have a *pavitra*. The गोभिलस्मृति I, 28 defines it and is quoted by अपरार्क pp. 43 and 480.

983. On Yāj. I. 228 'तन्त्रं वा', the मिता. remarks यदा तु द्वावेव ब्राह्मणौ लब्धौ तदा तु वैश्वदेवे पात्रं प्रकल्प्य उभयत्र एकैकं ब्राह्मणं नियुञ्ज्यात् । यथाह वसिष्ठः'. Vide p. 403 above for Vas. 11. 30–31 which the मिता. quotes. The विष्णुपुराण III. 15. 16 says: तथा मातामहश्राद्धं वैश्वदेवसमन्वितम् । कुर्वीत भक्तिसम्पन्नं तन्त्रं वा वैश्वदेविकम् ॥. तन्त्र means उभयोरुद्देशेन सकृदनुष्ठानम् or as शबर on जै. XI. 1.1 explains 'यत् सकृत् कृतं बहूनामुपकरोति तत् तन्त्रं यथा बहूनां ब्राह्मणानां मध्ये कृतः प्रदीपः'. Yāj. I. 228 contains several options about the number of brāhmaṇas. तन्त्रं वा–If the three paternal ancestors and the three maternal ancestors are to be invoked in one śrāddha one may separately invite two वैश्वदेवब्राह्मणs for पितृत्रय and two वैश्वदेवब्राह्मणs for मातामहत्रय; or only two ब्राह्मणs may do as वैश्वदेविकब्राह्मणs for both पितृत्रय and मातामहत्रय. Or even one may do as वैश्वदेवब्राह्मण for both.

984. For विष्टर (in या. I. 229), a seat made with 25 darbhas, vide H. of of Dh. vol. II. p. 543 n. 1259. The मिता. says that in addition to the vedic verse, a smārta verse should be recited for invoking the विश्वेदेवाः viz. 'आगच्छन्तु महाभागा विश्वेदेवा महाबलाः । ये यत्र विहिताः श्राद्धे सावधाना भवन्तु ते ॥'. This verse is स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1. 217. 32–33 and गरुडपुराण I. 218.7. On p. 478 अपरार्क attributes this स्मार्तमन्त्र to बृहस्पति and to the ब्रह्मपुराण on p. 481. The

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occupied), he should, with the permission of the invited brāhmaṇas, invoke the *Viśvedevāḥ* with the verse 'O! all the gods come!' (Ṛg. II. 41. 13 or VI. 52. 7; Vāj. S. VII. 34). Having scattered on the ground (near the brāhmaṇas representing Viśve-devāḥ) barley grains and then having cast into a vessel (of metal &c.) covered with a *pavitra* water with the verse 'śan no devīr' (Ṛg. X. 9. 4, Vāj. S. 36.12, Tai. Ār. IV. 42.4) and barley grains with the mantra 'Yavosi' (Vāj. S. V. 26, Tai. S. I. 3. 1. 1) and (also sandalwood paste and flowers) he should place in the hands (of the brāhmaṇas) the *arghya*[985] water with the verse 'yā divyā' (those heavenly waters &c., Tai. Br. II. 7. 15. 4). Then he should pour water into the hand (of the Vaiśva-deva brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas) for washing the hand and give to them perfumes, flowers, incense, lamp[986] and garment. Then wearing the sacred thread on the right shoulder[987] and

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कल्पतरु (on श्रा. pp. 142, 151) also attributes it to both. हेमाद्रि (on श्रा. p. 1226) quotes it from the ब्रह्मपुराण, while the मद. पा. p. 574 quotes it as बृहस्पति's. The मिता. notes that this and the following items up to (including) the gift of perfumes and four other things should be done by the performer being यज्ञोपवीती and having his right side towards the brāhmaṇas "एतच्च यज्ञोपवीतिना प्रदक्षिणं च कार्यं 'अपसव्यं ततः कृत्वा पितॄणामप्रदक्षिणम्' इति पित्र्ये विशेषस्मरणात् ।." अपसव्यं ततः कृत्वा—is या. I. 232 latter half. हेमाद्रि (on श्रा. pp. 1257-58) explains 'प्रदक्षिणादन्यदप्रदक्षिणम्। प्रदक्षिणं नामाभिमुखपुरुषवामाङ्गोपलक्षितं प्रदेशं प्रति कर्मणो निर्वहणं यथा पूर्वाभिमुखोपविष्टदैविकपङ्क्तिमूर्धन्यद्विजादारभ्य तत् पङ्क्तिचरमद्विजापवर्गता.'

985. 'Arghya water'—The मिता. states 'विश्वेदेवा इदं वो अर्घ्यमित्यर्घ्योदकं विनिक्षिपेत्.' The arghya is to be offered to each ब्राह्मण separately as required by गोभिलस्मृति III. 74 'अर्घेऽक्षय्योदके चैव पिण्डदानेऽवनेजने। तन्त्रस्य तु निवृत्तिः स्यात्स्वधावाचन एव च॥'. The printed मिता. reads the मन्त्र as यवोसि धान्यराजो वा, which is not found in the Vāj. S. or other *saṁhitās*. Similarly, the मिता. reads the मन्त्र 'या दिव्या आपः पयसा' for अर्घ्य, which is probably Ṛg. VII. 49.2 with the order of words changed. अपरार्क (p. 479) states that if there are two वैश्वदेवब्राह्मणs then water and yavas should be put in two vessels and the मन्त्र is to be repeated each time when putting water, putting यव and at each अर्घ्य. हेमाद्रि (on श्रा. p. 1229) defines; 'अर्घ्यो नामार्हणीयान. पुरतः संमाननार्थः प्रशस्तद्रव्यप्रक्षेपः'.

986. 'दीपे च विशेषः शङ्खेनोक्तः। घृतेन दीपो दातव्यस्तिलतैलेन वा पुनः। वसामेदोद्भवं दीपं प्रयत्नेन विवर्जयेत्॥' मिता. on या. I. 231. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर has the verse घृतेन (I. 141.12).

987. या. I. 232—अपसव्यं ततः. The Mit. quotes वृद्धशातातप that from hence the performer should face the south 'उदङ्मुखस्तु देवानां पितॄणां दक्षिणामुखः। प्रद्यात् पार्वणे सर्वं देवपूर्वं विधानतः॥'. 'Double-folded kuśas'—compare Āśv.

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under the left arm (i. e. being *prācīnāvīti*) the performer should offer to the pitṛs (i. e. to the three brāhmaṇas representing them) double-folded kuśas (with water) for a seat on the left (i. e. on the seats already occupied kuśas should be placed on the left side for a *viṣṭara*), he should then invoke[988] the pitṛs after taking the permission of the brāhmaṇas with the ṛk 'uśantas-tvā' (Ṛg. X. 16. 12, Vāj. S. 19. 70, Tai. S. II. 6. 12. 1), and should then recite in a low voice the mantra (āyantu naḥ pitaraḥ) 'may the pitṛs come to us' (Vāj. S. 19. 58). The performer, having scattered sesamum seeds all round (the brāhmaṇas) with the mantra 'Apahatā' (Vāj. S. II. 29), should employ sesamum for all purposes where *yavas* were employed (in the daiva part of the ceremony) and should perform all the items such as giving arghya (water for worship) for the pitṛs as before (for the daiva rite). After offering arghya water, he should collect the drops of the *arghya* water fallen from the hands (or fingers) of the brāhmaṇas in one vessel (the pitṛ vessel), them turn it upside

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above (p. 434). The स्कन्दपुराण (VII. 1. 206. 17) provides 'दाने स्नाने जपे होमे भोजने देवतार्चने। देवानामृजवो दर्भाः पितृणां द्विगुणास्तथा ॥.' In offering each of the things in daiva or *pitrya* rite in śrāddha water must be given before and after. The मिता. says that here the method called काण्डानुसमय (and not पदार्थानुसमय) has to be followed. These two are dealt with in Jai. V. 2.1-15. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 739-740. In this case if there are three brāhmaṇas, water, kuśas and water are all to be given to one, then the same three to the second and the same three to the third This is काण्डानुसमय. If water is given one after another to the three, then kuśas one after another to them, then water one after another to three, that would be पदार्थानुसमय. काण्ड means पदार्थवर्ग. हेमाद्रि (on श्रा. pp. 759-766) has an exhaustive and lucid discussion on these two. He states that पदार्थानुसमय is the rule but काण्डानुसमय also has to be followed in certain cases. For example, on p 764 he says 'चरणप्रक्षालनाचमनप्रदानासनोपवेशनान्ते पदार्थानुसमयेन । आसनक्षणावाहनार्घगन्धपुष्पधूपदीपाच्छादनानां पदार्थानां कृत्स्नं काण्डं वैश्वदेविकेषु द्विजेष्वपवर्ग्य पैतृकेष्वारम्भणीयम्' and relies on या. I. 229-234 to show that all items relating to वैश्वदेविकब्राह्मणs are first finished and those relating to पैतृकब्राह्मणs are then taken up i. e. there is काण्डानुसमय as to वैश्वदेविक and पैतृकब्राह्मणs. Vide हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) p. 1215 also.

988. आवाह्य (या. I. 233). The मिता. remarks "अथ पितॄन् पितामहान् प्रपितामहांश्चावाहयिष्य इति ब्राह्मणान् पृष्ट्वा आवाहयेति तैरनुज्ञातः उशन्तस्त्वा निधीमहि इत्यनयर्चा पित्रादीनावाह्य 'आयन्तु नः पितरः' इत्यादिना मन्त्रेणोपतिष्ठेत". It may be noted that in all cases where a question is to be put or permission is to be asked the performer addresses the chief among them or all of them as the श्राद्धसूत्र of का. says—'सर्वेषु प्रश्नेषु पंक्तिमूर्धन्यं पृच्छति सर्वान्वा (2nd कण्डिका of श्राद्धसूत्र).'

down[989] on the ground (over a bunch of kuśas with ends turned towards the south) with the mantra 'thou art a place for the pitṛs.'[990] Then, being about to perform '*agnaukaraṇa*' (offering in sacrifice), he takes the food mixed with clarified butter and asks the brāhmaṇas (in the words 'I shall offer into the sacred fire') and when permitted by them with the words 'do so', he offers into the fire (two portions cut off from the food mixed with ghee) with a *mekṣaṇa*[991] according to the

989. The मिता. remarks that on the vessel turned upside down the *pavitras* covering the three vessels should be placed and unguents, flowers, incense, lamp and garment should be offered to the brāhmaṇas with the words 'पितरयं ते गन्धः' etc.

990. पूर्ववत्—The मिता. very briefly sets forth how the items are to be repeated for पैत्र्यब्राह्मणs: 'राजतादिषु पात्रेषु त्रिष्वयुग्मकुशनिर्मितकूर्चान्तर्हितेषु 'शं नो देवीः' इति मन्त्रेणापः क्षिप्त्वा 'तिलोऽसि सोमदेवत्यः' इत्यादिमन्त्रेण तिलान् गन्धपुष्पाणि च क्षिप्त्वा स्वधार्घ्याः—इति ब्राह्मणानां पुरतोऽर्घ्यपात्राणि स्थापयित्वा या दिव्या इति मन्त्रान्ते पितरिदं ते अर्घ्यं पितामहेदं ते अर्घ्यं प्रपितामहेदं ते अर्घ्यमिति ब्राह्मणानां हस्तेष्वर्घ्यं दद्यात्।. Vide आश्व. गृ. in note 966 above for शं नो देवीः, तिलोऽसि, या दिव्याः. The मन्त्र is 'अपहता असुरा रक्षांसि वेदिषदः' (वाज. सं. II. 29). The बह्वृचगृह्यपरिशिष्ट, अपरार्क (p. 484) and others say that the name and gotra of the ancestors should be mentioned in offering पाद्य, अर्घ्य, गन्ध etc. Therefore the अर्घ्य will be offered in the form 'अमुकगोत्र पितरमुकशर्मन्नेतत्तेऽर्घ्यम्'. हलायुध (folio 18a on श्राद्धसूत्र) notes that in the case of वाजसनेयs the last words are एष तेऽर्घः.

991. मेक्षण is a rod of Aśvattha wood one *aratni* long having at one end a square board four *aṅgulas* in length (to be used like a mixing spoon). Two offerings are made with the words अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नमः, सोमाय पितृमते स्वधा नमः (वाज. सं II. 29 where the same formula occurs with स्वाहा for स्वधा नमः). Acc. to Baud. Dh. S 'I. 8. 8-11 the offerings are three viz. to सोमाय पितृपीताय, यमायाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते, अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्विष्टकृते. Acc. to मद. पा. p. 590 this is peculiar to Baudhāyanīyas. The ब्रह्मपुराण q. by मद. पा. (p. 591) speaks of आहुतित्रय and so does Brahmāṇḍa (upodghāta, 11.93–94). If the performer is आहिताग्नि and has observed सर्वाधान method he offeres into दक्षिणाग्नि; if he is not आहिताग्नि or has followed अर्धाधान method he offers into gṛhya or āvasathya fire and if he has neither the śrauta or gṛyha fire he offers into the hand of the brāhmaṇa. For the procedure of पिण्डपितृयज्ञ (which varies from one śākhā and sūtra to another) vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1085–1090 and मनु III. 212 for पाणिहोम. The food offered on the hand has to be mixed with the food served in the plate and then eaten. When there are several pitrya brāhmaṇas invited the पाणिहोम is to be made on the hand of the best of the brāhmaṇas acc. to the मद. पा. 585 and स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 462). both of which quote गोभिल II. 120 'पित्र्ये यः पङ्क्तिमूर्धन्यस्तस्य पाणावनग्निमान्। हुत्वा मन्त्रवदन्येषां तूष्णीं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत्॥'. हलायुध holds that, since या. (I. 237 हुतशेषं प्रदद्यात्तु भाजनेषु समाहितः) employs the word भाजनेषु without any qualification, the remnants of the food for होम should be put in all plates including those for दैवब्राह्मणs. The सौरपुराण (19.22) says: अग्नेरभावाद्विप्रस्य पाणौ होमो विधीयते। महादेवस्य पुरतो गोष्ठे वा भक्तयान्वितः॥

mission[995] (in the words 'partake of it along with your friends and relations'), he should spread (in front of the brāhmaṇas for pitṛs) the remaining food on (*darbhas* with their ends to the south placed over) the ground (with the mantra 'ye agnidagdhāḥ', those that were cremated and those that were not cremated &c.) and he should pour water once for each into his hand (for rinsing the mouth). Collecting all the cooked food (i. e. portions from each food) with sesamum mixed with it, the performer facing the south should offer the piṇḍas near the remains of the food (eaten by the brāhmaṇas) according to the procedure of the piṇḍapitṛyajña. For maternal ancestors also the same procedure is to be followed (from invoking the Viśve-devāḥ to offering piṇḍas). Then he should give water to the brāhmaṇas for sipping. Then (he should say to the brāhmaṇas 'pronounce benediction'); after making the brāhmaṇas say '*svasti*', he should offer water into their hands for saying 'let it be inexhaustible (after he requests them 'let it be inexhaustible'). Then after giving to the brāhmaṇas dakṣiṇā (fee or presents)[996] according to the ability of the performer, he should say to the brāhmaṇas "may I request you to repeat the word '*svadhā*'" and when they permit him in the words 'do request us', he should say 'let svadhā be pronounced for the persons concerned' (i. e. the pitṛs and maternal ancestors). Then the brāhmaṇas should say 'let there be svadhā'. On the brāhmaṇas saying so, he should sprinkle water on the ground and say 'let the Viśve-devāḥ be pleased' and when the brāhmaṇas have responded with 'let the Viśve-devāḥ be pleased' he should mutter the follow-

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995. तदन्नं विकिरेद्भूमौ दद्याच्चापः सकृत् सकृत्। या. I. 241. The मिता. comments: तदन्नं पितृस्थानब्राह्मणस्य पुरस्तादुच्छिष्टसंनिधौ दक्षिणाग्रदर्भान्तरितायां भूमौ तिलोदकप्रक्षेपपूर्वकं 'ये अग्निदग्धा' इत्यनया ऋचा निक्षिप्य पुनस्तिलोदकं प्रक्षिपेत्। तदनन्तरं ब्राह्मणहस्तेषु गण्डूषार्थं सकृत्सकृदपो दद्यात्।. ये अग्निदग्धाः—this is Ṛg. X. 15. 14 translated above (p. 196). Sesamum grains and water were to be cast before as well as after placing the food on the ground. The Mit. speaks of the verse ये अग्निदग्धा as a *ṛk*, so it should be taken to be Ṛg. X. 15. 14; but later works like the श्राद्धतत्त्व (pp. 231–32) prescribe that the two verses quoted in the beginning of note 1007 below should be recited here. Vide तै. ब्रा. III. 1. 1. 7 for pitṛs that were अग्निदग्ध and that were not so in another connection.

996. या. I. 244 दत्त्वा तु दक्षिणां शक्त्या—देवल prescribes that दक्षिणा was to be given to the पित्र्यब्राह्मण first and then to the वैश्वदेविकब्राह्मण 'दक्षिणां पितृविप्रेभ्यो दद्यात्पूर्वं ततो द्वयोः' q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 483). मत्स्य 17. 50–52, वायु 75. 14–15 specify the various gifts. Vide n. 1008.

ing:[997] 'May donors increase in our family, may the (study or teaching of) Vedas prosper and progeny increase (in our family); may our faith (in rites for pitṛs) not vanish and may there be plenty of things for us to make gifts'[998]. Having muttered this, having spoken pleasing words to the brāhmaṇas,[999] having fallen at their feet (after going round them) he being pleased in his heart should dismiss the brāhmaṇas with the mantra 'Vāje vāje' (Ṛg. VII. 38.8, Vāj. S. 21.11, Tai. S. I. 7.8.2), the sending them away being so arranged that the brāhmaṇas representing the pitṛs start first,[1000] (i. e. first goes the representative of the great-grandfather, then the one for the grandfather, then the one for the father and then the one representing the Viśvedevāḥ). The vessel in which the drops of *arghya* water from the hands of the brāhmaṇas had been collected before should be turned face upwards[1001] and then the brāhmaṇas should be dismissed. After following the departing brāhmaṇas (up to the boundary) and going round them, he (should return) and should eat the food that (remains in the

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997. दातारो नो—या. I. 246. This very verse occurs in मनु III. 252, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 73.28, पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड 9. 117), मत्स्य 16. 49–50, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140.42.

998 The विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 73.30, मत्स्य 16.50–51, पद्म (सृष्टि 9.118) add another verse to या. I. 246 viz. अन्नं च नो बहु भवेदतिथींश्च लभेमहि। याचितारश्च नः सन्तु मा च याचिष्म कंचन ॥.

999. इत्युक्त्वोक्त्वा प्रिया वाचः—या. I. 247. अपरार्क p. 512 quotes from बृहस्पति two verses stating what should be said 'अद्य मे सफलं जन्म भवत्पादाभिवन्दनात्। अद्य मे वंशजाः सर्वे गतास्तेऽनुग्रहाद् दिवम् ॥ अत्र शाकादिदानेन क्लेशिता ये मयेदृशाः। तत्क्लेशजातं चित्तेन विस्मृत्य क्षन्तुमर्हथ ॥.'

1000. For पितृपूर्वं विसर्जनम् (या. I. 247), compare विष्णुपुराण III. 15.48 and विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 15 which say 'वैश्वदेवानिविष्टानां चरमं हस्तधावनम्। विसर्जनं च निर्दिष्टं तेषु रक्षा यतः स्थिता ॥'. The मिता. adds, following the मत्स्यपुराण 17.59, that before dismissal he should touch the brāhmaṇas with the tip of a darbha 'वाजे वाजे इति जपन् कुशाग्रेण विसर्जयेत्'.

1001. The Mit. notices that the upturning of the vessel should be done (as the termination त्वा in कृत्वा indicates) first before the mantra 'vāje vāje' (Yāj. I. 247) is recited and after the brāhmaṇas recite the benedictory mantras, and then the brāhmaṇas start. Compare Jai. IV. 3.37 for क्त्वा denoting पूर्वकालता. संस्रव has two meanings, viz. (1) the drops of water fallen from the hands of the brāhmaṇas when arghya water was offered to them (Mit.), (2) the drops of water that remain in the arghya vessels. श्रीदत्त in his पितृभक्ति (D. C. Ms. 152 of 1892–95) says 'संस्रवपदं ब्राह्मणहस्तस्रुतजलपरमिति निबन्धारः। कर्कभाष्ये तु अर्घपात्रस्थशेषीभूतजलं संस्रवपदमित्युक्तम्। युक्तं चैतत्। शेषे प्रतिपत्तेरपेक्षितत्वात्।' folio 25b.

house after) the brāhmaṇas representing the pitṛs have partaken of it. He and the brāhmaṇas that partook of the śrāddha dinner should abstain from sexual intercourse on the night of the śrāddha day [1002].

Many of the Purāṇas contain detailed descriptions of the śrāddha to be performed on every *amāvāsyā*; for example, Matsya 17. 12–60 (closely resembling Yāj. 225–259), Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 15. 13–49, Mārkaṇḍeya 28. 37–60, Kūrma (II. 22. 20–62), Padma (sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa) 9. 140–186), Brahmāṇḍa (Upodghātapāda, chap. 12), Skanda VI. 224. 3–51, Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140. 6–44. The Agnipurāṇa chap. 163 verses 2–42 are the same (with very slight variations and the omission of 2½ verses) as Yāj. I. 227–270; while Agni chap. 117 contains many verses that closely follow the Āśv. Gṛ. and Yāj. Similarly the Garuḍapurāṇa contains numerous verses that are identical with Yājñavalkya's. For example, compare Yāj. I. 229–239 with Garuḍa I. 99. 11–19. The Purāṇas closely follow the Gṛhyasūtras, Manu and Yājñavalkya and often employ the same mantras and formulas, though here and there they introduce some details. As remarked by the Varāhapurāṇa 14.51, the procedure for śrāddha is the same in all Purāṇas (iyaṁ sarvapurāṇeṣu sāmānyā paitrikī kriyā). For sample, a summary of the procedure in the Padma (sṛṣṭi 9. 140–186) is set out here. The performer having honoured the Viśve-devāḥ (i. e. the brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas invited to represent them) with a seat and with yava grains and flowers should fill two vessels with water and should place them on a *pavitra* of *darbhas*. The water should be offered with the verse 'śam no devīr' (Ṛg. X. 9.4) and the yava grains with 'Yavosi'. They should be invoked with the verse 'Viśve devāsaḥ' (Ṛg. II. 41.13) and yavas should be scattered about with the two verses 'Viśve devāsaḥ' (Ṛg. II. 41. 13–14) and he should scatter about *yava* grains with the verse 'thou art yava, the king of grains &c.' (quoted [1003] below). After decking the brāhmaṇas with sandalwood paste and flowers

1002. या I. 249. मिता. adds that by reason of the word 'tu' in Yā. I. 249 the performer and the brāhmaṇas have to shun eight actions enumerated in n. 924 above.

1003. यवोऽसि धान्यराजस्तु वारुणो मधुमिश्रितः। निर्णोदः सर्वपापानां पवित्रमृषिसंस्तुतम्॥ पद्म (सृष्टि) 9.144. कौ. गृ. सू. III. 6.5 is almost identical. The मिता. on या. I. 231 refers to the मन्त्र 'यवोसि धान्यराजो वा' which appears to be the same. अपरार्क p. 479 speaks of 'यवोसि' as a *yajus*.

he should honour them with water with the verse[1004] 'yā divyā' (vide n. 985). After taking leave of the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas that have been honoured with *arghya* he should begin the pitṛ yajña. He should prepare seats with darbhas on them, worship three vessels, place *pavitras* on them and pour water in them with 'śam no devīr' (Ṛg. X. 9.4), should cast sesamum grains in them with 'tilosi' and then put in them sandalwood and flowers. (Then verses 147–152 speak about the vessels to be employed). He then should announce the names and gotra of his ancestors and give darbhas in the hands of the brāhmaṇas. He should then request brāhmaṇas with the words 'I shall invite the pitṛs' and when they reply 'let it be so' he should invoke the pitṛs with the two verses 'uśantas tvā' (Ṛg. X. 16.12) and 'ā yantu' (Vāj. S. 19.58). Then, having offered *arghya* to the brāhmaṇas (representing the pitṛs) with 'yā divyā' (vide n. 985), having given them sandalwood paste and the other things including garment as the last, he should collect the remainder of the water (in the *arghya* vessels) into the vessel meant for the father and should keep aside the latter to the north with its top turned downwards with the words 'thou art a seat of the pitṛs'. Then he should begin to serve various kinds of food after bringing the utensils in which the food was cooked and holding them with both hands. (Verses 157–165 speak of the various foods to be offered and the periods of gratification caused thereby to the pitṛs). While the brāhmaṇas are engaged in eating he should recite the Vedic hymns[1005] referring to

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1004. मिता. on या. I. 231 refers to the मन्त्र 'या दिव्या आपः पयसा'. The mantra in आश्व. गृ. IV. 7.13 'या दिव्या आपः पृथिवी' has been translated above, as also the mantra 'tilosi' from Āśv. gṛ. IV. 7.8. How the offering of *tila* water in the midst of mango trees serves two purposes is finely stated in the following verse: एको मुनिस्ताम्रकराग्रहस्तो ह्याम्रेषु मध्ये सलिलं ददाति। आम्राश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च तृप्ता एका क्रिया द्व्यर्थकरी प्रसिद्धा॥ पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड 11.77), वायु 111. 37, अग्नि 115. 40; compare महाभाष्य 'आम्राश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च प्रीणिताः।' vol. I. p. 14.

1005. The verses of the पद्म (सृष्टि 9.165–169) about what is to be recited are quoted by अपरार्क p. 502, the first verse स्वाध्यायं etc. being मनु III. 232. Compare नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 28.65–68) which among others mentions राक्षोघ्न, वैष्णव and पैतृक (Ṛg X. 15.1–13) मन्त्रs, पुरुषसूक्त, त्रिमधु, त्रिसुपर्ण. The Śāntika chapter, acc. to हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) p. 1075, is वाज. सं. 36.10 ff. which begins शं नो वातः पवताम्, The मधुब्राह्मण is what is called मधुविद्या contained in the बृह. उ. II 5 (beginning with इयं पृथिवी सर्वेषां भूतानां मधु) and छान्दोग्य III. 1 (beginning with असौ वा आदित्यो देवमधु). The मण्डलब्राह्मण is an उपनिषद् (vide Indische Studien III. p. 325). हेमाद्रि (on श्रा.) p. 1075 says 'यदेतन्मण्डलं तपतीत्यादि मण्डलब्राह्मणम्.

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the Fathers, all the Purāṇas, various eulogies of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, the Sun, Rudra and the Vedic hymns addressed to Indra, Rudra and Soma and the Pāvamānī verses, the Sāmans called Bṛhat, Rathantara and Jyeṣṭha Sāman, the chapter on Śānti rites (propitiatory rites for removing evil events or prognostications), the Madhubrāhmaṇa, the Maṇḍala Brāhmaṇa and whatever else gives pleasure to the brāhmaṇas and the performer; and the Mahābhārata also should be recited, as it is very dear to the pitṛs. After the brāhmaṇas have finished their dinner the performer should collect together in a lump portions from all kinds of food, put water over them and spread[1006] it (on the ground over darbhas) in front of the plates of the dining brāhmaṇas and should say[1007] 'May those persons in our

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These verses of the पद्मपुराण about what it is to be repeated occur in मत्स्यपुराण also (17.37–39). The राक्षोघ्नमन्त्रs are five verses (Ṛg. IV. 4.1–5 = Vāj. S. XIII. 9–13 = Tai S. V. I. 2.14). हेमाद्रि (श्रा. pp. 1069–1073) first sets out the texts mentioned by मनु, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र and the पुराणs, then gives the vedic texts to be repeated by the respective followers of the four Vedas (pp. 1073–1074), then deals with the Saptārcis mantra (vide note 1020). Ultimately Hemādri and Śr. P. say that if a man does not know much he should engage in गायत्रीजप.

1006. The verse सार्ववर्णिकमन्नाद्यं...विकिरन्भुवि in पद्म (सृष्टि 9. 170) is the same as Manu III. 244, मत्स्य 17.41 and विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81.21.

1007. अग्निदग्धाश्च ये जीवा येऽप्यदग्धाः कुले मम। भूमौ दत्तेन तृप्यन्तु तृप्ता यान्तु परां गतिम्॥ येषां न माता न पिता न बन्धुर्न चान्यमित्रं न तथान्नमस्ति। तत्तृप्तयेऽन्नं भुवि दत्तमेतत्प्रयान्तु योगाय यतो यतस्तत्॥ असंस्कृतप्रमीतानां त्यागिनां कुलयोषिताम्। उच्छिष्टभागधेयानां दर्भेषु विकिरासनम्॥ पद्म. (सृष्टि 9. 171–173). These verses occur in मत्स्य 17. 42–44 which presents some various and better readings (viz. प्रयान्तु लोकेषु सुखाय तद्वत् and त्यक्तानां कुलयोषिताम्); बौ. गृ. सू. II. 10.42 (येऽग्निदग्धा जाता जीवा ये ये त्वदग्धाः...गतिम्॥) is almost the same as the first verse. The verse असंस्कृत° is मनु III. 245, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81.22, and Skandapurāṇa VI. 218. 10–11. कात्यायन as quoted by अपरार्क p. 505 reads 'ये अग्निदग्धा ये अनग्निदग्धा जीवा जाता कुले मम। भूमौ...गतिम्॥.' Halāyudha in his com. on Kātyāyana's Srāddhasūtra holds that अदग्धाः is the proper reading and अनग्निदग्धाः is a bad reading and relies on a verse of the Brahmapurāṇa (folio 26b). त्यागिनां कुलयोषितां in मनु III. 245 and elsewhere is explained in different ways. The words may mean 'of persons who abandoned wives descended from good families' or 'of women who forsook their families' or 'of those who committed suicide and of childless women.' One can appreciate the kindly and noble sentiments underlying the above verses. In honouring the piṇḍas, Manu III. 217 (which speaks of salutation to the six seasons) is deemed to provide for salutation *of the six seasons as identified with six ancestors* mentioned in the words रसशोषजीवस्वधाघोरमन्यु named in वाज. सं. II. 32 'नमो वः पितरो रसाय...पितरो मन्यवे.' Vide श्राद्धतत्त्व pp. 241–242.

family that were cremated or not cremated be gratified by the food offered on the ground and being gratified may they attain the highest world (or bliss)! May this food offered on the ground for the gratification of those that have neither father nor mother nor relative nor any other friend and have no food (offered by any one else in śrāddha) proceed for union with them wherever it may have to go'! The remainder of the food cooked for śrāddha and food spread on the ground are the lot (or share) of those that died without the saṁskāras (*caula*, *upanayana* and the like) being performed on them, that abandoned their *gurus* and of (unmarried) women of the family. Finding that the brāhmaṇas are satisfied (by the dinner) he should give water once in the hand of each brāhmaṇa, should place on the ground smeared with cow's dung and urine darbhas with their ends turned to the south and place on them piṇḍas made from all kinds of foods (cooked for the śrāddha dinner) following the method employed in *Piṇḍapitṛyajña* after washing them with water. He should then utter the names and gotra (of the ancestors to whom the piṇḍas are to be offered) and should offer flowers and the rest and should again wash them (piṇḍas). He should perambulate the piṇḍas thrice holding darbhas in his hand and he should light lamps and offer flowers for the piṇḍas. When the brāhmaṇas sip water after eating the dinner, he should himself sip water and give water once to each of the brāhmaṇas and flowers and *akṣatas* and then *akṣayyodaka* with sesamum grains. He should then make according to his means presents (to the brāhmaṇas) of cows,[1008] land, gold, clothes, splendid beds and whatever else was liked by the brāhmaṇas or by the performer himself or his father. He should not be stingy in his presents. Then he should request the brāhmaṇas to say

1008. पद्म (सृष्टि 9. 180) is: गोभूहिरण्यवासांसि भव्यानि शयनानि च। दद्याद्यदिष्टं विप्राणामात्मनः पितुरेव च॥. There is epigraphic and other recorded evidence for gifts of land in śrāddhas. An inscription of Karṇadeva, son of Gāṅgeyadeva of the Cedi year 793 (1042 A. D.) records the grant of a village (called Susi) to a brāhmaṇa on the occasion of the Sāṁvatsarika śrāddha of Gāṅgeyadeva at Prayāga. Vide I. A. vol. 16 pp. 204-207 for the grant of a village by the Chandella king Devavarmadeva in *saṁvat* 1107 (1050-51 A. D.) on the anniversary of his mother's death and a grant in 1790 A. D. by Fattesing Bhosle, prince of Akkalkot, to a learned brāhmaṇa of thirty *bighas* of land on the 10th day of his father's death (Bhārata-itihāsa-saṁśodhana-maṇḍala, vol. 29, parts 1 and 2, 1948 p. 41). In the Āśramavāsikaparva 14. 3-4 युधिष्ठिर is said to have made gifts of gold and jewels, slaves, blankets, villages and fields, elephants and horses with their trappings and of girls to ब्राह्मणs in श्राद्धs for भीष्म, द्रोण, दुर्योधन and others.

'svadhā' and they should do so. Then he should request the brāhmaṇas to pronounce the following benedictions and should receive them from them while he faces the east. They are 'May the pitṛs be kind (not dreadful) to us'; the brāhmaṇas should say 'let it be so'; 'May our family increase!'; they should say 'so be it'; 'May donors in my family prosper and also (the study of) the Vedas and progeny and may these benedictions come out true!'; they should respond 'let it be so'. He should then remove the piṇḍas and request the brāhmaṇas to utter the word 'svasti' and they should do so. The remains of the food eaten by the brāhmaṇas remain (unremoved or unwiped) till the brāhmaṇas are dismissed; then he should perform the (usual) daily rites *Vaiśvadeva, balihoma*[1009] &c. The remnants of food that lie on the ground are the share of the group of slaves that were straight-forward and not roguish (dishonest or shirkers). The performer holding a vessel full of water and muttering the verse 'vāje vāje' (Ṛg. VII. 38. 8, Vāj. S. IX. 18, Tai. S. I. 7. 8. 2) should touch the brāhmaṇas with the tip of kuśas and dismiss them. He should follow them out of his house for eight paces, should circumambulate them, should then return with his relatives, sons and wife, should then perform the daily *Vaiśvadeva* and *balihoma*. Then after Vaiśvadeva he should together with his relatives, sons, guests and servants partake of the food that remains in the cooking pots after what was eaten by the brāhmaṇas.

It should be noticed how closely the Padmapurāṇa follows the procedure (including the mantras) contained in Yājñavalkya. What procedure the author of a Purāṇa follows depends upon his learning and the sūtra that he studied. For example, the Viṣṇudharmottara I.140 appears to rely on the Āp. gr. and the Āp. M. P. (II. 19–20), since I. 140. 12 refers to Āp. M. P. II. 19. 1., I. 140. 29–30 to Āp. M. P. II. 19. 14–16, I. 140. 35 to Āp. M. P. II. 20. 1. Similarly, Skanda (VI. 224. 3–51) closely follows Āśv. gṛ and Yāj.

Owing to the difference in details of śrāddha in the several gṛhyasūtras, the smṛtis and the purāṇas, an important question arises whether a person should perform a śrāddha rite only in accordance with the gṛhyasūtra of his own Veda or Śākhā or whether he may perform it after the inclusion (*upasaṁhāra*) of

1009. पद्म, सृष्टिखण्ड 9. 185–186 are the same as मनु III. 265. 246 and Matsya 17. 56–57.

the several items found in other sūtras and smṛtis though not included in the kalpa or gṛhya sūtra of his own Śākhā. This topic is discussed at great length by Hemādri (on śrāddha) pp. 748–759 and briefly by Medhātithi on Manu II. 29 and XI. 216, by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 325, Aparārka p. 1053 and others. Those who are for strictly following the details in one's own sūtra alone argue as follows: If one were at liberty to include details other than those contained in one's own sūtra, the order of the details (*krama*) given in one's sūtra and the time specified for each detail would be interfered with. Besides, if the addition of details were permissible, one would be liable to the charge of giving up the usages of one's own family handed down for generations. These objectors rely upon such passages as that of the Viṣṇudharmottara which states 'He who violating (the dictates of) his own sūtra acts according to a sūtra meant for others, treats thereby his own sage (the author of his sūtra) as unauthoritative and incurs (the blame of) doing what is improper.'[1010] The smṛtis that contain additional details may be meant for those men who have no *kalpa* or *gṛhya* sūtra of their own or they may be useful for śūdras.

Those who espouse the view that as far as possible all details found in several gṛhyasūtras and smṛtis on one rite should be included by every one rely mainly on Jaimini II. 4. 8–33 which is called 'śākhāntarādhikaraṇanyāya' or 'sarvaśākhāpratyaya-nyāya'. The principal sūtra is Jai. II. 4. 9.[1011] It is established in this sūtra that the *prayojana* (purpose) or *phala* (reward to be secured) of the rite is the same in different sūtras and smṛtis. For example, the rewards of śrāddha are stated to be the same in all sūtras and smṛtis (vide notes 787–790 above); then the *dravya* (materials) and the deity are the same (in *Pārvaṇa* śrāddha the deities are the paternal ancestors and the materials,

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1010. यः स्वसूत्रमतिक्रम्य परसूत्रेण वर्तते। अप्रमाणमृषिं कृत्वा सोऽप्यधर्मेण युज्यते॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 127. 148–149.

1011. एकं वा संयोग-रूप-चोदनाख्याविशेषात्। जै. II. 4. 9 (separate as चोदना + आख्या + अविशेषात्); on this शबर explains 'तदेव प्रयोजनमुद्दिश्य तदेव विधीयमानं प्रत्यभिजानीमः। रूपमप्यस्य तदेव द्रव्यदेवतम्। पुरुषप्रयत्नस्तादृश एव चोद्यते। नामधेयं चाविशिष्टम्। तेन तदेव कर्म सर्वशाखास्विति प्रत्ययः।'. The तन्त्रवार्तिक explains 'संयोग इति प्राधान्यात् फलसंयोगग्रहणम्।...चोदनेति सर्वथाप्यर्थभावनाविषयो विधिः।'. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, p. 870 for a brief explanation of this सर्वशाखाप्रत्ययन्याय. मेधा. on मनु XI. 216 puts the maxim very briefly as 'आप्यायस्व सं ते पयांसि-इति स्मृत्यन्तरोक्तो विधिरपेक्षितव्यः। एकशाखत्वात्सर्वस्मृतीनामसति विरोधे समग्रं योज्यं विरोधे तु विकल्पः।'.

viz. *kuśas*, tilas, water, vessels, foods &c. are the same in all works). The effort that is enjoined (the *vidhi*) is the same and the name (*Pārvaṇaśrāddha*, Ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha &c.) is the same. Therefore, on account of these various signs one easily recognizes that the same rite is being dealt with by all sūtras, even if many of them differ in details. It cannot be said that smṛtis will be useful for those who have no sūtras of their own. Each man of the first three varṇas is attached to some sūtra or other by the tradition of his family or caste. Similarly, the smṛtis cannot be held to be meant for śūdras alone, since the smṛtis mainly deal with *upanayana*, the study of the Vedas, *agnihotra* and other matters with which a śūdra has no concern. Similarly, the objection that if details were allowed to be inserted from other sūtras and smṛtis the *krama* and *kāla* prescribed in one's sūtra might have to be set aside, the reply is contained in Jai. I. 3. 5–7 (explained at great length in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 841–848).[1012] The *śruti* says 'after getting ready a bundle of kuśa grass he prepares the *vedi* (altar)'. Here a certain order of acts is laid down. If after a bundle of kuśas is got ready, the man has a sneeze, he has to sip water (perform *ācamana*) immediately as laid down by Manu V. 145 and Vas. III. 38 before he prepares the vedi. So the objector says the *krama* will be interfered with. The reply is that the sequence (*krama*) is only a characteristic of the items in the śruti passage, that all that is meant is that the making of the altar follows the getting ready of a kuśa bundle, but that it is not meant that the making of the vedi should follow immediately after the bundle is got ready. Therefore, the conclusion is that whatever detail is not in conflict with one's own śākhā or sūtra may be included in the rite one is about to perform, but if there is a direct conflict, then one should stick to one's own sūtra. As observed by Kātyāyana 'whatever is declared, whether in great detail or in brief, in one's own gṛhyasūtra about a rite, if he performs that much, it may be taken that he has done all that is required of him; but what is not handed down in one's śākhā (or sūtra) but is contained in another śākhā and is not in conflict with one's own śākhā, should be performed by the learned, as in the case of

1012. अपि वा कारणाग्रहणे प्रयुक्तानि प्रतीयेरन्। जै. I. 3. 7. On this शबर observes: आचान्तेन कर्तव्यं यज्ञोपवीतिना कर्तव्यं ... इत्येवंलक्षणान्युदाहरणानि। किमेतानि श्रुतिविरुद्धानि न कर्तव्यानि उताविरुद्धानि कार्याणि चेत्पश्यसि तैरप्यनुष्ठीयमानैर्वैदिकं किंचित् कुप्यति तस्मादविरुद्धानीति। नैतदेवम्। क्रमपरिच्छिन्नं हि कर्म बाधेरन्। कथम्। वेदं कृत्वा वेदिं कुर्वीतेतीमां श्रुतिमुपलभ्यावस्तरा वेदं वेदिं चानुष्ठीयमानमाचमनादि'. This pūrvapakṣa is refuted later on.

agnihotra and the like'. [1013] The first verse of Kātyāyana may be explained as applying where one's śākhā or sūtra deals with a matter without requiring any addition or as the next best course where one is not able to supplement one's sūtra owing to some unseen cause or owing to human difficulties. The Saṅgraha says that where different items of the śrāddha rite are declared to be performed at different times and there is no agreement among the sages, one should follow one's gṛhya-sūtra, but where one's gṛhyasūtra is silent as to a certain item or as to the stage when it is to be performed, there is an option and one may follow the opinion of some sage as to that item. [1014] It appears that even the ancient gṛhya sūtras exhibit tendencies that led to the sarvaśākhā-pratyaya-nyāya e. g. Āśv. gṛ. (q. in n. 966) employs several passages (such as 'Tilosi', 'Yā divyā,' which do not occur in the Ṛgveda.)

It is owing to this maxim of 'sarvaśākhā-pratyayanyāya' that medieval digests go on heaping up details from all smṛtis and purāṇas in their descriptions of the several śrāddhas, the procedures of which were not originally very extensive.

The Kūrmapurāṇa [1015] provides that the performer should before noon time is past bring to his house the invited brāhmaṇas

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1013. अविरुद्धानि तु परशाखाम्नातानि सर्वाण्यप्यङ्गान्युपसंहृत्य कर्मानुष्ठेयम्। तदुक्तं भविष्यपुराणे। यन्नाम्नातं स्वशाखायां पारक्यमविरोधि यत्। विद्वद्भिस्तदनुष्ठेयमग्निहोत्रादिकं यथा॥ इति। हेमाद्रि (on श्रा.) p. 759. This verse is गोभिलस्मृति I. 35 (reads परोक्तमविरोधि and ० होत्रादिकर्मवत्). अपरार्क p. 8 and स्मृतिच. I. p. 5 quote this verse as कात्यायन's and also another of his 'बह्वल्पं वा स्वगृह्योक्तं यस्य कर्म प्रकीर्तितम्। तस्य तावति शास्त्रार्थे कृते सर्वः कृतो भवेत्॥'. हेमाद्रि (on श्रा.) p. 756 quotes this last verse as वैजवापन's. Both verses (बह्वल्पं० and यन्नाम्नातं०) are quoted as from the परिशिष्ट by हलायुध in his com. on the श्राद्धसूत्र of कात्यायन (folio 30 a). The स्मृतिच. (I p. 5) adds another half verse of कात्यायन viz. आत्मतन्त्रे तु यन्नोक्तं तत्कुर्यात्पारतन्त्रिकम्'. In आत्मतन्त्र, तन्त्र means सिद्धान्त (i. e. one's सूत्र). अग्निहोत्रादिकं यथा—This is explained by श्राद्धसौख्य (टोडरानन्द folio 64a) as follows: 'यथा छन्दोगानामनुक्तोपि यजुर्वेदविहितोऽग्निहोत्रविधिः क्रियते'.

1014. यान्यत्र कालभेदेन कर्माणि मुनयो जगुः। स्वगृह्योक्तानुसारेण विकल्पस्तेषु युज्यते॥ न गृह्यादिस्मृतिर्येषां श्राद्धादावुपलभ्यते। कर्तुमर्हन्ति ते कृत्स्नं यस्य कस्य मुनेर्मतम्॥ संग्रह q by हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1484). The श्रा क्रि. कौ. p. 125 briefly puts the position as follows 'आकांक्षितं परशाखोक्तमपि कर्तव्यमनाकांक्षितं तु न कर्तव्यमेव। पुराणोक्तं तु आकांक्षितमनाकांक्षितं वा सामान्यधर्मत्वात्सर्वैरेवानुष्ठेयम्। तत्रापि स्वशाखोक्ताविरोधिना कार्यमिति।'. The following verse quoted from Gobhila by the com. on Śāṅ. Śr. S. IV. 4. 10–15 takes a very strict view 'ऊनो वाप्यधिको वापि यः स्वशाखोत्थितो विधिः। तेन सन्तनुयाद्यज्ञं न कुर्यात्पारतान्त्रिकम्॥'.

1015. ततो निवृत्ते मध्याह्ने लुप्तरोमनखान् द्विजान्। अवगम्य (अभिगम्य?) यथामार्गं प्रयच्छेद्दन्तधावनम्। आसध्वमिति सञ्जल्पन्नासीरंस्ते पृथक् पृथक्। तैलमभ्यञ्जनं स्नानं स्नानीयं च पृथग्विधम्। कूर्म (उत्तरार्ध 22. 20–21). In B. I edition the order of verses is different. The first is quoted by हेमाद्रि (on श्रा.) p. 1167 from देवल and कूर्म and by कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 117) from देवल.

who have shaved themselves and pared their nails, should offer them materials for brushing the teeth and request them to sit down on separate seats, then give them oil and water for bathing. It will be seen that here the purāṇa has added several details that were not provided for by the Āśv. gr. (n. 966), Manu (III. 208), Yāj. (I. 226) and even by some of the purāṇas such as the Varāha 14. 8, which begin the procedure with seating the brāhmaṇas in the afternoon on seats after welcoming them. Many more examples could be given, but that attempt is not made owing to considerations of space.

Before proceeding to give some idea as to how the pārvaṇaśrāddha was dealt with in medieval and modern times, observations must be made on several relevant matters, on which there is a difference of views or which are important in a general way.

When the invited brāhmaṇas come after noon, it is provided in some of the purāṇas that two *maṇḍalas* should be made in front of the performer's residence for receiving the brāhmaṇas. For example, the Nāradapurāṇa states[1016] 'the maṇḍala for a brāhmaṇa performer should be square (four cornered) in size, for a kṣatriya triangular, circular for a vaiśya and for a śūdra mere sprinkling of the ground with water is enough.' The *maṇḍalas* should be made on ground smeared with cowdung and with water mixed with cow's urine. Of the two maṇḍalas one should be on the northern side sloping towards the north and the other on the southern side sloping towards the south. On the northern maṇḍala kuśas with points towards the east should be placed along with akṣata (unbroken or whole) grains and on southern one double-folded kuśas should be placed along with sesamum grains. The northern maṇḍala should generally be two cubits on each side while the southern one should be four cubits on each side. The brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas that represent the *Viśvedevāḥ* should be honoured in the northern maṇḍala first by the performer himself with water for washing their feet after bending his right knee and the brāhmaṇas representing the pitṛs should be then honoured in the southern maṇḍala with water for washing the feet (hence called *pādya*) after bending his left knee. The mantra at the time of offering *pādya* is 'śan

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1016. श्राद्धार्थं समनुज्ञातः कारयेन्मण्डलद्वयम् । चतुरस्रं ब्राह्मणस्य त्रिकोणं क्षत्रियस्य च । वैश्यस्य वर्तुलं ज्ञेयं शूद्रस्याभ्युक्षणं भवेत् ॥ नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 28 32-33); सौरपुराण (19. 13-14) has almost the same verse as चतुरस्रं etc. Vide अपरार्क p. 475 for मण्डलs.

no devīr' Rg. X. 9. 4).[1017] After the mantra is recited he should give the water to the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas and to the pitrya brāhmaṇas as noted below (in n. 1017). After the pādya water is offered the brāhmaṇas should come in front of the maṇḍalas and sip water (take *ācamana*).

The ancient sūtras and smṛtis like those of Manu and Yāj. (I. 229) say generally that the Viśvedevāḥ are to be invoked, but some of the later smṛtis (such as Prajāpati, verses 179-190) and purāṇas contain verses enumerating ten names of Viśvedevās and assign two each (out of the ten) to five classes of śrāddhas. They say: [1018] "in śrāddha performed in an *iṣṭi* the *Viśvedevas* are Kratu and Dakṣa, in a Nāndīmukha śrāddha they are Vasu and Satya, in Kāmyaśrāddha Dhuri and Locana, in naimittika śrāddha Kāla and Kāma and in Pārvaṇa-śrāddha Purūravas and Ārdrava'. According to the Sm. C. and Hemādri a seat (*āsana*) is to be given to the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas and invocations are to be made in the several śrāddhas after taking the names enumerated above. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 229, Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 1225) and other digests state that the mantras

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1017. शं नो देवीरिति मन्त्रं पठित्वा पुरूरवार्द्रवसंज्ञका विश्वेदेवा इदं वः पाद्यमिति दद्यात्। एवं पित्रर्थे ब्राह्मणपादयोरपि शन्नो देवीति मन्त्रान्ते पितरमुकगोत्रामुकशर्मन् वसुरूप इदं ते पाद्यमिति दद्यात्। मद. पा. p. 567.

1018. क्रतुर्दक्षो वसुः सत्यः कालः कामस्तथैव च। धुरिश्चारोचनश्चैव तथा चैव पुरूरवाः। आर्द्रवश्च दशैते तु विश्वे देवाः प्रकीर्तिताः। बृहस्पति q. by अपरार्क p. 478, कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 142), स्मृतिच (श्रा. pp. 442-443); the words विश्वे देवाः are to be kept separate and not compounded. 'इष्टिश्राद्धे क्रतुर्दक्षः सत्यो नान्दीमुखे वसुः। नैमित्तिके कालकामौ काम्ये च धुरिलोचनौ॥ पुरूरवा आर्द्रवश्च पार्वणे समुदाहृतौ। बृह. q. by अपरार्क p. 478, श्रा. प्र. p. 23, मद. पा. (p. 573-574) which explains 'इष्टिश्राद्धमाधानादौ क्रियमाणं ...। नैमित्तिके सपिण्डीकरणे। कामनयानुष्ठेयगयामहालयादि श्राद्धं काम्यम्।. इष्टिश्राद्ध is the कर्माङ्गश्राद्ध, 9th among the 12 श्राद्धs quoted above from विश्वामित्र (in n. 858). The श्रा. प्र. p. 23 notes the different readings of some of the names such as पुरूरवस् and आर्द्रव, some saying the first is पुरूरव and the second is माद्रव. The printed श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 199 has माद्रव and so has टोडरानन्द (श्राद्धसौख्य folio 57 a). श्राद्धतत्त्व explains इष्टिश्राद्ध as इच्छाश्राद्ध and नैमित्तिक as एकोद्दिष्ट. The श्रा. क्रि. कौ. (p. 56) reads पुरोरवा: and माद्रवाः. कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 142) reads मार्द्रवश्च दशैते तु. The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (III. 3, 30-31) enumerates the ten विश्वेदेवाः somewhat differently. It reads 'पुरूरवो माद्रवसो रोचमानश्च'. The ब्रह्माण्ड (III. 12. 3 ff.) states that ten sons were born to विश्वा, one of the daughters of दक्ष. When they performed severe *tapas* on a Himālaya peak Brahmā gave them the boon they wanted (श्राद्धेस्माकं भवेदंशो ह्येष नः काङ्क्षितो वरः) and the pitṛs agreed. The pitṛs said (verse 13) 'अग्रे दत्त्वा तु युष्माकमस्माकं दास्यते ततः। विसर्जनमथास्माकं पूर्वं पश्चात्तु दैवतम्॥.' This legend is obviously an attempt to explain the usage about vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas at a श्राद्ध.

for invoking the Viśvedevas in Pārvaṇa-śrāddha are two viz. 'Viśvedevāsa āgata' (Ṛg. II. 41. 13) and 'āgacchantu mahābhāgā' (q. above in note 984), while the Sm. C. (p. 444) prescribes an additional mantra 'viśve devāḥ śruṇuta' (Ṛg. VI. 52. 13).

The general rule is that the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas are to be seated facing the east and the *pitrya* brāhmaṇas facing the north (Yāj. I. 228, Varāha 14. 11), but there were at least five differing views about the directions which the brāhmaṇas were to face as Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 1200) points out. It is further pointed out by Hemādri and others (like Yāj. I. 247) that in all items in the procedure of śrāddha the Vaiśvadevika brāhmaṇas have precedence except in the matter of washing the hand smeared with the remains of food and the final dismissal of the brāhmaṇas at the end of the śrāddha.[1019] It may be noted that in southern and western India brāhmaṇas invited at śrāddha are worshipped, while in Bengal it is the effigy made with darbhas (darbhabaṭu) that is worshipped as shown by the late M. M. Haraprasad Shastri (Catalogue of Mss. vol. III p. 406). The Śrāddha-tattva (folio 2b) of Raghunandana provides for the same: '*purūravā-mādravasor viśveṣāṁ devānām pārvaṇa-śrāddham kuśamayabrāhmaṇe kariṣye iti pṛcchet.*'

In the Vāyupurāṇa[1020] it is stated that the following mantra should be repeated thrice at the beginning and end of a śrāddha and at the time of offering piṇḍas ; on repeating it the pitṛs come quickly to the śrāddha and rākṣasas run away and that the mantra saves the pitṛs in all the three worlds. The mantra is 'Perpetual adoration to the gods, to pitṛs and to the great *Yogins*, to svadhā, to svāhā'. The Sm. C. (on śrāddha

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1019. उच्छिष्टावलिप्तहस्तक्षालनं विसर्जनं च वर्जयित्वा सर्वेषां श्राद्धीयपदार्थानां वैश्वदेविकपूर्वकत्वात्। हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) p. 1196. This is supported by विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 15 'वैश्वदेवनिविष्टानां चरमं हस्तधावनम्। विसर्जनं च निर्दिष्टं तेषु रक्षा यतः स्थिता॥.'

1020. मन्त्रं वक्ष्याम्यहं तस्मादमृतं ब्रह्मनिर्मितम्। देवताभ्यः पितृभ्यश्च महायोगिभ्य एव च। नमः स्वधायै स्वाहायै नित्यमेव भवन्त्युत। आद्यावसाने श्राद्धस्य त्रिरावर्तं जपेत्सदा। पिण्डनिर्वापणे चैव जपेदेतत्समाहितः। पितरः क्षिप्रमायान्ति राक्षसाः प्रद्रवन्ति च। पितॄंस्तांस्त्रिषु लोकेषु मन्त्रोऽयं तारयत्युत॥ वायुपुराण 74. 15–18. These verses are स्कन्द VII. I. 206. 114–116, ब्रह्माण्ड III. 11. 17–18, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 68–72 (with slight variations). The मन्त्र occurs in गरुडपुराण (आचारखण्ड) 218. 6. कल्पतरु (श्रा.) p. 144 quotes these. In most other purāṇas the मन्त्र ends 'नित्यमेव नमो नमः'. हेमाद्रि (on श्राद्ध pp. 1079 and 1208) calls it सप्तार्चिस् and notes that it occurs in seven purāṇas. It is stated in some works that the reading भवन्त्युत is for followers of सामवेद. अत्र सम्बन्धनामगोत्रशब्दानां नानाक्रमदर्शनाद्विकल्पः। स ऐच्छिकः शाखाभेदेन वा व्यवस्थितः। श्रा. प्र. p. 29.

p. 441) states that the mantra should be repeated after the brāhmaṇas come and sit down and before kuśas are placed on the seats of the brāhmaṇas. This mantra occurs also in Brahmapurāṇa 220. 143, Brahmāṇḍa (Upodghātapāda 11. 22), Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140. 68–70 and is styled 'saptārcis' by the last two and is said to be equal to Aśvamedha.

A certain order of words about referring to the ancestors in offering a seat, offering kuśas on seat, and *arghya* is laid down by Bṛhaspati,[1021] some of the purāṇas and the digests. As almost in every case there are different views here also. Bṛhaspati says: 'when giving a seat, when offering *arghya*, or piṇḍas, in offering ablutions of water on piṇḍas, the performer has to declare his relation to each of the ancestors, the names and *gotras* of the ancestors and also the form in which each of the ancestors is to be contemplated (viz. as Vasu, Rudra, Āditya respectively). It is further laid down that the genitive is to be employed for the ancestor's name in offering a seat (to the *pitrya* brāhmaṇa) and *akṣayyodaka*, the objective in invoking the pitṛs, the dative in offering food, the vocative in other cases.

It is laid down that the performer has to take *ācamana* (sip water) in śrāddha rite six times viz., at the commencement of śrāddha, when washing the feet of invited brāhmaṇas, in worshipping them, in making the *vikira*, in offering piṇḍas and at the end of the śrāddha.[1022]

1021. आसने चार्घ्यदाने च पिण्डदानेऽवनेजने । सम्बन्धनामगोत्राणि यथार्हमनुकीर्तयेत् ॥ बृहस्पति q. by हेमाद्रि (on श्रा. p. 1257). The word आसन is only illustrative and is meant to include आवाहन and other पित्र्य items. अक्षय्यासनयोः षष्ठी द्वितीयावाहने तथा । अन्नदाने चतुर्थी स्याच्छेषाः सम्बुद्धयः स्मृताः ॥ सम्बन्धं प्रथमं ब्रूयात् नामगोत्रं तथैव च । पश्चाद्रूपं विजानीयात् क्रम एष सनातनः ॥ श्राद्धकालिका folios 6b and 7a, श्राद्धसंग्रह q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा.) p. 442 and p. 449. The verse अक्षय्यासन° is found in नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 28. 38) also. The स्मृत्यर्थसार (p. 50) quotes it as from श्लोकसंग्रहकारस्मृति. The formula may be 'ओं अमुकगोत्राणाममुकशर्मणामस्मत्पितॄणां सपत्नीकानां वसुरूपाणामिदमासनम्'; then in place of पितॄणां पितामहानां and प्रपितामहानां and in place of वसुरूपाणां, रुद्ररूपाणां and आदित्यरूपाणां will have to be respectively employed. The words may also be employed in the singular as the स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 449) says 'एतासु च षष्ठ्यादिविभक्तिषु सर्वत्रैकवचनबहुवचनयोर्विकल्प एव स्मृतिपुराणगृह्यादिषु पितृपितामहादिशब्दानां क्वचिदेकवचनान्तया क्वचिद्बहुवचनान्तया च प्रयोगदर्शनात्'.

1022. स्मृत्यन्तरे । श्राद्धारम्भेऽवसाने च पादशौचे द्विजार्चने । विकिरे पिण्डदाने च षट्सु चाचमनं चरेत् ॥ q. by पृथ्वीचन्द्र (on श्रा.) folio 62a.

An important question which exercised the minds of many medieval writers was 'who was the real recipient (*sampradāna*)[1023] of the offerings made in śrāddha, whether the brāhmaṇas or the pitṛs'. Relying on the words of the Āśv. gṛ. IV. 8. 1 (quoted above in n. 966 'etasmin kāle ... dānam) and passages of the purāṇas such as the Varāha (13. 51) 'vibhave sati viprebhyo asmān uddiśya dāsyati', the Mahārṇavaprakāśa, Harihara and some others held that brāhmaṇas were the recipients, while others like Śrīdatta, relying on indications furnished by *śruti* passages like Vāj. S. 19. 36 (*akṣan pitaraḥ amīmadanta pitaraḥ*) and such formulas as '*pitar-etat te arghyam*' or '*etadvaḥ pitaro vāsaḥ*,' held that the real recipients intended were the pitṛs, but, as the pitṛs had gone to another world and could not be bodily present to receive the gifts of such things as sandlewood paste, flowers and clothes, the latter were only handed over or assigned to the brāhmaṇas who were for the moment contemplated as not different from the pitṛs.[1023a] Vide Sm. C. (śrāddha pp. 447-449), Śr. Pr. pp. 30-31 for a discussion of these two view-points. It should, however, be noted that the water given to the brāhmaṇas and the *dakṣiṇā* given to them were only meant for the brāhmaṇas, the former for purification and the latter for the inexhaustible merit that dakṣiṇā to brāhmaṇas conferred.

It is to be noted that in the invocation (*āvāhana*) of the pitṛs there is a divergence of views as to the mantras to be employed and also as to the stage when it is to be made. Hemādri (śrāddha, pp. 1254-56) states that there were five different views on the latter point, the three most important of which were that *āvāhana* should come before giving darbhas as *āsana* on the left side of the seats of the *pitrya* brāhmaṇas or after giving such darbhas or after *agnaukaraṇa*. As regards the former (viz. the mantras), Yāj. (I. 232-233), the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa and several others say that the invocation mantra is 'uśantas-tvā' (Ṛg. X. 16. 12, Vāj. S. 19. 70, Tai. S. II. 6. 12. 1) and after the *āvāhana* the performer should perform *japa* of the verse 'ā yantu naḥ' (Vāj. S. 19. 58). The Viṣṇudharma-sūtra[1024] (73. 10-12) states 'The performer after having received

1023. For the meaning of संप्रदान, vide पा. I. 4. 32 'कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स संप्रदानम्'.

1023 a. Vide n. 911 for the विष्णुपुराण passage (III. 14. 22-23) which means 'that will give jewels &c to brāhmaṇas for our benefit'.

1024. ततो ब्राह्मणानुज्ञातः पितृनावाहयेत्। अपयन्त्वसुरा इति ह्यनया तिलैर्यातुधानानां विसर्जनं कृत्वा। एत पितरः सोम्यास आ मे यन्त्वेतु पितर इत्यावाहनं कृत्वा ...। विष्णु.

(*Continued on the next page*)

permission from the brāhmaṇas should invite the Manes. Having driven away the *Yātudhānas* (demons) by strewing grains of sesamum and by reciting the two mantras (the first of which begins with 'may the Asuras go away') he should invite the Manes with the four mantras 'come near, ye Manes!', 'conduct them here, O Agni!', 'May my (ancestors) come near', 'this is your (share), O Manes'. Hemādri (śrāddha pp. 1260–1267) points out how the mantras differ according to different writers.

There is a great deal of discussion about *agnaukaraṇa* mentioned in Yāj. I. 236–237. The Mit. points out that if a man has kept śrauta fires by the *sarvādhāna* method then in the pārvaṇa–śrāddha that he offers after piṇḍapitṛyajña he offers homa in the Dakṣiṇāgni, as he has no *aupāsana* (i. e. gṛhya) fire and supports this by quoting a passage which occurs in the Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa.[1025] But if a man consecrates the śrauta fires by the ardhādhāna[1026] method, then he has to offer pārvaṇa homa in the *aupāsana* fire and one who is without śrauta fires and has kept up only aupāsana fire has to offer *homa* in that fire. One who has neither the śrauta fires nor the gṛhya fire offers it in the brāhmaṇa's hand only. The Mit. relies on Manu III. 212 and on two verses from a gṛhya and comes to the conclusion that one who has consecrated śrauta fires performs homa in dakṣiṇa fire in the case of Anvaṣṭakya śrāddha, the śrāddha on the day previous to Aṣṭakā, the śrāddha

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(Continued from the last page)

धर्मसूत्र 73. 10–12. The commentator notes that here it is the काठकीय–श्राद्ध-प्रयोग that is set out. Compare काठकगृह्य 63. 2–4, 10 for all these mantras except one 'पितृनावाहयिष्यामीत्युक्त्वा । अपयन्त्वसुरा इति द्वाभ्यां तिलैः सर्वतोऽवकीर्य । एत पितर आगच्छत पितर आ मे यन्त्वन्तर्दधे पर्वतैरिति जपित्वा । ये मामकाः पितर एतद्वः पितरोऽयं यज्ञ इति तिसृभिः कल्पितासमभिमृशति ।.' Dr. Caland (the editor) notes that these are not found in the printed काठकसंहिता. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (I. 140, 9–10) corresponds with the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र completely as to the mantras. अन्तर्दधे पर्वतैः—is आप. म. पा. II. 19. 4.

1025. यथाह मार्कण्डेयः । आहिताग्निस्तु जुहुयाद्दक्षिणाग्नौ समाहितः । अनाहिताग्निस्त्वौपसदे अग्न्यभावे द्विजेऽप्सु वा ॥ मिता. on या. I. 236. This is विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 18, as हेमाद्रि says 'तथैतदाह विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे मार्कण्डेयः' (श्रा. p. 1330).

1026. For सर्वाधान and अर्धाधान, vide above n. 991. यतः श्राद्धाङ्गभूतौकरणहोमो लौकिकाग्नौ न युक्तः किंतु दक्षिणाग्नावेव स च दर्श एव भवति । अतो दर्शेन विना नाग्निहोत्रिणः श्राद्धम् । श्रीदत्तमन्त्र (on श्राद्ध folio 24a). न दर्शेन विना श्राद्धमाहिताग्नेर्द्विजन्मनः ॥ मनु III. 282, which कुल्लूक explains as 'आहिताग्नेर्द्विजस्य नामावास्याव्यतिरेकेण कृष्णपक्षे दशम्यादौ श्राद्धं विधीयते.'

performed in the dark half of each month on some day from the 5th and in the case of pārvaṇa-śrāddha, but he performs, in the case of *kāmya*, ābhyudayika, Ekoddiṣṭa and Aṣṭakā śrāddhas, *homa* only on the pitrya brāhmaṇa's hand; while for one who has kept no sacred fire the *homa* is to be made only in the *pitrya* brāhmaṇa's hand. Vide Hemādri (śrāddha pp. 1328–1344), Bālambhaṭṭī (on ācāra p. 518). The Ṭodarānanda (śrāddha-saukhya) following Manu III. 282 states that one who is an Agnihotrin cannot perform a pārvaṇa-śrāddha on any day except on *darśa* (i. e. on amāvāsyā).

Another important question on which there is great divergence concerns the number of āhutis to be offered in *agnau-karaṇa*, the deities to whom the homa was to be offered, the order in which the deities were to be named and the form of words to be used. On these matters there appears to have been divergent views from very ancient times. According to the Śat. Br. II. 4. 2. 12–13 the āhutis were only [1027] two, they were offered to Agni and Soma in that order and the word svāhā was used at the end. According to the Tai. Br. I. 3. 10. 2–3 [1028] the āhutis were three, they were to be offered to Soma, Agni and to Yama in that order and the formula ended with 'svadhā namaḥ' (and not with 'svāhā'). It is therefore that a verse of Kātyāyana [1029] says " whether to employ the word 'svāhā' or the words 'svadhā namaḥ', whether and when to wear the sacred chord in the yajñopavīta form or prācīnāvīta form and what was to be the number of āhutis—all these have to be understood from one's own sūtra." The difference of views which is noticed as far back as the Brāhmaṇas persists in the sūtras, smṛtis, purāṇas and is briefly indicated here. The Āp. Gṛ. S. (quoted above in n. 981) speaks of thirteen āhutis, seven with food and

1027. स जुहोति । अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहेरयत्यग्नौ मेक्षण-मभ्यादधाति तत्स्विष्टकृद्भाजनम् । शतपथब्रा. II. 4. 2. 13. The words अग्नये... पितृमते स्वाहा are वाज. सं. II. 29.

1028. सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नम इत्याह । ... अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम इत्याह य एव पितृणामग्निस्तं प्रीणाति । तिस्र आहुतीर्जुहोति । तै. ब्रा. I. 3. 10. 2–3, on which सायण explains 'शाखान्तरगतेन यमायाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते स्वधा नम इति मन्त्रेणैका-माहुतिमाभिमेत्य त्रित्वं विदधाति'. Vide अथर्व. 18. 4. 71–74 also. आप. श्रौ. (I. 8. 3–4 and 6) says 'सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नम इति दक्षिणाग्नौ जुहोति । यमायाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते स्वधा नम इति द्वितीयाम् । अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम इति तृतीयाम् । न यमाय जुहोतीत्येके ।.'

1029. स्वाहा स्वधानमः सव्यमपसव्यं तथैव च । आहुतीनां तु या संख्या सावगम्या स्वसूत्रतः ॥ कात्यायन q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 458).

six with clarified butter. Two āhutis only are mentioned by Āśv. Śrauta II. 6. 12 (quoted in note 974), Āśv. gr. IV. 7. 20, Śaṅkha-Likhita,[1030] Kāṭhaka-gṛhya, Nārada-purāṇa (pūrvārdha 28. 48) and Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa. Three āhutis are mentioned by most of the smṛtis and purāṇas, such as Baud. Dh. S. II. 14. 7,[1031] Śāṅ. Śrauta IV. 3 and gṛhya IV. 1. 13, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73. 12, Manu III. 211, Varāhapurāṇa[1032] (14. 21–22), Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa (Upodghātapāda 11. 93–94), Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140. 19. It is here that various combinations of the order of the deities and of the words 'svāhā' and 'svadhā' occur. The texts of a few works are cited below for illustration. Some give the order as 'Soma accompanied by the pitṛs, Agni the carrier of *kavya*, Yama Aṅgiras;' while others give it as 'Agni the carrier of *kavya*, Soma accompanied by the pitṛs, Yama Vaivasvata &c.' It is further provided that the *āhuti* to Agni is made to the southern side of the fire, to Soma on the northern part of it and in the middle of the two sides to Vaivasvata (Yama).[1033]

Various rules of etiquette about serving food, about the way brāhmaṇas are to eat and related matters have been laid down from ancient times and are observed even now. The Sm. C. (p. 465–470), Hemādri (śrāddha pp. 1367–1384), the Śr. Pr. pp. 116–123 and other digests contain elaborate rules on these matters. Yāj. I. 237 prescribes that what remains after offering homa should be served in the plates meant for the brāhmaṇas representing the Fathers and the plates should preferably be

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1030. धूपगन्धमाल्यैरलङ्कृत्य ब्राह्मणान्सघृतमन्नमनुज्ञाप्य दर्भैर्दक्षिणाग्रैरग्निं परिस्तीर्य जुहुयादग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहेति । शङ्खलिखितौ q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1354), मद. पा. p. 589; अग्नौ करवाणीत्युक्त्वा । अग्निं परिस्तीर्य सोमाय पितृमते स्वधा नमोऽग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम इत्यग्नौ हुत्वा। काठकगृह्य 63. 89; उपासनाग्निमाधाय स्वगृह्योक्तविधानतः । सोमाय च पितृमते स्वधा नम इतीरयेत् ॥ अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम इतीह वा । स्वाहान्तेनापि वा प्राज्ञो जुहुयात्पितृयज्ञवत् ॥ नारद (पूर्वार्ध 28. 48–49).

1031. अन्नस्यैव तिस्र आहुतीर्जुहोति । सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नमः स्वाहा । यमायाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते स्वधा नमः स्वाहा। अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्विष्टकृते स्वधा नमः स्वाहेति। तच्छेषेणान्नमभिघार्यान्नस्यैता एव तिस्रो जुहुयात् । बौ. ध. सू. II. 8. 8–12. It should be noted that बौ. employs both स्वधा नमः and स्वाहा. अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा यमायाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते स्वाहेति । शाङ्खायनश्रौत. IV. 4. 1.

1032. अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहेति प्रथमाहुतिः । सोमाय वै पितृमते दातव्या तदनन्तरम् ॥ वैवस्वताय चैवान्या तृतीया दीयते हुतिः ॥ वराहपु. 14.21–22; सोमायादौ पितृमते कव्यवाहनाय चाग्नये । यमाय चैवाङ्गिरसे हुत्वा प्रयतमानसः । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 19–20; मार्कण्डेय (28.47–48) prescribes the आहुतिs as अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा, सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा, यमाय प्रेतपतये स्वाहा ।.

1033. दक्षिणतोऽग्नये नित्यं सोमायोत्तरतस्तथा । एतयोरन्तरे नित्यं जुहुयाद्वै विवस्वते ॥ q. by कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 169).

of silver. Kātyāyana says that the performer who has no fire (either śrauta or smārta) should offer the homa on the hand of the most eminent among the pitrya brāhmaṇas to the accompaniment of a mantra and should offer the remainder in the plates of the other pitrya brāhmaṇas.[1034] The Sm. C. notes that Yama and the Vāyupurāṇa say that the homa should be in the hand of the *daiva* brāhmaṇa and that on account of this conflict there is an option. It is further provided that a portion of the food from which agnaukaraṇa was effected should be kept aside for making piṇḍas (Mārkaṇḍeya and Garuḍa). The food should be served by the performer himself wearing the sacred thread in the *yajñopavīta* form or by his wife of the same caste or by some attendant who is purified. Manu (III. 224-229, 231-233, 236-238) contains several rules.[1034a] 'Himself holding the vessels full of food with both hands the performer should slowly place them near the brāhmaṇas seated for dinner while thinking of his ancestors. That food, which is brought near the brāhmaṇas without (the containing vessel being held in) both hands, is snatched away by wicked *asuras*. The performer being himself pure and concentrating his mind (only on the serving of food) should place the vessels containing the

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1034. पित्र्ये यः पङ्क्तिमूर्धन्यस्तस्य पाणावनग्निमान् । हुत्वा मन्त्रवदन्येषां तूष्णीं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत् । गोभिल II. 120 q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 462.

1034 a. मनु III. 225 is almost the same as Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 22 and Vas. XI. 25. मनु III. 224 is पाणिभ्यां तूपसंगृह्य स्वयमन्नस्य वर्धितम् । विप्रान्तिके पितॄन्ध्यायञ् शनकैरुपनिक्षिपेत् ॥. अन्नस्य is to be taken as अन्नेन and पिठरं is to be understood after वर्धितम्. The श्राद्धतत्त्व (p. 229) explains: 'पाकस्थाल्याः आकृष्य प्रथमं भोजनपात्रे न देयं किन्तु स्थाल्यादिकं पाणिभ्यां पात्रसमीपे भूमौ संस्थाप्य पश्चादुभाभ्यां पाणिभ्यां पात्रान्तरिताभ्यां श्राद्धे परिवेशयत्' and relies on मत्स्य 17. 28 'उभाभ्यामपि हस्ताभ्यामाहृत्य परिवेशयेत्', ब्रह्मोद्याश्च—मनु III. 231. ब्रह्मोद्यs are such riddles, questions and answers as are found in Tai. S. VII. 4. 18, वाज सं. 23. 9–12 (कः स्विदेकाकी चरति etc.) and 23. 45–62; Ait. Br. (अथ ब्रह्मोद्यं वदन्त्यग्निर्गृहपतिरिति हैक आहुः ॥). Or ब्रह्मोद्य may mean, as explained by मेधा० (ब्रह्मणि वेदे या उद्यन्ते कथ्यन्ते ता ब्रह्मोद्याः), the legends of the wars of gods and asuras, the slaughter of Vṛtra, the story of Saramā &c. Or ब्रह्मोद्याः कथाः may mean 'talks relating to the exposition of Brahma' (the cause of the world), as Kullūka explains. विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81. 19 is हविर्गुणाश्च ब्राह्मणा ब्रूयुर्दाता पृष्टाः. This is like Manu III. 236. मनु III. 237 is the same as वसिष्ठ XI. 32, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 81. 20, Aṅgiras verse 133, Bṛhad-Yama III. 27, Laghu-Śātātapa 103, Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140. 46. About the sacred texts and other verses to be recited by the performer (being upavītin) while the brāhmaṇas are dining, vide above p. 445 and notes 994 and 994a. जमदग्नि says 'अपसव्येन कर्तव्यं सर्वं श्राद्धं यथाविधि । सूक्तस्तोत्रजपं हुत्वा विप्राणां च विसर्जनम् ।' q. by श्राद्धप्र of पृथ्वीच. folio 101a,

side dishes viz. broths, vegetables, milk, curds, ghee and honey on the ground (and not on a wooden stool or the like). The vessels placed on the ground should contain various kinds of food (such as sweetmeats, *pāyasa*), fruits and roots, delicious flesh, spiced or perfumed drinks. Having brought near the brāhmaṇas all the vessels containing food, he should serve it in the plates declaring the characteristic of each kind of food (saying 'this is sweet, this is sour' &c.). The performer while serving should not shed tears (remembering his ancestors), he should not become angry, should not utter falsehood, he should not touch the (vessel containing) food with his foot and should not serve food with a violent jerk. Whatever is liked by the brāhmaṇas should be served to them without any grumbling and he should talk about Brahma (or about Vedic riddles), because that is agreeable to the pitṛs. The performer himself, being pleased, should (by his sweet speech) gladden the brāhmaṇas, should make them partake of food without hurry, and should urge them on frequently (to take more food) by declaring the good points of the various items of food. All food should be steaming hot and the brāhmaṇas should partake of it silently and should not themselves speak of the good points of the food even when questioned by the performer. When the food is hot, when the brāhmaṇas eat in silence and when the good qualities of the food are not declared by the brāhmaṇas, the Fathers partake of it. When a brāhmaṇa (at a śrāddha dinner) partakes of food, having his head covered with a garment (a turban &c)or facing the south or having his sandals on, evil spirits partake of the food (and not the Fathers).' As early as Gaut., it is provided that the food for the brāhmaṇas should be of the highest sort and should be enriched by condiments and flavoured.

Some of the other rules are : The Prajāpati-smṛti (verses 57-62) states who should cook the food for the śrāddha dinner. The wife, any fortunate (or handsome) woman of the performer's gotra whose husband is living and who has a son or brother and is devoted to waiting upon her elders, the performer's teacher's wife, his maternal uncle's wife, paternal or maternal aunt, his sister, his daughter or daughter-in-law, all of them having their husbands alive, should engage in the cooking of the food for śrāddha. Women of good family, who have a large progeny, whose husbands are alive and who are about 50 years old or these women if they have become widows, and the wife of one's paternal uncle or brother, one's mothers (natural or

step-mothers) and the mothers of one's father may cook the śrāddha food and also a woman of the same gotra who is mild by temper. In the Anuśāsana parva (92.15) it is stated that a woman belonging to a gotra other than that of the deceased should not be employed for cooking śrāddha food. One's brother, paternal uncle, brother's son, sister's son, one's son, pupil, one's daughter's son or daughter's husband may also engage in cooking the śrāddha food, but not a woman who wears a white and wet garment, who has let her hair loose, who does not wear a bodice, who is ill or who has bathed her head. Before the brāhmaṇas begin to eat, the food should be first served in the plates for the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas and then in those of the *pitrya* brāhmaṇas (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73. 13–14), but once the brāhmaṇas have begun to eat there is no such precedence; whatever each brāhmaṇa may be noted as requiring should be served to him (as indicated by Manu III. 231). The performer of the śrāddha when serving food to the brāhmaṇas (including pitrya) wears his sacred thread in the upavīta form. Though it is said that the food should be hot, that does not apply to such eatables as curds, fruits and roots and flavoured[1035] drinks (as Śaṅkha XIV.13 and Skandapurāṇa say). As Hemādri (śrāddha p. 1371) points out, the serving of food in a śrāddha rite should be done with the right hand supported by the left; besides, nothing should be served with the bare hand or with a single hand, but with a wooden ladle or other utensil (but not an iron one). All cooked food, all side dishes and ghee should be served with a ladle (and not with the bare hand) but not water or eatables like *laḍḍus*. No salt was to be directly served (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 79. 12). In Kātyāyana's Śrāddha-sūtra it is provided[1036] "The food that remains after *agnaukaraṇa* should be served in the plates of the *pitrya* brāhmaṇas and the performer should touch

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1035. उष्णमन्नं द्विजातिभ्यः श्रद्धया विनिवेदयेत्॥ अन्यत्र फलमूलेभ्यः पानकेभ्यश्च पण्डितः॥ हस्ते दत्त्वा तु वै स्नेहाँल्लवणव्यञ्जनानि च। आयसेन च पात्रेण तद्वै रक्षांसि भुञ्जते॥ स्कन्दपुराण VII. 206. 37-39; शङ्ख (14. 12-13) has the first verse but with slight variations and also कूर्म II. 22. 64; शक्तितः प्रकर्षेद् गुणसंस्कारविधिरन्नस्य। गौ. 15. 6.

1036. पिण्डपितृयज्ञवद्धुत्वा हुतशेषं दत्त्वा पात्रमालभ्य जपति पृथिवी ते पात्रं द्यौरपिधानं ब्राह्मणस्य मुखे अमृते अमृतं जुहोमि स्वाहेति वैष्णव्यर्चा यजुषा वाङ्गुष्ठमन्नेऽवगाह्यापहता इति तिलान् प्रकीर्योष्णं स्विष्टमन्नं दद्याच्छक्त्या वा। कात्या० श्राद्धसूत्र 3 quoted and explained by हेमाद्रि on श्राद्ध p 1374. The वैष्णवी ṛk is 'इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे' (ऋ. I. 22.17) and वैष्णवी *yajus* is 'विष्णो हव्यं रक्षस्व' (तै. सं. I. 1. 3. 1. वाज. सं. I. 4), अपहताः—is वाज. सं. II. 29.

each plate for those brāhmaṇas after repeating the mantra 'the earth is thy vessel, the sky is the cover, I offer nectar in the brāhmaṇa's nectar-like mouth; svāhā'. Then the performer plunges the (right) thumb of the *pitrya* brāhmaṇa in the food (the remains of the homa in fire) with the ṛk or yajus addressed to Viṣṇu; and after scattering sesamum grains all round the place where the dinner is to go on with the mantra 'the asuras and rākṣasas) are struck and driven away' he (the performer) should serve hot food very much liked (by the departed or by the brāhmaṇas)". Yāj. I. 238 briefly refers (as translated above) to the mantras and the item of plunging the thumb of the brāhmaṇas in the food; and so does the Baud. Dh. S. also (II. 8. 15-16). The Kālikā-purāṇa prescribes[1037] that the thumb of the brāhmaṇa should be moved about in the food covered with ghee and honey with the mantra 'the earth is thy vessel &c.' because Viṣṇu in the form of the thumb protects food meant for sacrifices to gods and manes. The Baud. Pitṛmedhasūtra provides that while plunging the thumb of the brāhmaṇa in the food served it should be so arranged that the nail of the thumb is not smeared with food.[1038] Vasiṣṭha provides that the brāhmaṇas eating śrāddha food should always hold the plate from which they are eating with (the left) hand till the end of the dinner. Śaṅkha-Likhita provide[1039] that brāhmaṇas (eating śrāddha food) should not declare the good or bad points of the food served, should not say what is untrue, should not praise each other, nor should they say 'there is plenty of food and drirk (and so do not serve more food),

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1037. धृत्वाङ्गुष्ठं द्विजानां तु अन्नत्याज्यमधुप्लुते। पृथिवी त इति मन्त्रेण हव्यकव्ये च रक्षयेत्॥ विष्णुर्ह्यङ्गुष्ठरूपेण तस्य चान्नस्य रक्षिता। कालिकापुराण q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1378) अथैतानि ब्राह्मणेभ्य उपनिक्षिप्य ब्राह्मणस्याङ्गुष्ठेनानखेनानुदिशति–असुष्मा उपतिष्ठतु—इति। बौ. पितृमेधसूत्र II. 9. 19 (Mysore ed.).

1038. तस्मादशून्य (न्यं?) हस्तेन कुर्यादन्नमुपागतम्। भोजनं (भाजनं?) वा समालभ्य तिष्ठेतोच्छेषणे शुभे (०तोच्छेषणाद् द्विजः?)॥ वसिष्ठ 11. 26 explained by हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) p. 1024 as 'तस्माद्यदैवान्नमुपागतं भवति ततः प्रभृत्योच्छेषणात् भुक्तशिष्टान्नस्य भाजनाद्बहिःकरणपर्यन्तं वामहस्तेन भाजनं विधृत्य तिष्ठेत्। कण्डूयनाद्यर्थं वामहस्तव्यापारसमये तु दक्षिणहस्तेन भाजनं समालभ्य वर्तेतेति तात्पर्यार्थः'. श्रा प्र. p. 119 reproduces this explanation verbatim.

1039. शङ्खलिखितौ। ब्राह्मणा अन्नगुणं दोषं नाभिवदेयुर्नानृतं ब्रूयुरन्योन्यं न प्रशंसेयुरन्नपानं न प्रभूतमिति ब्रूयुरन्यत्र हस्तसंज्ञायाः। q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) p. 1019, श्रा. प्र. p 118, which says पात्रे प्रभूतमन्नमस्ति, अन्यत्र परिवेष्यमिति भोक्तृभिर्न वक्तव्यं किंतु हस्तसङ्केतेन सूचनीयमित्यर्थः।.

except by signs made with the hand.' Whatever is offered in a brāhmaṇa's hand (by way of agnaukaraṇa) and whatever food is placed in the plates should be mixed up and eaten. Hemādri quotes passages from the Maitrāyaṇīya-sūtra and from the Skandapurāṇa setting out the mantras wherewith certain articles were to be served; e. g. the Skandapurāṇa says that *pāyasa* should be served with the verse 'namo vaḥ pitaro' (Vāj. S. II. 32. Tai. S. III. 2. 5. 5), clarified butter with the mantra 'Tejosi śukram', curds with the mantra 'dadhikrāvṇo' (Ṛg. IV. 39. 6, Vāj. S. 23. 32, Tai. S. 1. 5. 11. 4). Āp. Dh. S. (II. 8. 18. 11) provides that the leavings of a śrāddha dinner should not be given to one who is inferior to the invited brāhmaṇas in qualities and Manu III. 249 states that the man who after eating śrāddha dinner gives the leavings to a śūdra falls in the Kālasūtra Hell.

The Matsyapurāṇa and some other works provide that the brāhmaṇas should pronounce blessings on the performer (who faces the east) after they have sipped water and have been given water, flowers and *akṣata* grains. The performer prays 'May our Fathers be not terrible (i. e. be kind) to us.' The brāhmaṇas reply 'let it be so'. The performer prays 'May our family grow', 'May donors increase in our family and also food', 'May these blessings turn out to be true'. To all these the brāhmaṇas reply after each one of the prayers[1040] 'May it be so'. There are rules about the time when the leavings or particles of food in the plates of the brāhmaṇas that ate the dinner should be removed or swept away. Vas. (XI. 21–22) and the Kūrmapurāṇa provide that the leavings of food should not be removed till the Sun sets, since streams of nectar flow from them, which are drunk by the (spirits of) those departed persons for whom no water was offered. Manu III. 265 (which is the same as Matsya 17.56 and Padma, Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 9.185) provides another rule that the leavings of the food in the plates may remain where they are till the brāhmaṇas are dismissed and depart.

1040. ततः स्वधावाचनिकं विश्वेदेवेषु चोदकम् ॥ दत्त्वाशीः प्रतिगृह्णीयाद् द्विजेभ्यः प्राङ्मुखो बुधः । अघोराः पितरः सन्तु सन्त्वित्युक्तः पुनर्द्विजैः ॥ गोत्रं तथा वर्धतां नस्तथेत्युक्तश्च तैः पुनः । दातारो नोऽभिवर्धन्तामिति चैवमुदीरयेत् ॥ एताः सत्याशिषः सन्त्वित्युक्तश्च तैः पुनः । स्वस्तिवाचनिकं कुर्यात्पिण्डानुद्धृत्य भक्तितः ॥ मत्स्य 17. 52–55 q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1482), स्मृतिच. (श्रा.) p. 482, कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 220). Compare आप. श्री. I. 10. 4 गृहान्नः पितरो दत्त सतो वः पितरो देष्म । Yāj. I. 246 (दातारो नो etc.) is the same as भविष्य I. 185. 28.

Hemādri (śrāddha, p. 1512)[1041] therefore provides that if the performer has another house the leavings may not be removed till sunset, but if he has only one house, they may be removed after the brāhmaṇas have gone away (vide Yāj. I. 257, Matsya 17.56). It is further provided by Bṛhaspati[1042] that the plates should not be removed before the brāhmaṇas pronounce the word 'svasti', and Jātūkarṇya[1043] and the Skandapurāṇa say that the plates and the leavings should be removed by the performer himself or by his pupil or son, but not by women nor by a child nor by one who is not of the same caste. Manu III. 258 provides that, after the brāhmaṇas have left, the performer should look at the south and pray to the pitṛs for certain blessings contained in Manu III. 259 which are the same as Yāj. I. 246 translated above (vide p. 447), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73. 28, Matsya 16. 49–50. The Āp. gṛ. 20.9 (q. in note 981), Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 16, Manu III. 264, Yāj. I. 249 provide that the performer should partake of the remainder of the food cooked for the śrāddha along with his wife, paternal and maternal relatives after reciting (according to Haradatta) the Yājuṣa mantra (Āp. M. P. II. 20.26) which means 'entering the life breath I offer nectar; my soul is centred in Brahman for the sake of immortality.' The Āp. gṛ. and Āp. Dh. S. provide[1044] that the performer must eat at least a morsel of the food left after serving to the brāhmaṇas. Vyāsa and Devala prescribe that on the day of śrāddha the performer must not observe a fast (even if he usually does so as on Ekādaśī or Śivarātra). A way out was provided by the Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa by recommending that the performer should merely smell the remnants of the śrāddha food. Vide

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1041. श्राद्धे नोद्वासनीयानि उच्छिष्टान्या दिनक्षयात्। श्च्योतन्ते हि सुधाधारास्ताः पिबन्त्यकृतोदकाः॥ वसिष्ठ XI. 21; नोद्वासयेत्तदुच्छिष्टं यावन्नास्तमितो रविः। कूर्मपुराण II. 22. 85. कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 227) remarks 'नोद्वासनीयान्युच्छिष्टानीति भूमिष्ठोच्छिष्टविषयम्। उच्छिष्टं न प्रमृज्यात्-इति भूमिगतोच्छिष्टपात्रविषयम्।'.

1042. भाजनेषु च तिष्ठत्सु स्वस्ति कुर्वन्ति ये द्विजाः। तदन्नमसुरैर्भुक्तं निराशैः पितृभिर्गतैः॥ बृहस्पति q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 482), हेमाद्रि (श्रा p. 1485).

1043. पात्राणि चालयेच्छ्राद्धे स्वयं शिष्योऽथवा सुतः। न स्त्रीभिर्न च बालेन नासजात्या कथंचन॥ जातूकर्ण्य q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 482), हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) p. 1486; न स्त्रीभिर्न च बालेन नान्येनैव च केनचित्। श्राद्धे पिण्डं च पात्रं च स्वयमेव प्रचालयेत्॥ स्कन्द (नागर खण्ड) q. by हेमाद्रि (श्राद्ध) p. 1486.

1044. सर्वेषु वर्णेषु सर्वतः समवदाय शेषस्य ग्रासावरार्ध्यं प्राश्नीयाद्यथोक्तम्। आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 17. 16. यथोक्तं refers to आप. गृ. 20. 9 The यजुस् referred to in the latter is प्राणे निविष्टोऽमृतं जुहोमि ब्रह्मणि म आत्मामृतत्वाय। आप. म. पा. II 20. 26. This मन्त्र occurs also in तै. आ. X. 33.

Hemādri (śrāddha, pp. 1519–1521) for the discussion. Hemādri (p. 1485) refers to the practice (observed even now) that after the performer receives the blessings referred to above, his son, grandson and the like should offer adoration to the *devatās* in the form of piṇḍas. The brāhmaṇas should praise the good characteristics of the food served at the end of the śrāddha ceremony.[1045] The brāhmaṇas should not get up from the dinner, carelessly leaving remnants of food in their plates, but they may leave in the plates a little food except milk, curds, honey or barley flour.[1046]

There were several views as to the exact stage at which the offerings of piṇḍas were to be made. According to Śāṅ. Gr. IV. 1.9., Āśv. gr. IV. 8. 12,[1047] Śaṅkha 14. 11, Manu III. 260–261, Yāj. I. 242 and several other works, the performer offers the lumps of boiled rice after the brāhmaṇas have finished eating their dinner. The piṇḍas are made with boiled rice mixed with sesame and are placed on darbhas on a clean spot and at a distance of about one aratni from[1048] the plates in which the brāhmaṇas ate and the performer faces the south. Here again there are two opinions, one being that piṇḍas were to be offered before the brāhmaṇas sip water (perform *ācamana*) after dinner (e. g. Āśv. gr. IV. 8. 12–13, Śrāddha-sūtra of Kātyāyana, kaṇḍikā 3), while others hold that they were to be offered after the brāhmaṇas have rinsed their mouth and taken *ācamana*. Another view referred to as the view of some by Śāṅ. gr. IV. 1. 10 and Manu III. 261 was that piṇḍas were to be offered to the ancestors first after honouring the invited brāhmaṇas or after agnaukaraṇa and then the brāhmaṇas were to partake of the dinner. The

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1045. श्राद्धावसाने कर्तव्या द्विजैरन्नगुणस्तुतिः । वृद्धवसिष्ठ q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1019).

1046. तदाहोशनाः । भोजनं तु न निःशेषं कुर्यात्प्राज्ञः कथंचन । अन्यत्र दध्नः क्षीराद्वा क्षौद्रात्सक्तुभ्य एव च ॥ q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1026). Acc. to मनु III. 245–46, विष्णु 81. 22–23, मत्स्य 17. 56–57, the leavings of food in the plates of ब्राह्मणs and the विकिर were the lot of persons of the family dying young, while the leavings of food that fell or were left on the ground were the share of deceased slaves. 'पात्रगतमुच्छिष्टमसंस्कृतप्रमीतानां भूमिगतं दासवर्गस्य' हलायुध on कात्यायन's श्राद्धसूत्र (folio 30a). Vide n. 1007 above for मनु III. 245.

1047. अभिमतेऽनुमते वा भुक्तवत्स्वनाचान्तेषु पिण्डान्निदध्यात् । आचान्तेष्वेके । आश्व. गृ. IV. 8. 12–13.

1048. सतिलेन ततोऽन्नेन पिण्डान् सर्वेण पुत्रक । पितृनुद्दिश्य दर्भेषु दद्यादुच्छिष्टसंनिधौ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 28. 55. अरत्नि is the hand from the wrist to the small finger.

Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa[1049] emphatically asserts that this is the correct position as stated by Bṛhaspati. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (73 15–24) provides that the piṇḍas are to be offered to the ancestors while the brāhmaṇas are actually eating. A fourth view is that of the Āp. gṛ. 24.9, Hir. gṛ. (II. 12.2–3) which state that the performer[1050] should, after the brāhmaṇas have eaten and gone away and he has followed and circumambulated them, offer piṇḍas. Owing to this conflict of views Hemādri (quoting smṛti) and the Madanapārijāta (p. 600) say that each one should follow the procedure laid down in his own śākhā.[1051] Hemādri adds that those in whose gṛhyasūtra no special time is mentioned for piṇḍadāna should follow the view that piṇḍas are to be offered after the brāhmaṇas have partaken of the dinner and sipped water. The Śr. P. (p. 247) endorses this view.[1052] The piṇḍas were to be deposited on bunches of (25) darbhas for each piṇḍa. Aparārka on Yāj. I. 24 states that in all cases without exception piṇḍas were to be offered near the plates from which the brāhmaṇas took their meals, while Hemādri who relies on Kātyāyana's word 'ucchiṣṭasannidhau' says that where the performer is an *āhitāgni* the piṇḍas were to be offered near his sacred fire, but when a performer had not kept the sacred fires piṇḍas were to be offered near the plates from which brāhmaṇas ate the śrāddha food. The Śrāddhasāra (p. 163) quotes Atri to the effect that piṇḍas should be offered at a distance of three *aratnis* from where the brāhmaṇas ate the śrāddha dinner and that in such śrāddhas as Navaśrāddhas Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before piṇḍadāna and that it is to be performed after

1049. पूजनं चैव विप्राणां पूर्वमेवेह नित्यशः ॥ तद्धि धर्मार्थकुशलो नेत्युवाच बृहस्पतिः। पूर्वं निवपेत् पिण्डान् पश्चाद्विप्रांश्च भोजयेत् ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड, उपोद्धात 12. 24–26. These verses are quoted from ब्रह्मपुराण by कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 221). The सौरपुराण 19. 23 says 'पिण्डनिर्वपणं कृत्वा ब्राह्मणांश्चैव भोजयेत्। केचिदप्येवमिच्छन्ति नैव भानोर्मतं द्विजाः ॥'

1050. भुक्तवतोऽनुव्रज्य शेषमनुज्ञाप्योदकुम्भं दर्भमुष्टिं चादाय दक्षिणपूर्वमवान्तरदेशं गत्वा दक्षिणाग्रान्दर्भान् संस्तीर्य तेष्ववाचीनपाणिर्दक्षिणापवर्गाननुदकाञ्जलीं निनयति मार्जयन्तां पितरः सोम्यासः मार्जयन्तां पितामहाः सोम्यासः मार्जयन्तां प्रपितामहाः सोम्यास इति। असावनेनिक्ष्वासावनेनिक्ष्वेति वा। तेष्ववाचीनपाणिर्दक्षिणापवर्गान् पिण्डान्ददाति। हिरण्य. गृ. II. 12. 2–3. For आप. गृ. vide n. 981.

1051. तथा च स्मृतिः। मुनिभिर्भिन्नकालेषु पिण्डदानं तु यत्स्मृतम्। तत् स्वशाखामतं यत्र तत्र कुर्याद्विचक्षणः ॥ हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1408), who adds 'उपलक्षणं चैतत् स्वगृह्याद्यनुमतेः।.'

1052. येषां तु गृह्यादौ पिण्डदानकालो नोक्तस्तेषां सौकर्यादाचान्तेष्वित्येव पक्षो ग्राह्य इति महयः। श्रा. म p. 247.

piṇḍadāna in Sāṁvatsarika śrāddha, Mahālaya and the like (p. 164).

There is another conflict of views as regards the ancestors to whom piṇḍas are to be offered at the śrāddha on amāvāsya. Most of the ancient Vedic works refer only to the three paternal ancestors as the *devatās* of the Pārvaṇa-śrāddha and not to any other relatives. The three paternal ancestors are separately the *devatās* of śrāddha and not cumulatively, as indicated by the Āśv. Śrauta II. 6. 15 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73. 13–14. The important questions are whether the wives of the paternal ancestors, viz. the mother, the grandmother and the paternal great-grandmother were associated with their husbands in ancient times and secondly, whether the three paternal ancestors of one's mother viz. the maternal grandfather, the maternal great-grandfather and the maternal great-great-grandfather were invoked together with their wives in the Pārvaṇa. The answer to both these questions so far as the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas are concerned is in the negative. Vide Tai. S. I. 8. 5.1, Tai. Br. I. 3. 10, II. 6. 16, Vāj. S. 19. 36–37, Śat. Br. II. 4. 2. 16, in all of which the only persons expressly named are the pitṛs and three paternal ancestors. It may be noted, however, that in Vāj S. 9. 19 (which is cited by Kātyāyana at the end of Śrāddhasūtra 3 as the mantra to be recited when following the brāhmaṇas that are dismissed) there is a clear reference to paternal ancestors and also to mothers. Almost all sūtras also are silent as regards the invocation of the maternal ancestors in Pārvaṇa-śrāddha along with paternal ones. Vide [1053] Āśv. Śr.; Sudarśana on Āp. gr. VIII. 21. 2 states that the Sūtrakāra and Bhāṣyakāra did not speak of Mātāmahaśrāddha as it is not obligatory for a daughter's son to offer it. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana [1054] speaks of three piṇḍas being made for the paternal ancestors and three for the mother's paternal

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1053. तस्यां पिण्डान् निपृणीयात्प्राचीनपाणिः पित्रे पितामहाय प्रपितामहायैतत्तेऽसौ ये च त्वामत्रान्विति । आश्व. श्रौ. II. 6. 15 on which गार्ग्यनारायण explains 'निपरणं पित्र्येणैव तीर्थेन । पाणेरुत्तानत्वमजहदेव पित्र्येण तीर्थेन यदा कुर्यात् तदा प्राचीनपाणिर्भवति । असावित्यस्य स्थाने सम्बुद्ध्यन्तानि पित्रादीनां नामानि गृह्णीयात्।'. तस्यां refers to लेखायां.

1054. सर्वमन्नमेकतोऽद्धृत्योच्छिष्टसमीपे दर्भेषु त्रींस्त्रीन् पिण्डानवनेज्य दद्यादाचान्तेष्वित्येके । ... वाच्यतामित्यनुज्ञातः पितृभ्यः पितामहेभ्यः प्रपितामहेभ्यो मातामहेभ्यः प्रमातामहेभ्यो वृद्धप्रमातामहेभ्यश्च स्वधोच्यताम् । ... वाजे वाजेऽवतेति विसृज्य आ मा वाजस्येत्यनुव्रज्य प्रदक्षिणीकृत्योपविशेत् । कात्यायन's श्राद्धसूत्र III. The मन्त्र reads 'आ मा वाजस्य प्रसवो जगम्यादेमे द्यावापृथिवी विश्वरूपे । आ मा गन्तां पितरा मातरा चा मा सोमो अमृतत्वेन गम्यात् । वाज. सं 9. 19.

ancestors. The Gobhilasmṛti provides[1055] that six piṇḍas should be offered except in the Anvaṣṭakāśrāddha, the first śrāddha (on the 11th day), the sixteen śrāddhas and the yearly śrāddha for a deceased person. Dhaumya[1056] prescribes that where the paternal ancestors are honoured (or fed) the maternal ancestors also should be certainly honoured without making any difference (between the two classes); if he makes a distinction the performer will go to Hell. The Viṣṇupurāṇa,[1057] the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa and the Varāhapurāṇa say that some hold that a śrāddha for maternal ancestors is to be performed separately while other sages hold that one śrāddha is to be offered at the same time to the paternal and maternal ancestors. Bṛhaspati (q. by Kalpataru on śrāddha p. 204) prescribes[1058] that one should offer piṇḍas made from all food cooked for the śrāddha and mixed with honey and sesamum grains for both paternal and maternal ancestors according to the rules of one's gṛhyasūtra. The Varāhapurāṇa (14. 40–41) says that *pitrya* brāhmaṇas should be dismissed first and then the daiva brāhmaṇas together with those for the mother's ancestors and that separate piṇḍas were to be offered to the mother's paternal ancestors (14.37). Some held the view that the offering of piṇḍas to maternal ancestors was obligatory for the *putrikā-putra*[1059] (son of the appointed daughter) or for a daughter's son that inherited the wealth of his maternal grandfather. Bṛhat-Parāśara (chap. V. p. 153) mentions several views on this point. It seems probable that when the appointment of a

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1055. कर्षूसमन्वितं मुक्त्वा तथाद्यश्राद्धषोडशम् । प्रत्याब्दिकं तु शेषेषु पिण्डाः स्युः षडिति स्थितिः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 73. कर्षूसमन्वितं is explained by निर्णयसिन्धु (III. p. 395) and हेमाद्रि as सपिण्डीकरण and by श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 93 as अष्टकाश्राद्ध.

1056. पितरो यत्र पूज्यन्ते तत्र मातामहा ध्रुवम् । अविशेषेण कर्तव्यं विशेषान्नरकं व्रजेत् ॥ धौम्य q. by श्रा. प्र. p. 14; स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 337) quotes it as स्मृत्यन्तर; the स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 56 merely quotes it (without name) and श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 93 quotes it from योगियाज्ञवल्क्य.

1057. पृथक्तयोः केचिदाहुः श्राद्धस्य करणं नृप । एकत्रैकेन पाकेन वदन्त्यन्ये महर्षयः ॥ विष्णुपुराण III. 15. 17; पृथङ्मातामहानां तु केचिदिच्छन्ति मानवाः । त्रीन् पिण्डानानुपूर्व्येण साङ्गुष्ठान् पुष्टिवर्धनान् ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद) 11. 61. The verse पृथक्तयोः॰ is also वराहपुराण 14. 12.

1058. सर्वस्मात्प्रकृतादन्नात् पिण्डान् मधुतिलान्वितान् । पितृमातामहादीनां दद्याद्गृह्यविधानतः ॥ बृहस्पति q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 479), हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) p. 1428. It may be noted that या. (I. 242) does not mention honey.

1059. Vide मनु IX. 132 and H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 647 and 657 (for पुत्रिकापुत्र).

daughter as a son became rare or went out of vogue the maternal ancestors came to be associated with the paternal ancestors in pārvaṇa-śrāddha.

The question when the wives of ancestors became associated with the male ancestors cannot be solved satisfactorily. The *pitāmahī* is not mentioned in the extant Vedic Literature. But it is certain that the wives of male ancestors had come to be associated with their husbands in the sūtra period. For example, the Hir. Gr. II. 10 associates the mother, the paternal grandmother and the paternal great-grandmother with their respective husbands in the monthly śrāddha performed in the dark half. Similarly, the Baud. gr. II. 11.34 not only associates in the Aṣṭakā śrāddha the male maternal ancestors with the male paternal ancestors, but also their respective wives. The Āp. M. P.[1060] has mantras referring to the three male paternal ancestors as well as their wives. The Śāṅ. gr. (IV. 1.11) provides that behind the lumps for the paternal ancestors the performer places the lumps for their wives, putting something between the two sets of piṇḍas and the commentator explains that darbhas are placed between the two sets. The Kauśika sūtra (88.12) also provides for the offering of piṇḍas to the wives of male ancestors to the south of the piṇḍas for male ancestors. The Āśv. gr. (II. 5. 4-5), while speaking of the Anvaṣṭakya rite, refers to piṇḍas to be offered to the wives of ancestors with the addition of rum and the scum of boiled rice. The Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra IV. 7 (after describing the Piṇḍa-pitṛyajña in IV. 5-6) notes that the difference between it and the ordinary monthly śrāddha is that in the latter piṇḍas are offered to the wives of the pitṛs[1061]. Dr. Caland (in 'Ahnencult' p. 164) thinks that this inclusion of the women ancestors among those to whom piṇḍas were to be offered was made by taking over from Anvaṣṭakya ceremonial described above. This conjecture does not look very probable. The Aṣṭakā rites existed from remote antiquity as shown above. If the offering of piṇḍas to women ancestors were borrowed from the Anvaṣṭakya

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1060. मार्जयन्तां मम पितरो मार्जयन्तां मम पितामहा मार्जयन्तां मम प्रपितामहाः ॥ मार्जयन्तां मम मातरो मार्जयन्तां मम पितामह्यो मार्जयन्तां मम प्रपितामह्यः। आप. म. पा. *II. 19. 2-7.*

1061. अथ मार्द्ध मासि मासपरपक्षेऽन्यतमेऽहन्यजन्मर्क्षे ब्राह्मणनिमन्त्रणादि सर्वमष्टकावत्। तथाज्यचरू हुत्वाक्तं पिण्डार्थे पात्रे समवदाय ब्राह्मणान्भोजयित्वा नमो वः पितरो रसायेति पिण्डं प्रथमं पितृभ्यो नमो वः पितरः सोम्यास इति द्वितीयतृतीयौ पितामहप्रपितामहाभ्याम्। पितृभ्यस्तत्पत्नीभ्यः पिण्डानर्पयतीति विशेषः। वैखानसगृह्य IV. 7.

this item would have figured in all sūtras just as Aṣṭakā śrāddha does. It is rather more probable that the extension to women was a natural growth in course of time. Some of the smṛtis emphasize the participation of the wives of paternal ancestors in the *pārvaṇaśrāddha* offerings. Śātātapa states[1062]: 'In what is offered to the pitṛs after Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa, the mother is a participant everywhere. A śrāddha may be separately offered to the mother in the Anvaṣṭakā rites, in Vṛddhi-śrāddha, at Gayā and on the anniversary of the day of her death; but in other cases it is performed along with the husband'. It is stated by Bṛhaspati that the mother partakes of the śrāddha food along with her husband (i. e. the father of the performer); that the same rule applies to the paternal grandmother and the paternal great-grandmother[1063]. The Kalpataru[1064] and others held that the wives of the paternal ancestors were not *devatās* in the pārvaṇa-śrāddha, but they only enjoyed the ethereal food which came to the pitṛs, while Hemādri and other southern writers held that the mother and other female ancestors were among the devatās of pārvaṇa-śrāddha, but not the step-mother. There was a divergence of views whether the words 'mother', 'paternal grandmother' and 'paternal great-grandmother' included the co-wives (*sapatnīs*) of these. Hemādri (on śrāddha pp. 97-104) has a long disquisition on this question. According to one view the step-mother, the co-wife of the *pitāmahī* and the co-wife of the *prapitāmahī* would be included in

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1062. सपिण्डीकरणादूर्ध्वं यत्पितृभ्यः प्रदीयते। सर्वत्रांशहरा माता इति धर्मेषु निश्चयः॥ अन्वष्टकासु वृद्धौ च गयायां च क्षयेऽहनि। मातुः श्राद्धं पृथक् कुर्यादन्यत्र पतिना सह॥ शातातप q. by श्रा. प्र. p. 9, स्मृतिच (श्रा.) p. 369 as स्मृत्यन्तर.

1063. स्वेन भर्त्रा सह श्राद्धं माता भुङ्क्ते स्वधामयम्। पितामही च स्वेनैव तथैव प्रपितामही॥ बृहस्पति q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा.), p. 369, हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) p. 99, श्रा. प्र. p. 9.

1064. न सपत्नीकानां देवतात्वमिति कल्पतरुप्रभृतयः। हेमाद्रिप्रभृतयो दाक्षिणात्यास्तु... एकस्यामेव श्राद्धव्यक्तौ पितृन् तद्योषितश्च देवतात्वेनोद्दिशेदिति विधीयते। श्रा. प्र. pp. 9-10. The argument of those who hold the former view is 'सपत्नीकपितरमुकशर्मन्नित्युल्लेखे पितुरेव देवतात्वं भवेन्न तु विशेषणीभूतायाः पत्न्याः—इति।' टोडरानन्द (श्राद्धसौख्य) folio 3a. The श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 190 similarly says 'उक्तश्रुत्यादिषु पित्रादीनां प्रत्येकनिर्देशात्, अत्र पितरो देवता इत्यापस्तम्बसूत्रे देवता इति बहुवचननिर्देशात्, न योषिद्भ्य इत्यादिवचनाच्च पित्रादीनां प्रत्येकं पत्नीनिरपेक्षेण च देवतात्वम्।'. Vide n. 783 for the आप. ध. सू. passage. न योषिद्भ्यः—is apparently गोभिलस्मृति II. 102 'न योषिद्भ्यः पृथग्दद्यादवसानदिनादृते। स्वभर्तृपिण्डमात्राभ्यस्तृप्तिरासां यतः स्मृता॥'. The कल्पतरु (श्राद्धकाण्ड p. 4) says: नापि पित्रादेः सपत्नीकस्य देवतात्वं तथात्वे प्रमाणाभावात्। प्रत्युत न योषिद्भ्यः पृथग्दद्यादवसानदिनादृते। स्वभर्तृपिण्डमात्राभ्यस्तृप्तिरासां यतः स्मृता॥ इति शातातपवचने भर्तृसम्बन्धिपिण्डभागस्यैव पत्नीतृप्तिहेतुत्वेनाभिधानाद् विपरीतमेव प्रमाणमस्ति। कल्पतरु, श्रा. p. 260.

the presentation formula (as quoted below), while according to Hemādri only the real mother, the real paternal grand-mother and the real paternal great-grandmother would ordinarily be included except on rare occasions such as a Mahālayaśrāddha or a śrāddha at Gayā. [1065]

As regards the mantra to be recited when offering each of the piṇḍas there is some divergence of views, which reaches far into antiquity. The piṇḍa [1066] is offered to each ancestor after stating his gotra, his relationship to the performer and name (all in the vocative). According to several writers the form of the presentation of the piṇḍa is 'this is for thee, O Father! N. N. (by name) and so and so by gotra.' In the Tai. S. I. 8.5 1, in the Āp. M. P. II. 20.13 and in some sūtras, the following is added 'and for those who follow thee' (ye ca tvām-anu). [1067] In the Gobhila-gṛhya IV. 3.6 and Khādiragṛhya the formula is still longer 'This piṇḍa is thine, O father! and of those who follow thee and of those whom thou followest. [1068] To thee, Svadhā!'. The Bhāradvaja [1069] gṛ. II. 12 introduces slight changes. It has been already noted above (n. 781) how the Śat. Br. disapproves of

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1065. तदेवमेतन्निष्पन्नं यद्बहुपत्नीकपित्रादिदेवत्यामावास्यादिसाधारणकालिकश्राद्धप्रयोगे अस्मत्पितर्यज्ञदत्तशर्मन् वासिष्ठगोत्रामुकामुकनामिकाभिर्वासिष्ठगोत्राभिः पत्नीभिः सहैतत्तुभ्यमन्नमित्यादिभिः स्त्रीपुंसोद्देशोपलक्षितैर्वाक्यैरनुष्ठानं कर्तव्यमिति।. This is the पूर्वपक्ष view. हेमाद्रि replies 'अत्र सिद्धान्तोऽभिधीयते। तत्र तावन्मुख्ये पार्वणे जननीव्यतिरिक्तानां पितृपत्नीनां न सहोद्देशः कार्यः। नापि पितृजननीव्यतिरिक्तानां पितामहपत्नीनां नापि पितामहजननीव्यतिरिक्तानां प्रपितामहपत्नीनाम्। हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) p. 100. हेमाद्रि adds (p. 102) 'यदा तु नानापितृतृप्तिकामनया विशिष्टे महालयादिकालविशेषे गयादितीर्थविशेषे वा श्राद्धं कुर्यात्तदा पुत्रवतीनामपुत्राणां वा मातृसपत्नीनामपि श्राद्धं कुर्यात्।'.

1066. अर्घदानेऽथ सङ्कल्पे पिण्डदाने तथा क्षये। गोत्रसम्बन्धनामानि यथावत्प्रतिपादयेत्॥ पारस्कर q. by अपरार्क p. 506, हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1434), श्रा. म. p. 258 which explains 'सङ्कल्पे अन्नत्यागे'. The form of the address will be 'अमुकगोत्रास्मत्पितरमुकशर्मन् एतत्तेऽन्नं (or एष ते पिण्डः) स्वधा नम इदममुकगोत्रायास्मत्पित्रे अमुकशर्मणे न ममेति' हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1436). It should be noted that this formula is to be employed only by the Vājasaneyins.

1067. एतत्ते ततासौ ये च त्वामनु, एतत्ते पितामहासौ ये च त्वामनु, एतत्ते प्रपितामह ये च त्वामनु। आप. म. पा. II. 20. 13. Vide note 781 for तै. सं. passages and n. 1053 for आश्व. श्रौ. passage.

1068. असाववनेनिक्ष्व ये चात्र त्वामनु यांश्च त्वमनु तस्मै ते स्वधेति। गोभिलगृह्य III. 3, 6 and खादिरगृह्य III. 5. 17. The टोडरानन्द (श्राद्धसौख्य folio 77a) gives the formulas for followers of यजुर्वेद and सामवेद as follows: अमुकगोत्रपितरमुकशर्मन्नेतत्तेऽन्नं स्वधेति यजुर्वेदिनामुत्सर्गवाक्यम्। अमुकसगोत्र पितरमुकदेवशर्मन्नेतत्तेऽन्नं ये चात्र त्वामनु यांश्च त्वमनु तस्मै ते स्वधेति छन्दोगानाम्।; compare श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 237 and श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 70 for similar formulas.

1069. यांश्च त्वमत्रान्वासि ये च त्वामनु। भारद्वाजगृह्य II. 12.

the usage of the Tai. S. in this matter, the reason being[1070] that when the son offers a piṇḍa to his father and employs the formula 'this is thine and of those that follow thee', he would be included among those that follow the father and be thus offering a piṇḍa to himself, which is inauspicious. It is provided by Gobhila-gṛhya[1071] that if he does not know the names of his ancestors he should put down the first piṇḍa with the Formula 'svadhā to the Fathers dwelling on the earth', (he should put down) the 2nd piṇḍa with the formula 'svadhā to the fathers dwelling in the air', the third with the formula 'svadhā to the Fathers dwelling in heaven' and should recite in a low voice the words 'Here, O Fathers, gladden yourselves, show your vigour each according to his own part.' Yama quoted by Kalpataru (on Śr. p. 203), following Gobhila provides generally (whether the ancestors be known or not) that the first piṇḍa should be offered to the father with the expression 'pṛthivī', the second to the grandfather in the aerial regions and the third to the paternal great-grandfather with the mantra 'dyaur darvī'. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (73.17–19) has similar provisions, the mantras respectively being 'pṛthivī darvirakṣitā', 'antarikṣam darvirakṣitā,' dyaur-darvirakṣitā'. Medhātithi on Manu III. 194 says (following Āśv. Śr. and others) that if the names of the ancestors are not known he should simply say 'O Father, Grandfather' &c. If the gotra be not known then he should employ the gotra name Kaśyapa.[1072]

Certain matters pertaining to piṇḍas must be stated in one place once for all. There is a good deal of discussion about the

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1070. तदेतदमङ्गल्यमभिधानं भवति । यतोऽयं पिण्डदानं कुर्वाणः पुत्रादिः ये च त्वामनु इति मन्त्रेण येषां प्रमीतानां सहेत्याह तेषां पश्चाद्भूतः स्वयमेव सह भवति । अतश्चासौ स्वस्मा एव पिण्डदानं करोतीति प्रतिभाति । हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) p. 1437.

1071. यदि नामानि न विन्द्यात् स्वधा पितृभ्यः पृथिवीषद्भ्य इति प्रथमं पिण्डं निदध्यात् । स्वधा पितृभ्योऽन्तरिक्षसद्भ्य इति द्वितीयं स्वधा पितृभ्यो दिविषद्भ्य इति तृतीयं निधाय जपति अत्र पितरो मादयध्वं यथाभागमावृषायध्वमिति । गोभिलगृह्य IV. 3, 10–11 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 1443 and श्रा. प्र. 260. Compare तै. सं. I. 8. 5. 1 एतत्ते तत ... प्रपितामह ये च त्वामन्वत्र पितरो यथाभागं मन्दध्वम्' and वाज. सं. II. 31 'अत्र पितरो मादयध्वं यथाभागमावृषायध्वम्'. The आश्व. श्रौ. सू. II. 6. 24 says 'नामान्यविद्वांस्ततपितामहप्रपितामहेति'.

1072. गोत्राज्ञानेप्याह व्याघ्रपादः—गोत्रनाशे तु कश्यपः—इति । गोत्राज्ञाने कश्यपगोत्रग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । कश्यपसगोत्रस्य सर्वसाधारणत्वात् । तथा च स्मृतिः । तस्मादाहुः सर्वाः प्रजाः काश्यप्य इति । स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 481); vide श्रा. प्र. p. 260 for a similar provision. The शूद्रकमलाकर p. 49 says: यद्यपि तस्मादाहुः सर्वाः प्रजाः काश्यप्य इति शतपथश्रुतेः ... कश्यपं गोत्रमस्ति तथापि श्राद्ध एव तत् ।. 'सर्वाः प्रजाः काश्यप्यः'—These words occur in शतपथब्राह्मण VII. 5. 1. 5.

size of the piṇḍas. Marīci (quoted by Aparārka p. 507) provides that in pārvaṇa-śrāddha the piṇḍa should be of the size of undried *āmalaka* fruit, of the size of a *bilva* fruit in Ekoddiṣṭa, in navaśrāddhas the piṇḍa should be bigger than in any one of the preceding when offered every day during the days of impurity on death. The Skandapurāṇa says that piṇḍas should be of such a size as would enable a calf two years old to put it easily into its mouth.[1073] Aṅgiras (q. by Sm. C. p. 475 and Hemādri, śrāddha p. 1429) prescribes that the piṇḍas may be of the size of *kapittha* or *bilva* fruit or of the size of a hen's egg or of an *āmalaka* or *badara* fruit. In the Maitrāyaṇīya-sūtra[1074] it is said that the piṇḍa for the paternal grandfather should be bigger than that for the father and should be in the middle (of the three piṇḍas), that the piṇḍa for the great-grandfather should be the largest of all. The next point is from what materials the piṇḍas were to be made. If piṇḍas were offered before *agnaukaraṇa* they were to be made from the boiled rice (caru) prepared for agnaukaraṇa. If made after *agnaukaraṇa*, the piṇḍas were to be made from the cooked food (remaining after agnaukaraṇa) mixed with sesamum (vide Yāj. I. 242). If piṇḍas were to be offered after the brāhmaṇas took their dinner, the piṇḍas were to be made from the remainder of the food cooked for the brāhmaṇas which was to be mixed with the boiled rice for agnaukaraṇa as stated in Kātyāyana's Śrāddha-sūtra.[1075] The piṇḍas were to be placed according to the Matsya[1076] on darbhas spread on the ground cleaned with water mixed with cow's dung and urine. There were others such as Devala, the Brahmapurāṇa and Bhaviṣyapurāṇa that prescribed that an altar, either circular or square, of sand was to be raised on ground 4 fingers in height and one cubit in extent near the plates from which brāhmaṇas were to eat and thereon *darbhas*

1073. द्विहायनस्य वत्सस्य विशन्त्यास्यं यथासुखम्। तथा कुर्यात्प्रमाणेन पिण्डान् व्यासेन भाषितम्॥ स्कन्द VII. 1. 206. 41 q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 475) and हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) p. 1429 as व्यास's.

1074. अर्ध्योद्धृत्योद्धृतेषु पिण्डान्निदधाति पितुर्नाम्नाऽसावेतत्ते ये चात्र त्वामनु तस्मै तेभ्यश्च स्वधेति प्रथमं, पितामहस्य नाम्ना स्थवीयांसं मध्यमं, प्रपितामहनाम्ना स्थविष्ठं दक्षिणं द्वयोः परयोर्नाममनी गृह्णन् मूलदेशे लेपं निर्मार्ष्टि। मैत्रायणीयसूत्र q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) p. 1430, श्रा. प्र. p. 257.

1075. वृत्ताः स्म इत्यनुज्ञातः शेषमन्नमनुज्ञाप्य सर्वमन्नमेकतोद्धृत्योच्छिष्टसमीपे दर्भेषु त्रींस्त्रीन्पिण्डानवनेज्य दद्यात्। श्राद्धसूत्र of कात्या. III.

1076. उपलिप्ते महीपृष्ठे गोशकृन्मूत्रवारिणा। निधाय दर्भान् विधिवद्दक्षिणाग्रान्प्रयत्नतः। सर्ववर्णेन चान्नेन पिण्डांस्तु पितृयज्ञवत्। मत्स्यपुराण 16. 45–46.

were to be placed and then piṇḍas. The Vāyupurāṇa provides that a line should be drawn on the altar or the ground with the root of a *darbha* to the accompaniment of the following mantras viz.[1077] 'I destroy whatever is impure; I have killed all *asuras*, *dānavas*, rākṣasas, yakṣas, piśācas (goblins), *guhyakas* and yātudhānas' and the mantra 'struck down (are the asuras and rākṣasas sitting on the Vedi)'. In Āp. Śr. I. 10.2, Manu III. 217, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73.17-19, Yama (q. by Hemādri p. 1440), the Kalpataru (on Śr. p. 203), Mahārṇavaprakāśa (q. by Hemādri), Hemādri (Śr. pp. 1440-42) and Śr. P. pp. 266-267 reference is made to adoration of the six seasons and the obeisance (*namaskāra*) to the pitṛs in the words 'namo vaḥ pitaro' (Vāj. S. II. 32)[1078] and the repetition of three mantras when each of the three piṇḍas is offered, some holding that the seasons were to be deemed as identified with '*rasa*', '*śoṣa*' and four other words (in Vāj. S. II. 32), while others held that the adoration of the seasons is quite distinct from the namaskāras to the pitṛs. In the Śaunakātharvaṇaśrāddha-kalpa, the piṇḍas are offered in the reverse order i. e. first to the great-grand-father, then to the grandfather and then to the father (Hemādri on śrāddha p. 1442). Āp. Śr. I. 9. 4 refers to this method in 'pitāmahaprabhṛtīn vā'.

1077. निहन्मि सर्वं यदमेध्यवद्भवेद्धताश्च सर्वेऽसुरदानवा मया। रक्षांसि यक्षाश्च पिशाचसङ्घा हता मया यातुधानाश्च सर्वे॥ अनेन मन्त्रेण सुसंयतात्मा वेदीं च सर्वां सकृदुल्लिखेच्च॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by कल्पतरु (श्रा.) p. 214, 216, श्रा. प्र. p. 251. This is cited as from ब्रह्माण्डपुराण by अपरार्क p. 478 (which reads ०सुसंयतात्मा तिलान् क्षिपेद्दिक्षु तथा विदिक्षु). The verses are वायुपुराण 75. 45-46 and are mentioned as from वायुपुराण in श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 235. Both अपरार्क and श्रा. प्र. add the vedic mantra 'अपहताः' (वाज. सं. II. 29) here.

1078. पूर्वपिण्डं प्रयच्छेत्तु पित्र्यं च पृथिवीति च। पितामहाय त्वपरमन्तरिक्षे च वापयेत्॥ प्रपितामहाय च ततस्तृतीयं तु निवेदयेत्। द्यौर्दर्विरिति मन्त्रेण श्रुतिरेषा सनातनी॥ यम q. by कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 203), हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1440). उच्छिष्टसंनिधौ दक्षिणाग्रेषु दर्भेषु पृथिवी दर्विरक्षिता इत्येकं पिण्डं पित्रे निदध्यात्। अन्तरिक्षं दर्विरक्षिता इति द्वितीयं पितामहाय। द्यौर्दर्विरक्षिता इति तृतीयं प्रपितामहाय। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 73. 17-19. आचम्योदक् परावृत्य त्रिरायम्य शनैरसून्। षडृतूंश्च नमस्कुर्यात् पितॄनेव च मन्त्रवित्॥ मनु III. 217. The मन्त्र is: पृथिवी दर्विरक्षिता तृप्तिः स्वधानुपदस्ता तां पृथिवीं दर्विमक्षितां तृप्तिं स्वधामनुपदस्तामग्निरिव पृथिवीमुपजीवासौ ये चात्र त्वामन्वेषा ते स्वधा. In the other two mantras in honour of पितामह and प्रपितामह substitute अन्तरिक्षं and द्यौः for पृथिवी, वायुः and सूर्यः for अग्निः wherever necessary. The meaning is 'the earth is a ladle giving inexhaustible gratification' &c. The काठकगृह्य (63. 14) provides 'पृथिवी दर्विरिति निपरणं कुर्यात्' and the कौशिकसूत्र (88. 8-10) also mentions the three mantras uttered at the time of offering the three piṇḍas (viz. पृथिवी दर्विरक्षिता, अन्तरिक्षं दर्विरक्षिता, द्यौ दर्विरक्षिता). Compare काठकसंहिता IX. 23.

About the final disposal (*pratipatti*) of the piṇḍas several views were entertained. We have already seen (note 780) that the Vāj. S. and several sūtras provided that the middle one of the three piṇḍas for paternal ancestors was to be eaten by the wife of the performer of the śrāddha if she was desirous of a son. Manu (III. 262-263) provides that the *dharmapatnī* (i. e. a wife of the same varṇa and married before any other wife) should eat the middle piṇḍa with the mantra 'ādhatta pitaro garbham' (q. in n. 780) and then she gives birth to a son who lives long, secures fame, is intelligent and obtains wealth and progeny and who is of a good and righteous turn of mind. The same rule is provided for by the Laghu-Āśvalāyana 23.83, the Kūrma II. 2. 71, 76, Matsya 16.52, Vāyu 76.31, Viṣṇudharmottara I. 171 8, 220. 149, Padma (sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 9.121) and other purāṇas. As regards piṇḍas in general, the Āśv. Śr. (II. 7. 14-17) says that the other two piṇḍas (except the middle one) should be cast into water or in fire or they may be eaten by a brāhmaṇa who has suddenly developed a distaste for food or they may be partaken by one who has been suffering from a serious disease (such as tuberculosis or leprosy) and that in the latter case the man either recovers or dies. The Gobhila-gṛ. (IV. 3. 31-34) provides that the piṇḍas should be thrown into water or in fire or should be given to a brāhmaṇa or a cow to eat. Manu (III. 260-261) says the same and adds that they may be given to a goat for eating and that some allow them to be devoured by birds. Yāj. I. 257, Matsya 16.52-53, and Padma[1079] mention the same five ways of disposal but the last adds one more viz. placing them near a mound of earth. The Varāha-purāṇa[1080] (190.121) says that the performer may eat the first piṇḍa himself, he should give the middle to his wife and the third he should cast into water. The Anuśāsanaparva (125. 25.26) provides that the first and the third should be thrown into water or fire and the middle piṇḍa should be eaten by the wife. It is provided by Bṛhaspati that if the wife is suffering from a disease or is already pregnant or is staying in some other

1079. पिण्डांश्च गोजविप्रेभ्यो दद्यादग्नौ जलेपि वा। वप्रान्ते वाथ विकिरेद्वायोभिरथ वाहयेत्॥ पद्म (सृष्टि 9. 120); अपरार्क p. 550 and हेमाद्रि read विमान्ते and वयोभिरथ खादयेत्। (p. 1504). That birds should be allowed to eat the piṇḍas is natural since it was believed as stated above (p. 339) that the pitṛs wander about in the form of birds. Vide कूर्म II. 22.83 for a similar verse.

1080. भक्षयेत् प्रथमं पिण्डं पत्न्यै देयं तु मध्यमम्। तृतीयमुदके दद्याच्छ्राद्धे एवं विधिः स्मृतः॥ वराहपुराण 190.121.

place, then an old bull or a goat may eat the middle piṇḍa (quoted by Sm. C. on Śr. p. 486, Kalpataru on Śr. p. 224). The Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 141. 8) prescribes that when a śrāddha is performed at a *tīrtha*, the piṇḍas should be cast into the sacred water. The Anuśāsanaparva 125. 38–40 and some of the purāṇas such as Vāyu (76.32–34) and Brahma (220.150–152) provide that certain consequences follow from the disposal of piṇḍas in one way or another viz. the best worlds by giving piṇḍas to cows, intellect and fame from casting into water, long life from offering them to birds &c. Vide also Brahmāṇḍa (upodghāta, chap. 12. 31–35) which provides that if given to cows the result is best complexion, if to cocks then delicacy, long life if given crows. In this connection it should be noted that piṇḍas of rice or of flour were not to be offered in all śrāddhas. The Śrāddha-kalpalatā (pp. 86–89) has a long discussion about the śrāddhas in which the offering of piṇḍas of food is forbidden. For example, it quotes Pulastya to the effect that in śrāddhas performed on the two *ayana* days, on the two equinoctial days, on any saṅkrānti, no piṇḍas are to be offered, so also in śrāddhas on Ekādaśī, Trayodaśī, on Maghā and Kṛttikā nakṣatras, if a man desires to have sons and wealth.

On the question as to what is the principal item in the śrāddha there are three views. Some, like Govindarāja,[1081] hold that feeding of brāhmaṇas is the principal thing and they rely on Manu III. 129 which says 'One may feed even a single learned brāhmaṇa in a rite for gods and manes and not many who do not know vedic mantras; by doing so he reaps abundant reward'. Here the reward or fruit is associated with feeding a learned brāhmaṇa. There is a maxim [1082] of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā that 'whatever is mentioned in proximity with an action that has a reward or fruit but has no special reward of its own, is subsidiary (*aṅga*) to what is declared to have a reward.' Besides, there is no piṇḍadāna in certain śrāddhas such as āmaśrāddha, śrāddha on the Yugādi days.[1083]

1081. पुष्कलं फलमाप्नोतीत्यभिधानात् ब्राह्मणस्य भोजनमत्र प्रधानं पिण्डदानादि त्वङ्गमित्यवसीयते । गोविन्दराज on मनु III. 129 (Mandlik's ed.). कुल्लूक on the same verse refers to this opinion.

1082. The न्याय is फलवत्संनिधावफलं तदङ्गम् nentioned by शबर on जै. IV. 4. 19 and by शङ्कर on वेदान्तसूत्र II. 1. 14. Vide जै. IV. 4. 29–38.

1083. तथा च पुलस्त्यः । अयनद्वितये श्राद्धं विषुवद्द्वितये तथा । युगादिषु च सर्वासु पिण्डनिर्वपणादृते ॥ इति । कर्तव्यमिति शेषः । स्मृतिच. (श्रा.) p. 369 ; vide हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) pp.334–336.

Others like Karka hold the view that piṇḍadāna is the principal item in śrāddha. They rely upon the fact that in the śrāddha at Gayā it is the offering of piṇḍas that is the most important matter and upon the fact that in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra (78. 52–53, and 85. 65–66) and in several Purāṇas such as the Varāha (13.50), Viṣṇu (III. 14.22–23), Brahma (220.31–32), Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 145.3–4) the pitṛs are stated to have expressed a deep yearning for a son who would offer them piṇḍas at Gayā and water on sacred rivers &c. (vide note 911). Further support is sought for this view in the fact that in the śrāddha on the birth of a son and in śrāddha offered even by a good śūdra the feeding of brāhmaṇas is forbidden. A third view is that both the feeding of brāhmaṇas and the offering of piṇḍas are the principal matters in a śrāddha. The Gobhila-smṛti, after stating[1084] the other two views and some of the reasons therefor, tells us that the author of it is himself in favour of this third view. In cases where the word śrāddha is employed and there is neither brāhmaṇa feeding nor piṇḍadāna as in Daiva śrāddha, the word śrāddha is applied in a secondary sense (*gauṇa*). Vide Hemādri (śrāddha) pp. 157–160. In the Dharmapradīpa it is said that among the followers of the Yajurveda (i. e. Vājasaneyins) the offering of piṇḍas is principal, among the followers of the Ṛgveda the feeding of brāhmaṇas is principal, while among the followers of the Sāmaveda both are principal. In this way śrāddha partakes of two characters viz. it is a *yāga* (sacrifice) and also [1085] a gift (dāna). Haradatta, Hemādri, Kapardī and others appear to hold that all three (bhojana piṇḍadāna and agnaukaraṇa) are principal. Vide Saṁskāraratnamālā p. 1003.

The Matsyapurāṇa says in a famous passage 'ancestors from the fourth (i. e. the father, grand-father and great-grandfather of the great-grandfather of performer) are entitled only to the wipings of the articles of food (sticking to

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1084. प्राधान्यं पिण्डदानस्य केचिदाहुर्मनीषिणः। गयादौ पिण्डमात्रं तु दीयमाननिदर्शनात्॥ भोजनस्य प्रधानत्वं वदन्त्यन्ये महर्षयः। ब्राह्मणानां परीक्षायां महायत्ने प्रदर्शनात्। आमश्राद्धविधानस्य विना पिण्डैः क्रियाविधिः। तदालम्भाप्यनभ्यायविधानश्रवणादपि॥ विद्वन्मतमुपादाय ममाप्येतद्धृदि स्थितम्। प्राधान्यमुभयोर्यस्मात्तस्मादेष समुच्चयः॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 160–163.

1085. धर्मप्रदीपेपि। यजुषां पिण्डदानं तु बह्वृचानां द्विजार्चनम्। श्राद्धशब्दाभिधेयं स्यादुभयं सामवेदिनाम्॥ तत्र पितॄन्यजेत पितृभ्यो दद्यादित्युभयप्रयोगदर्शनाद्यागदानोभयात्मकम्। निर्णयसिन्धु III. उत्तरार्धं p. 372.

the hand of the performer of śrāddha); the father, (the grand-father and great-grandfather) are entitled to the pinda; the offerer of the pinda is the 7th; thus *sapinda* relationship extends to seven generations[1086]. The Mārkandeya-purāna states that three ancestors beginning from the paternal grand-father of the paternal grandfather enjoy the wipings (of the hand of the performer when he offers pindas).[1087] The Brahma-purāna (220. 84-86) has similar verses. Manu provided[1088] that the performer should place three pindas on *darbhas* and then wipe off from his hand the particles of food and water sticking to it with the roots of the darbhas (on which the pindas were placed) and that such wipings are meant for those who are called 'lepabhāgin' (the three paternal ancestors after the paternal great-grand-father). Similar provisions are made by the Visnu Dh. S. 73.22, Varāhapurāna 14.36, Garudapurāna (Ācārakānda 218.24), Kūrma II. 22.52. Medhātithi on Manu III. 216 says that even if no food or water sticks to the hand still the performer rubs the hand against the roots of the dar-bhas on which the first pinda was placed. A special rule was provided by Devala quoted in Śrāddhakalpalatā (p. 14) that if the father or mother became a *mleccha* (by forcible or volun-tary conversion &c.) one should not observe any impurity for him or her and no śrāddha should be offered and when offering the three pindas in place of the father the name of Visnu should be uttered.

One question that exercised the minds of well-known writers was whether the daily *Vaiśvadeva* should be performed before starting the śrāddha ceremonies or after the latter were finished. We have to remember first that several works state that rites for pitṛs deserve pre-eminence over those for the

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1086. लेपभाजश्चतुर्थाद्याः पित्राद्याः पिण्डभागिनः। पिण्डदः सप्तमस्तेषां सापिण्ड्यं साप्तपौरुषम्॥ मत्स्य 18.29. These very verses occur in पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड 10. 34-35), which reads सपिण्डाः सप्त पूरुषाः. They are quoted from मत्स्यपुराण by अपरार्क p. 507. मत्स्य 16.38 is तेषु दर्भेषु तं हस्तं निमृज्याल्लेपभागिनाम्।.

1087. लेपसम्बन्धिनश्चान्ये पितामहपितामहात्। प्रभृत्युक्तास्त्रयस्तेषां यजमानश्च सप्तमः। इत्येवं मुनिभिः प्रोक्तः सम्बन्धः साप्तपौरुषः। मार्कण्डेय 28. 4-5 q. by दायभाग XI. 41 (which connects these verses with the rules of impurity on death). The printed दायभाग reads पिण्डलेपभुजश्चान्ये.

1088. न्युप्य पिण्डांस्ततस्तांस्तु प्रयतो विधिपूर्वकम्। तेषु दर्भेषु तं हस्तं निमृज्याल्लेप-भागिनाम्॥ मनु III. 216. The latter half occurs in मत्स्य 16.38.

gods[1089]. Manu (III. 265) states[1090] that after the brāhmaṇas have been dismissed the performer of śrāddha shall offer the (daily) domestic *bali* offering and that this is the settled rule of dharma. Medhātithi explains that the word 'bali' is merely illustrative. The Matsyapurāṇa[1091] 17.61, the Varāhapurāṇa (14.43), Skanda VII. 1. 266. 101–102, Devala, Kārṣṇājini and others provide that after the rites for the fathers are finished Vaiśvadeva should be performed. When Vaiśvadeva is performed after the completion of śrāddha rites, it is to be offered from the food that remains after being utilized for the śrāddha dinner. But Hemādri (pp. 1058–1065) holds a long discussion and arrives at the following conclusions. In the case of an *āhitāgni* (p. 1064), Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before śrāddha except in the case of the śrāddha on the 11th day after death. In the case of one who has not kept the sacred fires there are three optional times for Vaiśvadeva, viz. after *agnaukaraṇa* or after the *vikira* (scattering of food on darbhas for those dying without the *saṁskāras* being performed for them), or after the brāhmaṇas are dismissed on the completion of the śrāddha (p. 1064). If Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before śrāddha or in the midst of it, then the cooking of food must be done separately for Vaiśvadeva and for śrāddha. In the case of all, whether *sāgnika* or *anagnika*, Vaiśvadeva must be performed with the remainder of the food left after use in śrāddha, if the former is performed after the latter. There were sages like Paiṭhīnasi[1092] that held that Vaiśvadeva should not be performed with the food cooked for śraddha without first offering the food to the brāhmaṇas invited for śrādda dinner i. e. Vaiśvadeva must be performed after śrāddha if the same food is to be used

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1089. देवकार्याद् द्विजातीनां पितृकार्यं विशिष्यते। मनु III. 203, ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद 10. 104), मत्स्यपुराण 15. 40, वायु 73. 55.

1090. ततो गृहबलिं कुर्यादिति धर्मो व्यवस्थित:॥ मनु III. 265. मेधातिथि remarks 'ततो गृहबलिं निष्पन्ने श्राद्धकर्मण्यनन्तरं वैश्वदेवहोमान्वाहिकातिथ्यादिभोजनं कर्तव्यम्। बलिशब्दस्य प्रदर्शनार्थत्वात्।'.

1091. निवृत्य प्रणिपत्याथ पर्युक्ष्याग्निं समन्त्रवत्। वैश्वदेवं प्रकुर्वीत नैत्यकं बलिमेव च॥ मत्स्य 17. 61; निवर्तेताभ्यनुज्ञात आद्वारान्तमनुव्रजेत्। ततस्तु वैश्वदेवाख्यां कुर्यान्नित्यक्रियां तत:॥ वराह 14. 43; पितृपाकात् समुद्धृत्य वैश्वदेवं तु होमयेत्। देवल q. by हलायुध in his com. on कात्यायन's श्राद्धसूत्र (folio 31a). The verse निवृत्य प्रणिपत्याथ occurs in पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड 9. 190) also.

1092. पितृणामनिवेद्य तस्मादन्नाद्वैश्वदेवादिकमपि न कार्यम्। तथा च पैठीनसि:। पितृपाकात्समुद्धृत्य वैश्वदेवं करोति य:। आसुरं तद्भवेच्छ्राद्धं पितॄणां नोपतिष्ठते॥ स्मृतिच. (श्रा.) p. 410, टोडरानन्द (folio 75b).

for the former. The Nirṇayasindhu (III. p. 459) states that as most smṛtis place the performance of Vaiśvadeva after śrāddha and as many writers of commentaries and digests such as Medhātithi and Smṛtiratnāvali do the same all should perform Vaiśvadeva after finishing śrāddha.

It is now necessary to illustrate how *pārvaṇa* śrāddha is performed in modern times. Here the greatest variety prevails. The details of the rite vary in the different parts of India. They vary also according as the performer belongs to a particular Veda or a particular recension of the Veda, they vary according to the particular eminent writer that is followed and further additions are made according as the performer is a Vaiṣṇava or a Śaiva. Such differences have to be passed over here, particularly because they are not material. We saw above that the Pārvaṇa-śrāddha was very simple in the days of the Brāhmaṇas and most of the sūtras. There was then no express mention of the worship of Viśvedevāḥ in Pārvaṇa-śrāddha, or of the maternal ancestors or of the wives of any ancestors. Gradually these came to be added and by the time of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti there was special invocation of the Viśvedevāḥ. But these latter were probably not expressly divided into groups at the time of that work. During the smṛti period groups of Viśvedevāḥ came to be assigned to different kinds of śrāddhas (vide p. 457 note 1018). The Purāṇas prescribed several Paurāṇic mantras for being recited during the śrāddha rite, such as the verse 'āgacchantu' (note 984) and the verse 'devatābhyaḥ pitṛbhyaśca' (p. 458 note 1020). Then there arose the principle of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā that all rites described in the different śākhās and sūtras constitute but one rite, and that one may take over from another śākhā or sūtra details described therein, which are not opposed to one's own śākhā or sūtra (vide pp. 453–55 notes 1011–1013). This principle tended to make the śrāddha rites all inclusive and the whole procedure became swollen to an enormous extent. How even the slightest variation causes difference in the details may be illustrated by an example. In Mithilā villages even among poor men eleven brāhmaṇas are invited for pārvaṇa-śrāddha, but it is often difficult to secure a very learned man (who is called *pātra* or *mahāpātra*) to officiate. In such a case where a *mahāpātra* or a *pātra* brāhmaṇa is not available the śrāddha is called apātraka-pārvaṇaśrāddha (for which really there is no *śāstric* authority) and is distinguished from the *sapātraka* pārvaṇa-śrāddha in several matters, two of which in the case of the

Vājasaneyins may be stated here. Though the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana, which is of special authority among Vājasaneyins, declares (at the end of kaṇḍikā III) that the brāhmaṇas are to be dismissed at the end of the śrāddha with the verse 'Vāje vāje' (Vāj. S. 9. 18) and the performer should circumambulate the brāhmaṇas with the mantra 'ā mā vājasya' (Vāj. S. 9. 19), it is not the practice among the śiṣṭas in Mithilā according to the editor of the Śrāddharatna to observe these directions in what is called 'apātraka-pārvaṇa-śrāddha' in these days. In Rudradhara's Śrāddhaviveka (pp. 138-146) the 'apātraka-pārvaṇa-śrāddha-prayoga' is set out at length.

In medieval and modern times in the different provinces of India different manuals are followed by the followers of the several Vedas. For example, in Bengal the Sāmavedins, Yajurvedins and Ṛgvedins follow the procedure of pārvaṇa-śrāddha laid down in the manuals (or *paddhatis*) of Bhavadeva, Paśupati and Kālesi respectively and there are many persons who follow the rules laid down by Raghunandana in his Śrāddhatattva and Yajurvedīśrāddha-tattva. In Mithilā, Śrīdatta wrote his Pitṛbhakti for Yajurvedins and the Śrāddha-kalpa for Sāmavedins and the Śrāddha-ratna of Mahāmahopādhyāya Lakṣmīpati (between 1500 to 1640 A. D.) which is printed at Darbhanga and claims to be the traditional manual for Maithilas (Maithila-sāmpradāyika-śrāddhapaddhati) in several places says that it follows the Sugatisopāna of Pratihastaka for Chandogas and also for Vājasaneyins. In the Madras State Vaiṣṇava brāhmaṇas follow special treatises on *Pūrva* and *Apara kriyās* of Vaidika-Sārvabhauma or Hārīta Veṅkaṭācārya or Tolappar and Smārta brāhmaṇas follow the Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha, which does not much differ in major matters from the works of Vaidikasārvabhauma. Often the only differences are in the saṅkalpa and at the end. It is impossible to exhibit in this work the contents of all these manuals and to compare and contrast them. Therefore I shall set out here a model pārvaṇaśrāddha rite as performed by Ṛgvedins in Western India and then a Śukla Yajurveda rite. The Pratisāṁvatsarika śrāddha [1093] rite for Ṛgvedins in

1093. The darśaśrāddha differs only very slightly from the above. The summary here is taken from the 'Ṛgvedibrahmakarma-samuccaya' published by the Nirṇayasāgara Press in Bombay in Pothi size, folios 98-108 (ed. of 1936, *śake* 1858).

Western India may be set out as follows :—(From the references added in the text and notes it will be clear that this modern rite is all inclusive i. e. it follows the Āśv. Śr. often taking passages verbatim from it, the smṛtis and purāṇas). The performer wears white garments (lower and upper) and sits on a seat of *kuśas* or of wool or deer skin and then sips water twice and wears a *pavitra* on the finger next to the small finger with Ṛg. IX. 83.1. He ties his top knot on the head and sacred thread with kuśas, and ties three kuśa blades with tilas on the left of the *dhoti* worn by him. Then he performs prāṇāyāma and declares the resolve (*saṅkalpa*)[1094] to perform (the Sāṁvatsarika) śrāddha after referring to the time and place and together with agnaukaraṇa, piṇḍadāna &c. The invited brāhmaṇas reply 'do so'. Then the performer puts into a copper vessel water with the mantra 'imam me Gaṅge' (Ṛg. X. 75. 5), sandalwood paste with the mantra 'Gandhadvārām,' yava grains with the mantra 'thou art yava, king of cereals, Varuṇa is thy patron, thou art endowed with sweetness, thou art the remover of all sins and art known by all sages as holy', betelnut (with Ṛg. X. 97,15), gold (or some coin) with the mantra 'Hiraṇya-rūpaḥ' (Ṛg. II. 35.10), flowers and basil leaves. (Then he becomes prācīnāvītī)[1095] and puts sesamum grains in the water

1094. The सङ्कल्प will be श्रीमद्भगवतो महापुरुषस्य विष्णोराज्ञया प्रवर्तमानस्य ब्रह्मणो द्वितीये परार्धे...भरतवर्षे दाक्षिणापथे दण्डकारण्ये देशे शालिवाहनशके अमुकनाम संवत्सरे गोदावर्या दाक्षिणे तीरे (उत्तरे तीरे वा)... अमुकतिथौ अमुकवासरे... पुरूरवार्द्रवसंज्ञकानां विश्वेषां देवानां अस्मत्पितृपितामहप्रपितामहानाममुकशर्मणां अमुकसगोत्राणां वसुरुद्रादित्यस्वरूपाणां एतेषां श्रेयोर्थं मोक्षार्थं मम पितॄणां प्रतिसांवत्सरिकश्राद्धं सदैवं सपिण्डं साग्नौकरणं पार्वणेन विधिना अन्नेन हविषा सद्यः करिष्ये. The performer becomes प्राचीनावीती when repeating the words अस्मत्पितृ...स्वरूपाणां and reverts to उपवीत form when saying एतेषां etc. Among the Mādhvas the सङ्कल्प contains the words 'पित्रन्तर्यामिणो विश्वेदेवान्तर्यामिणोऽनिरुद्ध-प्रद्युम्न-सङ्कर्षण-वासुदेव-चतुर्मूर्त्यात्मक-श्राद्धस्वामि-श्रीमध्वजनार्दनस्य समाराधनं करिष्ये ।.'

1095. The terms प्राचीनावीतिन्, यज्ञोपवीतिन् or उपवीतिन्, सव्यं and अपसव्यं occur almost at every step in the श्राद्धप्रयोग. They will be explained once for all here and instead of repeating lengthy translations the original Sanskrit words will be kept in the *prayoga* set out hereafter. Gobhila gṛ. I. 2.2–3, Khādiragṛ I. 1. 4–6 and Manu II. 63 define yajñopavītin or upavītin as one who suspends the sacrificial chord round his neck and raises the right arm so as to wear the chord on his left shoulder and prācīnāvītin as one who raises the left arm and wears the chord on his right shoulder. Savya means left. Acc. to लघ्वाश्वलायन I. 91 when the sacred chord hangs down from the left shoulder (and under the right arm) that is said to be 'savyam' and when the chord hangs down from the right shoulder (and under the left arm) that is अपसव्यम्.

(in another vessel) with the mantra 'Tilosi' (quoted in note 966), Bhṛṅgarāja leaf with the mantra 'mā kākam' (Ṛg. VI. 48. 17), betelnut, gold (or coin). Then he repeats the Puruṣa-sūkta [1096] (Ṛg. X. 90), Ṛg. X. 128.1–9, IX. 58. 1–4, Ṛg. X. 126. 1–8, Ṛg. IV. 40.5, Ṛg. VII. 89. 5, the sacred Gāyatrī with *om* and the three Vyāhṛtis, Ṛg. VII. 56. 12, Ṛg. VIII. 44. 21, 17, Ṛg. VIII. 95. 7–9. Then after repeating the well-known verse 'apavitraḥ pavitro vā ' [1097] (whoever, whether pure or impure or being in any state whatever, remembers the name of Viṣṇu becomes pure externally as well as internally), he requests 'May everything such as the place and the materials be rendered pure '. The brāhmaṇas reply 'let it be so.' Then placing some coin on the ground, the performer having in his hand sesamum grains, water and kūśas goes round (pradakṣiṇā) the brāhmaṇas thrice, and repeats three verses (in classical sanskrit) in praise of the dust of the feet of brāhmaṇas and a Vedic passage from Tai. Ā. II. 15 [1098] 'All the devatās reside in a brāhmaṇa who knows the Veda; therefore every day one should perform obeisance to brāhmaṇas knowing the Veda. He should not utter anything derogatory or evil (either true or false) about them. (By doing so) he pleases all these *devatās*.' After making obeisance (to the brāhmaṇas) twice he should be prācīnāvītī, repeat the verse 'akrodhanaiḥ' (note 913 p. 407 above) and request the brāhmaṇas 'may you be pleased to say that I have complete *adhikāra* to perform the sāṁvatsarikaśrāddha of my pitṛs this day.' The brāhmaṇas should reply 'let there be this adhikāra for the performance of śrāddha.' Then being *upavītin* the performer requests 'may you declare that this time is the proper time and that the food cooked is fit for being offered.' The brāhmaṇas reply 'let it be so.' Then he asks the permission to give invitation to the brāhmaṇas. They give it. Then he touches the right knee of one brāhmaṇa and says 'you should find time to accept the invitation to act as representing the Viśve-devas named Purūrava and Ārdrava in this pratisāṁvatsarika śrāddha of my pitṛs'. The brāhmaṇa replies 'yes, be it so.' Then the performer addresses the second Vaiśvadevika brāhmaṇa in the

1096. Hardly any sūtra or any single digest prescribes the recital of so many mantras as is done here.

1097. This occurs in the Garuḍapurāṇa (ācārakāṇḍa) chap. 216.1–2

1098. यावतीर्वै देवतास्ताः सर्वा वेदविदि ब्राह्मणे वसन्ति तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेभ्यो वेदविद्भ्यो दिवे दिवे नमस्कुर्यात्। नाश्लीलं कीर्तयेदेता एव देवताः प्रीणाति । तै. आ. II. 15 (at end).

same way (if two brāhmaṇas have been invited for the purpose) and then wearing the sacred thread in the prācīnāvīta way should touch the left knee of the brāhmaṇa (*pitrya*) and say to him 'you should accept the invitation to represent my father, grandfather and great-grandfather in this pratisāṁvatsarika śrāddha.' The brāhmaṇa should reply 'so be it.' He should request 'you should repair to my house.' The brāhmaṇa replies 'I shall do so.' Then he should make maṇḍalas [1099] for the daiva and pitrya brāhmaṇas. Then *savyam*. The performer should offer seat, sandalwood paste, flowers and say 'may all the items (*upacāras*) of showing honour be complete by means of *yava* grains.' Then *apasavyam*. He offers *āsana* (seat), sandalwood paste and flowers and declares 'may all the *upacāras* be completed by means of sesamum grains.' Then *savyam*. He offers welcome to the *daiva* brāhmaṇas, to which they respond by saying 'susvāgatam' (it is a good welcome). Then he should say 'here is *pādya* for you, O Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ārdrava! Bhūr-bhuvaḥ-svaḥ to the (daiva) brāhmaṇa'; the response is 'supādyam'. He should wash the feet of (the *daiva*) brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas with the mantra 'śan no devīr' (Ṛg X. 9.4, vide n. 968). Then he wears the thread in the *apasavya* way and offers welcome to the pitrya brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas representing the three male ancestors [1100] and offers to give *pādya* to them and they respond with the words 'susvāgatam' and 'supādyam'. He also employs the verse 'śan no devīr' as in the case of *daiva* brāhmaṇas.

Then the performer casts away the *pavitra* worn so far, washes his hands and feet, performs *ācamana* and wears two pavitras. Then *savyam*. He says 'welcome to all.' They respond with 'susvāgatam'. Then holding the right hand (except the thumb) of the daiva brāhmaṇas he says 'Ye gods, occupy seats'; they respond by saying 'susamāsmahe' (we have well occupied them). Then *apasavyam*. He addresses similar words to pitrya brāhmaṇas who respond in a similar way. Then *savyam*. He seeks permission in the words 'I

1099. For maṇḍalas vide above pp. 456–457.

1100. The पाद्य would be offered in the words 'पितः, अमुकशर्मन् अमुकगोत्र वसुरूप ब्राह्मणे भूर्भुवः स्वः, इदं ते पाद्यम्'. In the case of the पितामह and प्रपितामह the words रुद्ररूप and आदित्यरूप would respectively be substituted for वसुरूप. We have to construe as ब्राह्मणे ते पाद्यम् (अस्तु) and भूर्भुवः स्वः as the mantra accompanying the पाद्य.

shall perform the Pratisāṁvatsarika śrāddha of my pitṛs that has been begun'. The brāhmaṇas say 'do so'. Then the verse 'śam no devīr' (Ṛg. X. 9. 4) is repeated and also the words 'thou art yava, separate from us those who hate us and who are our enemies'. Then *apasavyam*. The following texts are repeated viz. Ṛg. X. 9.4, Ṛg. X. 15.1 and with the mantra 'The asuras, rākṣasas, the piśācas, that dwell along the earth are struck down; may they go from this place elsewhere wherever their mind may be fixed', he scatters sesamum grains everywhere and repeats the mantra, Ṛg. X. 87.1 There are eight Vasus, eleven Rudras and twelve Ādityas. Let there be protection given by Viṣṇu at the door where śrāddha is being performed and may this spot be Gayā. The brāhmaṇas reply 'Let it be a good spot.' Then *savyam*. He sprinkles drops of water with darbhas over the food that is cooked for the śrāddha dinner with the mantras viz. Ṛg. IX. 58, 1, IX. 67. 26–28 and with the three Vyāhṛtis and the Gāyatrī. Then he requests 'May there be purity of the cooking' and 'may the sprinkling of the cooked food be according to the rules prescribed,' to which the response is 'so be it.' Then the verse 'āgacchantu mahābhāgāḥ' (vide note 984) is recited and the brāhmaṇas reply 'we are careful (or attentive).' Then *apasavyam*. He announces 'contemplating upon this spot where śrāddha is being performed as Gayā and concentrating the mind on Gadādhara (Viṣṇu) and the pitṛs in the form of Vasus and the like, the śrāddha (rite) proceeds'. The brāhmaṇas say 'do proceed.' Then *savyam*. He gives water on the hand of the *daiva* brāhmaṇas, places on the right side of the seat occupied by them two darbhas together with yavas with his upturned right hand held by the left hand and says with the Vyāhṛtis (Bhūr, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ) 'this is the seat for the brāhmaṇa representing the Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ārdrava'. The brāhmaṇa replies 'svāsanam'. This is done also for the second daiva brāhmaṇa. He then says 'Please sit down here, though art Dharma' and seizing the brāhmaṇa's hand (except the thumb) he says 'accept the invitation for being daiva brāhmaṇa in the Pratisāṁvatsarika śrāddha.' The response is 'so be it.' Then reaching the *arghya* water, he sprinkles the ground in front of the (daiva) brāhmaṇas with water, spreads two darbhas (in front of each *daiva* brāhmaṇa) with their tips towards the east, places down two vessels with their tops turned downwards, sprinkles water over them with the Gāyatrī mantra, raises the vessels up (i. e. turns their tops upwards), again sprinkles water over them and places over them (the two

vessels) two kūrcas[1101] with the tips turned to the east, pours into them water and invokes the water once with the mantra, 'śan no devīr' (Ṛg. X. 9. 4). Then he puts yava grains into the two *arghya* vessels for daiva brāhmaṇas with the mantra 'Yavosi dhānyarājo vā' (note 985) and also sandalwood paste, flowers, basil leaf and performs obeisance. He says 'May all the upacāras be completed by means of yavas; the two arghya vessels for daiva brāhmaṇas are fully ready'. The response is 'susampanne'. He says 'svāhā, these are arghya waters'. The response is 'let there be arghya waters'. Placing his left hand in which he holds kuśas and yava grains on the right knee of the daiva brāhmaṇa and holding in his (right) hand yava grains he says 'I shall invoke the Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ardrava to be present in you'. They respond 'do invoke'. He invokes the Viśve-devas with the mantra 'viśve devāsa' (Ṛg. II. 47. 13) separately repeated as regards each *daiva* brāhmaṇa. He says, 'I invoke the Viśve devas with the mantra 'viśve devāḥ śṛṇutemām' (Ṛg. VI. 52. 13). Having invoked Viśve devas he casts the remaining yava-grains on the ground near the feet of the daiva brāhmaṇas. Then he gives water to them (daiva brāhmaṇas) and he puts in their hands the darbhas placed over the *arghya* vessels; he says 'O Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ārdrava! this is arghya water for you; svāhā, adoration'. They respond 'let there be arghya'. Repeating the mantra 'yā divyā āpaḥ' (vide Āśv. Gṛ. IV. 7. 13 above in n. 966) he says 'this arghya has been offered, it is no longer mine.' They respond 'let it be so offered'. The same process is followed as to the second daiva brāhmaṇa. Then he offers fragrant[1102] substances (sandalwood paste etc.), flowers, basil leaves, incense, lamp, and cash according to his ability as substitute for garment, *gopīcandana* for unguent, sacred chord and two kuśa blades for pavitra with the words 'O Viśve devāḥ, called Purūrava and Ārdrava! these are fragrant substances for you according

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1101. कूर्च is a bundle of fifteen darbhas one cubit long having tops of four aṅgulas in length and having a knot two aṅgulas from the bottom part. पञ्चदशदर्भैर्ग्रथितं चतुरङ्गुलाग्रं द्व्यङ्गुलग्रन्थि हस्तमात्रं प्रोक्षणकूर्चम्। वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र I. 8.

1102. Each of the things is offered with the same formula and as to each there is a response from the brāhmaṇas with 'su' prefixed to each article offered. It would be like this 'पुरूरवार्द्रवसंज्ञका विश्वेदेवाः यथा भागशः अमी वो गन्धाः स्वाहा नमः। सुगन्धाः। पुरू...विश्वेदेवा यथा भागशः एष वो दीपः स्वाहा नमः सुदीपः।' and so on.

to your portions; svāhā, adoration'. When offering a garment or cash therefor he recites 'yuvā suvāsāḥ' (Ṛg. III. 8.4). Then he says 'these items viz. *gandha*, leaves, flowers, incense, lamp ending with covering (garment) be all of them complete. Let there be good worship in the rite of worship; May that which is wanting or is excessive be according to prescribed rules'. The brāhmaṇas respond 'astu vidhivat' and the performer recites the verse 'I do obeisance to Acyuta by remembering whom or by uttering whose name whatever is wanting in *tapas* (observances) or sacrifices becomes at once perfect'.

Then he says to the pitrya brāhmaṇas 'with your permission I shall offer worship to the pitṛs'. They reply 'do offer.' Then *apasavyam*. After bending his right knee, the performer says 'Bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ to Brahman, this is the seat for my father, grandfather and great-grandfather, named N. N., whose gotra is so and so and who are identical with Vasu, Rudra and Āditya'. So saying he offers double-folded darbhas with sesamum grains to the pitrya brāhmaṇas who reply 'svāsanam'. Then follows the same procedure as regards pitrya brāhmaṇas which has been already set out as to daiva brāhmaṇas. The only difference is that instead of two darbhas three darbhas are spread on the ground with their tips towards the south, three vessels are placed towards south-east with faces downwards and three double-folded darbhas are placed on each of the three vessels, instead of 'yavosi' the mantra is 'tilosi somadevatyaḥ' (vide note 966) and instead of 'svāhā namaḥ' the words 'svadhā namaḥ' are employed, and instead of *tulasī* leaf bhṛṅgarāja leaf is employed. In *āvāhana* the performer places his left hand holding kuśas and sesame on the left knee of the pitrya brāhmaṇa and the verse repeated is 'uśantas tvā' (Ṛg. X. 16. 12) as to each pitrya brāhmaṇa and he should honour the pitṛs by repeating one mantra 'ā yantu naḥ' (Vāj. S. 19. 58). He offers *arghya*[1103] water with the right hand supported by the left to the father and the other two paternal ancestors. He brings together the saṁsravas[1104] in the first pitrya vessel and anoints his face with that water if he desires a son. The brāhmaṇas respond 'may you have a son'.

1103. The form will be: अपो दत्त्वा पात्रोपरिस्थदर्भान् विप्रहस्ते दत्त्वा अस्मत्पितरिदं ते अर्घ्यम्। अस्त्वर्घ्यम्। अपसव्यम्। या दिव्या आपः पृथिवी०। पित्रे इदमर्घ्यं दत्तं न मम। अस्तु दत्तम्। सव्यम्। पितामहेदं तेऽर्घ्यम्। अस्त्वर्घ्यम्। अपसव्यम्। या दिव्या०। पितामहायेदमर्घ्यं दत्तं न मम। and so on for प्रपितामह.

1104. For संस्रव, vide note 1001.

He places the vessel containing *saṁsravas* with the top upside down on darbhas to the north of the daiva vessel, with the mantra 'thou art a place for the pitṛs.' Then *gandha*, flowers with *tulasī* and bhṛṅgarāja leaves, incense, lamp, garment or cash therefor, gopīcandana, sacred chord, betelnut, kuśas for pavitra are offered to the pitṛs and he repeats the verse 'idam pitṛbhyaḥ' (Ṛg. X. 15. 2). After repeating the verse 'yat smṛtyā' (vide above) there is 'savyam'. The performer says 'with your permission I shall prepare maṇḍalas and place the plates'. The response is 'do so'. On the spot where the plates for daiva brāhmaṇas are to be placed a four-cornered maṇḍala beginning from the south-west to north-east and made with the right hand towards it and on the spot for the plates for pitrya brāhmaṇas the maṇḍala is circular beginning from north-east to south-west made with the left hand towards it. Then the plates for the diners are to be placed inside those maṇḍalas. Then taking holy ashes (*apasavyam*) he draws a line round the plates for pitrya brāhmaṇas with the mantra 'piśaṅga-bhṛṣṭim' (Ṛg. I. 133. 5). Then *savyam*. Then round the plates of the *daiva* brāhmaṇas he draws lines with the mantras 'rakṣā ṇo' (Ṛg. IV. 3. 14) and 'brahma ca' (Ṛg. X. 4. 7) and two more verses (probably Paurāṇic) which pray that the mark made with ashes may guard all, just as Viṣṇu protects the worlds. Just as Viṣṇu renders ineffective the eyes of all men of evil sight, so one should make a maṇḍala with ashes and when this is done there is no blemish in sitting in the same row for dining. Then the purification of the hand (right) of the brāhmaṇas is done, beginning with the pitrya brāhmaṇa first. Then the performer requests 'let me perform *agnaukaraṇa* with your permission in the hand[1105] of the (pitrya) brāhmaṇa.' The reply is 'do so'. Then *apasavyam*. Taking some cooked food and anointing it with clarified butter and dividing it into parts, having touched the two parts placed towards the south he says 'this for Soma accompanied by the Pitṛs, this for Agni, the carrier of kavya' and having spread the left hand underneath the right hand, having cut off portions from the middle and the part to the east according to the rules for avadānas[1106]

1105. If there are three brāhmaṇas to represent the three paternal ancestors, then he should say 'in the *hands* of the brāhmaṇas'. The Nirṇayasindhu (III. Uttarārdha p. 440) says that a widower performs *agnaukaraṇa* in the hand of the daiva brāhmaṇa.

1106. As laid down in Āśv. gṛ I. 7. 10-12 the अवदानधर्मs are उपस्तरणं द्विश्चावदानं हविरवदानयोश्च प्रत्यभिघारणम्.

and having poured clarified butter on the food in the vessel and on the food cut off for oblations, he should offer the oblations with the words 'To Soma accompanied by pitṛs, *svadhā* and adoration; this for Soma with the pitṛs and it is not (now) mine' and 'to Agni the bearer of *Kavya*, *svadhā* and adoration; this is for Agni Kavyavāhana and not mine.' This is the mode everywhere. He touches water with the left hand and repeats the following (which is called 'saṁsthā-japa' and occurs in Āśv. Śr. I. 11.15) 'Om ca me...te namaḥ'. Obeisance to Agni. *Svasti*. Then he prays 'O Kavyavāhana! bestow on me faith, memory, glory, intelligence, learning, intellect, wealth, strength, long life, brilliance, health.' He says 'offering has been made on the hand'. The response is 'suhutam'. Then he pours ghee on the vessel containing the food and repeats 'mūrdhānam divaḥ' (Ṛg. VI. 7. 1). Then the brāhmaṇas should cast the food on their hands in the vessel over which ghee has been poured and then mutter Trisuparṇa,[1107] the hymns to *anna* (Ṛg. I. 187. 1-11 and several others) and other hymns. Then certain paurāṇic verses should be repeated, viz. 'Devatābhyaḥ' (note 1020), the verse 'one should always recite at a śrāddha these holy places viz Kurukṣetra, Gayā, Gangā Prabhāsa and Puṣkara', the two verses[1108] 'saptavyādhā' (note 994a) and three more verses, one speaking of adoration to pitṛs and the other two praying to Viṣṇu and Śiva for favours. Then *savyam*. Then he sprinkles water (prokṣaṇa) on the food with the Gāyatrī mantra. Then bending his right knee he silently spills water. Then holding the plate with the right hand above and the left hand below he utters the mantra 'the earth is thy vessel[1108a], the heaven is the lid. I sacrifice thee in the brāhmaṇa's mouth. I sacrifice thee in the Prāṇa (breath) and Apāna (breath) of learned brāhmaṇas. Thou art imperishable. Do not perish for these (Fathers) here and in the next world.' Then he repeats 'ato devā' (Ṛg. I. 22. 16) and 'O Viṣṇu, guard the sacrificial food'. With the hand

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1107. For Trisuparṇa, vide p. 364 note 862a. The अन्नसूक्तs are Ṛg. I. 187. 1-11, IV. 31.1-3 and several others which the brāhmaṇas are in the habit of reciting in these days.

1108. The meaning of the two verses (in note 994a) viz. सप्तव्याधा: has been stated above on p. 445.

1108 a. For 'Pṛthivī te pātram' vide note 992.

turned downwards he thrusts in the food (served in the plate) the root of the thumb of the brāhmaṇa turned downwards and should revolve it (in the food) from right to left. Then touching the plate with his left hand the performer should say 'The Viśve devās called Purūrava and Ārdrava are the deity, this food is the sacrificial offering, this brāhmaṇa serves as *āhavanīya* fire, this place is Gayā, this brāhmaṇa diner is Gadādhara, this food is Brahma, the golden vessel is the shade of the Akṣayyavaṭa (at Gayā). This food together with the flavouring dishes which is already served (in the plate) and which may be served therein (later), is the sacrificial food offered to the Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ārdrava till this brāhmaṇa is satisfied. Adoration. It is not mine. *Om Tat Sat*. May the food offered at the fourteen spots such as Viṣṇupada at Gayā be inexhaustible!'. So saying he should cast on the ground towards the left side of the plate water mixed with darbhas and yavas. He says 'May Gadādhara (Viṣṇu) of Gayā be pleased'. The brāhmaṇas respond 'May he be pleased'. Then he repeats 'Ye devāso' (Ṛg. I. 139.11). Then he says 'with the permission of the daiva brāhmaṇas I shall present food to the Father and others'. They reply 'do so'. Then *apasavyam*. Then silently sprinkling water round the plate, and touching the plate (of the pitrya brāhmaṇa) with the left hand above and the right hand below it, he repeats the formula 'pṛthivī te pātram...loke' (vide p. 444 note 992) and the verse 'idam Viṣṇur' (Ṛg. I. 22. 17) and say 'O Viṣṇu! guard the *kavya* food,' he should thrust the root of the thumb of the (*pitrya*) brāhmaṇa in the food (served in the plate) and revolve it from right to left. Then touching the plate (of the *pitrya* brāhmaṇa) with the left hand he should say 'the father, grand-father and great-grand-father are *devatā*, this food is of the nature of *kavya*, the brāhmaṇa is in place of the *āhavaniya* fire, this place is Gayā, this dining brāhmaṇa is Gadādhara, this food is Brahma, this silver plate is the shade of the Akṣayyavaṭa (at Gayā), svadhā to my father, grandfather and great-grandfather named so and so, of gotra so and so, that are Vasu, Rudra and Āditya respectively, this food with the side dishes that is already served in the plate and that may be served (later) is *kavya* up till this brāhmaṇa is satiated. Adoration! It is not mine. *Tat sat*. May the food given at the 14 spots such as Rudrapada at Gayā be inexhaustible. May Gadādhara of Gayā be pleased.' The brāhmaṇa replies 'May he be pleased.' He then repeats the verse 'ye ceha pitaro' (Ṛg. X. 15. 13) and says 'May the food

intended for the pitṛs please them'. Then *savyam*.[1109] Then *naivedya* is offered with the verse 'brahmārpaṇam' (Gītā 4. 24) and with three more verses in which Hari is said to be giver and the enjoyer and the food as having both natures viz. those of *pitṛs* and *devas* and ultimately he winds up by saying 'tat sat brahmārpaṇamastu'. Then *apasavyam*. Then two verses are repeated in which adoration is offered to the feet of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā and other gods, in which even remembrance of Gayā-kṣetra is highly eulogised. Adoration to Kāśī Viśveśvara! adoration to Viṣṇu and Gadādhara at Gayā! Then *savyam*. Then he says 'I shall repeat in your hearing the *madhumatī* verses beginning with 'madhu vātā' (Ṛg. I. 90. 6–8). Then he repeats the word 'madhu' thrice. The brāhmaṇas respond 'sumadhu, all food is sweet.' Then *apasavyam*. Then a verse in praise of Viṣṇu (eko Viṣṇur &c.) 'there is one great Being viz. Viṣṇu &c.' is recited and the performer says 'May Janārdana Viṣṇu who has assumed the form of my father, grandfather and great-grandfather be pleased by this feeding of brāhmaṇas at the pratisāṁvatsarika śrāddha of my pitṛs'. The response is 'may he be so pleased'. *Tat sat brahmārpaṇam-astu*. Then having given water to the brāhmaṇas for *apośana*[1109a] (then *savyam*) he says 'partake of (the food) at your pleasure' and 'though art the first layer of nectar'. Then he repeats the mantra[1110] 'fixing myself in faith and in Prāṇa I offer nectar; being beneficent enter me without burning me. Svāhā to Prāṇa'. This is repeated as to Apāna, Vyāna, Udāna, Samāna with the substitution of each of these four remaining life-breaths. Then he winds up 'my soul is in Brahma for the sake of immortality' and then 'svāhā to Brahma'. Then the hands are purified (by washing them with water). After muttering the Gāyatrī verse ten times or three times, he repeats the hymn to Śraddhā (Ṛg.

1109. The printed text is पितृण्य: सङ्कल्पित: प्रीयताम्. This makes hardly any sense. I take that what is intended is पितॄन् सङ्कल्पितमन्नं प्रीणयतु or पितर: सङ्कल्पितेन (अन्नेन) प्रीयन्ताम्.

1109a. 'Apośana' literally means 'taking or drinking water'. It is a technical term applied to the sipping of water before beginning a meal with the words 'amṛtopastaraṇamasi' and after the eating is finished with the words 'amṛtāpidhānamasi'. Vide Tai. Ā. X. 32, Āp. M. P. II.10.3–4, Āśv. gṛ I.24.12, Yāj. I.31 and 106.

1110. The mantras are श्रद्धायां प्राणे निविष्टोऽमृतं जुहोमि शिवो माविशाप्रदाहाय। प्राणाय स्वाहा। श्रद्धायामपाने निविष्टो° and so on. प्राणे निविष्टोऽमृतं जुहोमि ब्रह्मणि म आत्मामृतत्वाय—is आप. म. पा. II. 20.26. The whole passage from प्राणे निविष्टो to अमृतत्वाय occurs in तै. आ. X. 34.

X. 151. 1–5). Then the performer requests 'you should ask for what is wanted; seating yourself you should with minds at ease eat at your pleasure. You should take from the foods and vegetables that are cooked and are ready whatever pleases you and should discard what you do not like. You should eat at ease'. They respond 'we partake (of the food)'. He says 'I shall recite the hymns called Rākṣoghna [1111] as far as I can.' They respond 'repeat'. Then towards the end of the dinner a little boiled rice with curds (should be served) and nectar-like Ganges water. He says 'everything is perfect. Ask for whatever you like out of the sacrificial food that is cooked'. They respond 'we have had enough'. He says 'I shall recite the Madhumatī verses (Ṛg. I. 90.6–8) in your hearing'. They respond 'recite them'. Then *apasavyam*. He recites Ṛg. I.82.2 [1111a] and should say 'The śrāddha called so and so is completed'. They should respond '*susampannam*'. Then *savyam*. He asks 'Ye Viśvedevāḥ! are you satisfied?' They reply 'we are satisfied'. Then *apasavyam*. He asks 'Ye (brāhmaṇas) representing my father, grandfather and great-grandfather! are you satisfied?'. They reply 'We are satisfied'. He asks 'what is to be done with the food that remains?'. They reply 'it may be eaten in the company of your friends (and relatives)'. Then *savyam*.

Then the performer declares that he would perform in the Prati-sāṁvatsarika-śrāddha *piṇḍapradāna* (the offering of lumps of rice) together with water and sesamum grains. They reply 'do so'. 'Let food be given to those who take as their share what remains outside the plates of the brāhmaṇa diners'. The performer says [1112] 'May all the (deceased) men and women slaves that were born in the performer's household obtain satisfaction by the food given by me on the ground'. (Then he offers water to the brāhmaṇas with the words) 'thou art the nectarial lid' (or covering). He says 'May the water given to those who hanker for it, who dwell in Padma and Arbuda and

1111. The hymn beginning with कृणुष्व पाजः (Ṛg. IV. 4. 1-15) is called राक्षोघ्न. The first five verses of it are वाज. सं. 13. 9–13. All fifteen verses occur in तै. सं. I. 2. 14. 1-6. So also are Ṛg. X. 87 (beginning with रक्षोहणं वाजिनमाजिघर्मि), Ṛg. VII. 104 (beginning with इन्द्रासोमा तपतं रक्ष उब्जतं), Ṛg. X. 118, Ṛg. X. 162.

1111 a. अक्षन्नमीमदन्त ह्यव प्रिया अधूषत...हरी॥ This is ऋ. I. 82.2, वाज. सं. III. 51, तै. सं. I. 8. 5. 2.

1112. Compare मनु III. 246, which is the same as विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81.23, मत्स्य 17.57, पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड 9. 186).

Raurava (hells) full of pus reach them inexhaustibly'. Then *apasavyam*. He repeats the mantra [1113] 'The asuras and rākṣasas that sit on the altar are struck and driven away' (Vāj. S. II. 29). Sprinkling the ground with water and strewing thereon darbhas cut with one stroke that have their tips turned towards the south-east he says [1114] 'May the Fathers wash themselves, may the grandfathers wash themselves, may the great-grandfathers wash themselves'. In the same way he should sprinkle on the kuśa grass water mixed with sesamum grains for the mothers and the rest. Then he says 'This (food) is for thee, my father named so and so, of such and such gotra, who is (to be contemplated) as Vasu and for those who come here after thee; this is the piṇḍa for thee [1115], svāhā! This piṇḍa occupying the position of a piṇḍa offered at Gayā is presented to my father named so and so and of such and such gotra and who is in the place of Vasu, it is (now) not mine'. Similar formulas are repeated for the piṇḍa offered to the grandfather (who is styled 'Rudrarūpa' instead of 'Vasurūpa') and to the great-grandfather (who is styled 'Ādityarūpa'). Then he utters '*Tat sat.*' 'May whatever is offered in Gayā at the fourteen spots such as Viṣṇupada be inexhaustible'. Then he wipes off on the roots of [1116] the darbhas on which the piṇḍas are placed the particles (of rice, ghee and water) sticking to his hand for the gratification of those that are entitled to the wipings. Having uttered [1117] once over the piṇḍas the mantra 'O fathers; regale yourselves here, come as bulls each to his share', he should turn towards the north with the left side of his body,

1113. He draws with the roots of darbhas as many lines (as the number of piṇḍas offered, 3 or 6) repeating this mantra at each line (Vāj. S. II. 29).

1114. This is taken from आश्व. श्रौ. सू. II. 6. 14-15 'मेक्षणेनालुप्रहृत्य प्राचीनावीती लेखां त्रिरुदकेनोपनयेत् शुन्धन्तां पितरः ... प्रपितामहा इति। तस्यां पिण्डान् निपृणीयात् पराचीनपाणिः पित्रे पितामहाय प्रपितामहायैतत्तेऽसौ ये च त्वामत्रान्विति।'. Compare आप. म. पा. II. 20. 4-7 मार्जयन्तां मम पितरो etc. q. in note 1060 above; *vide n* 1053 *for* पराचीनपाणिः.

1115. With the food that remains after अग्नौकरण mixed with honey, sesamum grains and ghee piṇḍas are made by the performer or are got made by his wife and are offered by the पितृतीर्थ. Vide note 962.

1116. For लेपभाज: vide n. 1086 above.

1117. Vide n. 960a *for* अत्र पितरो मादयध्वं...यध्वम् and अमीमदन्त पितरो... षीषत. The words in the text are taken from आश्व. श्रौ. सू. II. 6.16-21 *on* पिण्डपितृयज्ञ 'निपृतानतुमन्त्रयेतात्र पितरो माद...दध्वामिति। सव्यावृदुदङ्कावर्त यथाशक्त्यप्राणमासित्वाभिपर्यावृत्यामीम...षीषतेति। चरोः प्राणभक्षं भक्षयेत्।'.

and having held his breath according to his ability he should return to the original position and utter the words 'the Fathers regaled themselves and came like bulls, each to his share' and having smelt the remains of the boiled rice from which piṇḍas are made from the left side (to the right) he should cast the piṇḍas (on the darbhas) and should partake of the boiled rice by taking in as much steam and flavour out of it as he can by smelling it. He should say 'my father! N. N. by name, so and so by gotra, apply unctuous substance'; with these words he should anoint the piṇḍas by means of darbhas with ghee or sesamum oil. And he should apply collyrium to the piṇḍas with the words 'O father! N. N. by name and so and so by gotra ipply collyrium'. He should put on the piṇḍas unctuous substance, collyrium and garment,[1118] the last being the fringe of garment or a tuft of wool with the words 'O fathers! this is he garment for you, do not take up any other (garment) than his'. Then *savyam*. He then says 'I shall offer worship to he piṇḍas for the prosperity of my family'. He then offers o the pitṛs present in the piṇḍas *pādya*, *arghya*, water or ācamana, bath, *gandha*, flowers, bhṛṅgarāja leaf, incense, amp and *naivedya* of apūpa (cakes) and *pāyasa* (rice cooked in ilk), tāmbūla and dakṣiṇā, using the word 'svadhā' after each f them. Then he should worship[1119] them with the mantra Fathers! obeisance to you for the sake of food, for strength, r śuṣma, for the non-terrible (*aghora*), for *jīva*, for *rasa*; svadhā you, O pitṛs, obeisance to you; these are yours, O pitṛs! iese are ours; we are your living (descendants), may we be ive here'! He then recites the verses[1120] Ṛg. X. 57. 3-5. aving thus worshipped them he then (*apasavyam*) with the ilm of the hand turned upwards moves the piṇḍas with the antra[1121] 'paretana' which means 'O fathers who love soma

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1118. Vide आश्व. श्रौ. सू. II. 7.6 'वासो दद्याद् दशामूर्णास्तुकां वा पञ्चाशद्वर्षताया र्वे स्वं लोम एतद्वः पितरो वासो मा नोतोऽन्यत् पितरो युग्ध्वमिति'. The text translated based on this; when the performer is over 50 years of age he may place the pinda the hair from his chest.

1119. नमो वः पितर इषे नमो वः पितर ऊर्जे ... सन्तः स्याम—This passage is en *verbatim* from आश्व. श्रौ. सू. II. 7. 7.

1120. मनो न्वा हुवामह इति तिसृभिः । आश्व. श्रौ. सू. II. 7. 8. आप. श्रौ. सू. I. 5 calls them मनस्वती verses, as the word मनः occurs in each of the three.

1121. परेतन—compare तै. सं. I. 8. 5. 2 'परेत पितरः सोम्या गम्भीरैः पथिभिः ...'. The 2nd half is different. The आश्व. श्रौ. सू. II. 7. 8 says that he uld pour a stream of water with this mantra on the piṇḍas which resent the Fathers for the time being.

drink ! Go away by the sombre ancient paths, after bestowing on us wealth and endow us here with auspicious prosperity and all valiant sons'. He should repeat thrice the prayer 'O fathers ! bestow on us a valiant son' [1122].

Then *savyam*. On the ground near the plates of the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas he scatters food together with yavas and water with the verse 'I shall offer food scattered (*vikira*) near the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas to those gods to whom no soma drink is offered and who are bereft of a share in sacrifices; this scattered food is offered to Viśvedevas who do not partake of the soma drink; it is not (now) mine'. Then *apasavyam*. He says 'I shall offer food scattered near *pitrya* brāhmaṇas on the ground covered with darbhas to those who died without the *saṁskāras* being performed for them and to those women of my family who left the family (for bad deeds); this scattered food is presented to those boys and girls that came out of the womb; it is not mine'. So saying he strews food with water and sesamum seeds and then says after reciting Ṛg. X. 15.14 'this piṇḍa made from the remainder of the food and occupying the position that a piṇḍa given at Gayā occupies, has been offered to those persons who were born in my family and died and who were cremated or were not cremated; this is not mine'. So saying he offers near the pitrya brāhmaṇas a ball of rice and water mixed with sesamum grains.

Then he washes his hands and feet, sips water twice and puts on his finger a *pavitra* with the mantra 'pavitravantaḥ' (Ṛg. IX. 73. 3). He then requests that the water in the hands of the *daiva* brāhmaṇas be auspicious (or beneficial). The brāhmaṇas reply 'may the waters be auspicious.' In the same way there are requests for goodwill, for protection due to yavas, for long life, welfare, peace, prosperity, contentment and responses by the daiva brāhmaṇas giving blessings as to these. Then *apasavyam*. Then the same request for auspiciousness of waters, goodwill, protection by sesamum grains &c. and blessings about them by *pitrya* brāhmaṇas. Then the performer requests 'may my family increase (or prosper) and may the procedure of worshipping the piṇḍas be good,' to which the *pitrya* brāhmaṇas respond 'may

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1122. वीरं मे दत्त पितरः—If the wife desires a son then with this mantra the middle piṇḍa is given over to her and she eats it with the mantra आधत्त पितरो गर्भम्. Vide note 780 for that mantra. The आश्व. श्रौ. सू. II. 7. 12–13 says 'वीरं मे दत्त पितर इति पिण्डानां मध्यमम् । पत्नीं प्राशयेदाधत्त ... सन्निति ।'.

it be so.' Then raising the *praṇītā* [1122a] vessel the performer requests 'May you say that the water and food and the like offered in the Pratisaṁvatsarikaśrāddha to pitṛ, pitāmaha and prapitāmaha, so and so by name and gotra, be inexhaustible.' The *pitrya* brāhmaṇas reply 'so be it.' Then *savyam.* The same request is made to the *daiva* brāhmaṇas and the reply is the same. Then gold is given to the daiva brāhmaṇas and silver to pitrya brāhmaṇas and the performer says 'may the dakṣiṇās (fees) given to the brāhmaṇas that ate the śrāddha dinner protect (me).' They reply 'may they do so.' Then he says 'I shall request you to utter the word *svadhā* !' They reply 'do so.' Then *apasavyam.* Then he says 'May (the brāhmaṇas representing) father, grandfather and great-grandfather utter the word svadhā.' They reply 'let there be svadhā.' Then he should place over the piṇḍas sesamum grains and water. Then he says 'May you declare that svadhā be accomplished.' They reply 'may svadhā be accomplished.' Then *savyam.* Then he says 'may you say that the gods led by Agni be pleased.' They reply 'may the Viśvedevāḥ be pleased.' Then *apasavyam.* Then he requests 'May you declare that the pitṛs led by the Vasus be pleased'. They reply 'may the pitṛs be pleased.' *Savyam.* He says 'May you declare that there is accomplishment of the saṅkalpa' (made at the beginning of the rite). They reply 'May there be accomplishment of the saṅkalpa'. He asks 'were the vegetables and cooked food liked by the pitṛs'. They reply 'they were most excellent'. Then the performer decks himself by applying sandal paste to his forehead. After doing obeisance to the piṇḍas he requests for blessings for his family (which are the same as those set out above from the Padmapurāṇa on p.452 above) and one more blessing 'May persons beg of us but may we not beg of any one' (vide n. 998). The brāhmaṇas reply in the same words only employing the words 'you' or 'your' for 'us' or 'our'.

He says 'I shall remove the piṇḍas'. They reply 'do remove'. Then he repeats the verses 'Tad Viṣṇoḥ' (Ṛg. I. 22.20), 'Tad viprāso' (Ṛg. I. 22.21) and two more verses and then a Paurāṇic verse enumerating the seven holy cities of Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā, Kāśī, Kāñcī, Avantikā and Dvārakā. He says 'May there be peace, prosperity and contentment on the spot where the piṇḍas are'. They reply 'these (peace &c.) dwell in their own places'. He says 'I shall

1122 a. For प्रणीतापात्र vide H. of Db. vol. II. pp. 208, 1022-23.

remove the plates 'in which the brāhmaṇas had their dinner.' Then he lays aside the *kūrca*. He then recites the verse 'Vāje vāje' (Ṛg. VII. 38. 8). Then *savyam*. Then he says 'O pitṛs, get up together with the devas' and repeats the verses 'ā mā vājasya' (Vāj. S. 9. 19), 'svāduṣaṁsadaḥ' (Ṛg. VI. 75. 9), 'brāhmaṇāsaḥ pitaraḥ' (Ṛg. VI. 75. 10), 'ihaiva stam' (Ṛg. X. 85. 42). Then he recites 'may the grandfathers being pleased grant to men (their descendants) long life, progeny, wealth, learning, heaven, *mokṣa*, happiness and kingdom' (Yāj. I. 270, but reads 'prayacchantu' for 'prayacchanti'). Then he prays 'May these blessings turn out to be true, may my family prosper, may this Pratisāṁvatsarika-śrāddha have the same fruits as that of a śrāddha performed at Gayā! May the pitṛs secure inexhaustible gratification.' Then he proceeds 'Today my birth has had its reward by bowing to your feet &c.' (vide n. 999 for the two verses repeated here). The brāhmaṇas reply 'we forget the trouble and excuse you.' Then he says 'Today this *tithi* is like a day sacred to the sun; the brāhmaṇas invited are like Vyāsa, Vasiṣṭha and Vāmadeva; may you declare that whatever is lacking as regards seats, dinner, mantras, procedure, materials and fees in this pratisāṁvatsarika śrāddha of my pitṛs performed by me today become all perfect at the words of brāhmaṇas'. They reply 'May all be perfect'. Then he recites the two verses 'Vasiṣṭhāsaḥ pitṛvad' and 'devān vasiṣṭho' (Ṛg. X. 66. 14–15) and then at the end he repeats the verse containing a salutation (the word 'namaḥ') viz. 'idam pitṛbhyo namo astvadya' (Ṛg. X. 15. 2). Therefore at the end (of a śrāddha rite) one does obeisance to the pitṛs (in the words 'namo vaḥ pitaro &c.'). Therefore they say "should one repeat the pitryā verses with āhāva mantra specially recited with each verse or without repeating the āhāva mantra separately with each verse; for it is better not to finish Pitṛyajña quickly. He who separately recites the āhāva with each verse makes the *pitṛyajña* that is imperfect, complete and therefore one must recite specially employing the āhāva with each verse." [1123] The conclusion is

1123. The words in the प्रयोग (p. 108a) are 'इदं पितृभ्यो नमो अस्त्वद्येति नमस्कारवतीमन्ततः शंसति तस्मादन्ततः पितृभ्यो नमस्क्रियते । तदाहुर्व्याहावं पित्र्याः शंसेत् अव्याहावा३ इति । व्याहावमेव शंसेदसंस्थितं वै पितृयज्ञस्य साध्वसंस्थितं वा एष पितृयज्ञं संस्थापयति यो व्याहावं शंसति तस्माद् व्याहावमेव शंस्तव्यम् ।'. The passage इदं पितृभ्यो नमो... up to शंस्तव्यम् is taken verbatim from the ऐतरेयब्राह्मण 13th chapter 13th khaṇḍa (end). The khaṇḍa (13) starts with the question whether the

(*Continued on the next page*)

one should repeat each verse with āhāva separately uttered. The performer should follow the brāhmaṇas up to the boundary (of the village). He says 'whatever blemish there may be in *japa*, *tapas* or śrāddha rite—may all that become free from blemish by the favour of brāhmaṇas. I do adoration to that Acyuta (Viṣṇu) by remembering whom &c. O best of brāhmaṇas! may this śrāddha, even if devoid of mantras, or of some rite or of faith, become perfect by your favour'. Then he concludes 'May Janārdana Vāsudeva who assumes the forms of father, grand-father and great-grand-father be pleased by this sacrifice, viz. the pratisāṁvatsarika-śrāddha of the pitṛs. This is a sacrifice to the manes. *Tat sat.* May it be dedicated to Brahma.' Then he repeats the verse 'Vaṣaṭ te' (Ṛg. VII. 99. 7) and then says 'adoration to Viṣṇu (Viṣṇave namaḥ) thrice and sips water twice. The fruit of offering piṇḍas is stated by Bṛhaspati and Vṛddha-Parāśara as follows: If the pitṛs are in the world of gods they are gratified by the food offered in fire, if they are in the world of pitṛs they are gratified by the dinner to brāhmaṇas and if in hell they are gratified by the balls offered on the ground.[1123a]

Comparing the above rather elaborate and exhaustive procedure with the procedure of pratisāṁvatsarikaśrāddha as

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(Continued from the last page)

verse 'devānām patnīr' (Ṛg. V. 46. 6) or the ṛk verse referring to Rākā should be recited first in the आग्निमारुतशस्त्र in तृतीयसवन. The conclusion reached is that the verse referring to देवपत्नीs should be recited first by the होतृ. In the same context a question is raised whether the Yāmī verse (Ṛg. X. 14.4 'Imam yama prastaram') or the Pitryā verses (Ṛg. X. 15.1–3) should be recited first. The conclusion is that the यामी verse should be first recited, then the Kāvya verse (Ṛg. X. 14. 3 'Mātalī kavyair') and then the pitryā verses, out of which Ṛg. X. 15. 2 (इदं पितृभ्यो नमो अस्त्वद्य) is recited last in which the word नमः occurs. आहाव means the mantra शोंऽसावोऽम्. The figure 3 is a sign of the प्लुत accent. The sign of प्लुत shows deliberation. आहुः—we have to understand ब्रह्मवादिनः as the subject. Then comes the question whether the आहाव should be recited at the beginning of each of the three pitryā verses or not. The conclusion is that the आहाव should be recited at the beginning of each of the three pitryā verses. Apparently it is rather difficult to say why this passage of the ऐतरेयब्राह्मण should occur in this प्रयोग. The only reason appears to be that the ऐ. ब्रा. passage has something to say about पितृs and hence as this is a प्रयोग for पितृs it is introduced here.

1123 a. पिण्डदानफलमाह बृहस्पतिः । अग्नौ हुतेन देवस्थाः पितृस्था द्विजतर्पणैः । नरकस्थाश्च तृप्यन्ति पिण्डैर्दत्तैस्त्रिभिर्भुवि ॥ वृद्धपराशरोऽपि । ये देवलोकं पितृलोकमापुः यातास्तथैवं नरकं नरा वै । अग्नौ हुतेन द्विजभोजनेन तृप्यन्तु पिण्डैर्भुवि ते प्रदत्तैः ॥ q. in पृथ्वीचन्द्र folio 110 b.

practised in Madras in these days only a few points of differences in detail emerge. In the Madras procedure the numerous mantras as set out above (p. 448) do not occur nor does the Tai. Ā. passage occur therein, but the verses in praise of the dust of brāhmaṇa's feet do occur. Most of the mantras both Vedic and Paurāṇic are the same. The blessings (āśīrvādas) in the Madras manual are more elaborate and include even the performer's cattle in the blessing of health and long life. In the Madras manual several mantras are set out as 'annasūkta' mantras in the procedure itself. The Madras paddhati adds at the end the well known verse 'kāyena vācā manasendriyairvā'.

The procedure for Yajurvedins of the Mādhyandina Śākhā in Bengal as set out by Raghunandana in his Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva is entirely based on the 2nd and 3rd kaṇḍikās of the Śrāddha-sūtra of Kātyāyana. The Pārvaṇaśrāddha-prayoga in Halāyudha's Brāhmaṇasarvasva closely follows Kātyāyana and I am assured by a careful student of Dharmaśāstra that the procedure of pārvaṇaśrāddha followed by Mādhyandinas at Bhatpara in Western Bengal is in strict conformity with the procedure laid down by Raghunandana. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana is translated here with some explanations and additions made by Halāyudha and Raghunandana and the whole text, being not very extensive, is given in the note below[1124].

1124. दैवपूर्वं श्राद्धं पिण्डपितृयज्ञवदुपचारः पित्र्ये। द्विगुणास्तु दर्भाः पवित्रपाणिर्दद्यादासीनः सर्वत्र। प्रश्नेषु पङ्क्तिमूर्धन्यं पृच्छति सर्वान्वा। आसनेषु दर्भानास्तीर्य विश्वान् देवानावाहयिष्य इति पृच्छत्यावाहयेत्यनुज्ञातो विश्वे देवास आगतेत्यनयावाह्यावकीर्य विश्वेदेवाः शृणुतेममिति जपित्वा पितॄनावाहयिष्य इति पृच्छत्यावाहयेत्यनुज्ञात उशन्तस्त्वेत्यनयावाह्यावकीर्य आयन्तु न इति जपित्वा यज्ञियवृक्षचमसेषु पवित्रान्तर्हितेष्वेकैकस्मिन्नप आसिञ्चति शं नो देवीरिति। एकैकस्मिन्नेव तिलानावपति तिलोसि सोमदैवत्यो गोसवे देवनिर्मितः। प्रत्नमद्भिः पृक्तः स्वधया पितॄँल्लोकान् प्रीणाहि नः स्वाहेति। सौवर्णराजतौदुम्बरखड्गमणिमयानां पात्राणामन्यतमेषु यानि वा विद्यन्ते पत्रपुटेषु वैकैकस्यैकैकेन ददाति सपवित्रेषु हस्तेषु या दिव्या आपः पयसा सम्बभूवुर्या अन्तरिक्षा उत पार्थिवीर्याः। हिरण्यवर्णा यज्ञियास्ता न आपः शिवाः शं स्योनाः सुहवा भवन्त्विति। असावेष तेऽर्घ इति। प्रथमे पात्रे संस्रवान्समवनीय पितृभ्यः स्थानमसीति न्युब्जं पात्रं निदधाति। अत्र गन्धपुष्पदीपवाससां च प्रदानम्। उद्धृत्य घृताक्तमन्नं पृच्छत्यग्नौ करिष्य इति। कुरुष्वेत्यनुज्ञातः पिण्डपितृयज्ञवद्धुत्वा हुतशेषं दत्त्वा पात्रमालभ्य जपति पृथिवी ते पात्रं द्यौरपिधानं ब्राह्मणस्य मुखे अमृते अमृतं जुहोमि स्वाहेति। वैष्णव्यर्चा यजुषा वाङ्गुष्ठमन्नेऽवगाह्यापहता इति तिलान्प्रकीर्य उष्णं स्विष्टमन्नं दद्याच्छक्त्या वा। अश्नत्सु जपेद् व्याहृतिपूर्वां गायत्रीं सप्रणवां सकृत्त्रिर्वा राक्षोघ्नीः पितृमन्त्रान् पुरुषसूक्तमप्रतिरथमन्यानि च पवित्राणि। तृप्तान् ज्ञात्वाऽन्नं प्रकीर्य सकृत्सकृदपो दत्त्वा पूर्ववद्गायत्रीं जपित्वा मधुमतीर्मधु मध्विति च। तृप्ताः स्थेति पृच्छति। तृप्ताः स्मेत्यनुज्ञातः शेषमन्नमनुज्ञाप्य सर्वमन्नमेकतोद्धृत्यो-

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"The pārvaṇa-śrāddha is preceded by the rite for Viśvedevas. The procedure follows that of Piṇḍapitṛyajña[1124a]. In the rites for the pitṛs double-folded darbhas are to be used (while in Vaiśvadevika rite straight darbhas are used). Whenever any thing is to be gifted, the performer (in all daiva as well as *pitrya* rites) wears a *pavitra* and makes the gift sitting. (When questions are to be asked) the performer puts the question to the most eminent in the row of diners (to the best daiva brāhmaṇa in daiva rites and to the best pitrya brāhmaṇa in pitrya rites) or he may put the question to all (and the reply is given by one or by all). Spreading darbhas on the seats (he makes the brāhmaṇas occupy them), he puts the question 'shall I invoke the Viśvedevas (to the daiva brāhmaṇa)'. Being permitted (by the daiva brāhmaṇas) in the words 'do invoke', he invokes the Viśvedevas with the mantra[1125] 'Viśve devāsa āgata' (Vāj. S. 7. 34 'Ye All Gods, come, listen to this my call and sit down on this darbha grass'). Then he scatters yavas (in front of the brāhmaṇas), mutters a mantra 'Viśvedevāḥ śṛṇutemam' (Vāj. S. 33. 53, 'Ye All Gods, hear this call of mine'). After this *japa* he asks (the pitrya brāhmaṇas) 'I shall invoke the pitṛs'. When permitted (by the pitrya brāhmaṇas) in the words 'do invoke', he invokes them with the mantra 'uśantas tvā' (Vāj. S. 19. 70, 'O Agni! we longing for our fathers place you down' &c.). Then he scatters (sesamum

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च्छिष्टसमीपे दर्भेषु त्रींस्त्रीन्पिण्डानवनेज्य दद्याद्वाचान्तेष्वित्येके । आचान्तेषूदकं पुष्पाण्यक्षता-नक्षय्योदकं च दद्यात् । अघोराः पितरः सन्तु सन्त्वित्युक्ते गोत्रं नो वर्धतां वर्धतामित्युक्ते दातारो नोऽभिवर्धन्तां वेदाः सन्ततिरेव च । श्रद्धा च नो मा व्यगमद्बहु देयं च नोऽस्त्वित्याशिषः प्रतिगृह्य स्वधावाचनीयान्सपवित्रान् कुशानास्तीर्य स्वधां वाचयिष्ये इति पृच्छति । वाच्यतामित्यनुज्ञातः पितृभ्यः पितामहेभ्यः प्रपितामहेभ्यो मातामहेभ्यः प्रमातामहेभ्यो वृद्धप्रमातामहेभ्यश्च स्वधोच्यता-मिति । अस्तु स्वधेत्युच्यमाने स्वधावाचनीयेष्वपो निषिञ्चत्यूर्जमिति । उत्तानं पात्रं कृत्वा यथा-शक्ति दक्षिणां दद्याद् ब्राह्मणेभ्यो विश्वे देवाः प्रीयन्तामिति दैवे वाचयित्वा वाजे वाजेऽवतेति विसृज्या मा वाजस्येत्यनुव्रज्य प्रदक्षिणीकृत्योपविशेत् ।

1124 a. पिण्डपि ... चारः—so the result is: अपराह्णः कालः, श्राद्धकर्तुः प्राचीना-वीतिता, दक्षिणाभिमुखता, वामजानुनिपातः, पितृतीर्थं, अप्रादक्षिण्यं, दक्षिणापवर्गता, दर्भाणां दक्षिणाग्रता चेत्यादयः पैतृकाः धर्माः. From this it follows that in वैश्वदेविकब्राह्मणो-पचार there are यज्ञोपवीतिता, कर्तुरुदङ्मुखता, दक्षिणजानुनिपातः, देवतीर्थं, प्रादक्षिण्यं, उदगपवर्गता, प्रागग्रता चेत्यादयो दैविकधर्माः. There are of course a few exceptions to the first part, such as दक्षिणादान, स्तोत्रजप and विप्रविसर्जन.

1125. It may be noted that almost all mantras quoted by Kātyāyana are very apt and appropriate for the purposes for which they are to be repeated. For reasons of space the full texts and translation of the mantras could not be given here.

grains in front of the pitrya brāhmaṇas) and mutters the mantra 'ā yantu naḥ pitaraḥ' (Vāj. S. 19. 58, 'May the soma-loving pitṛs come to us' &c.). Then he pours water in each of the cups made of a sacrificial tree (such as palāśa, udumbara &c.), in which a pavitra is dipped with the mantra 'śan no devīr' (Vāj. S. 36. 12, 'May the divine waters be for our happiness' &c.). (He puts yavas in the vessel for daiva rite). He puts in each of the cups sesamum grains with the mantra 'Thou art Tila[1126] &c.'. He offers on the hands of each of the brāhmaṇas (first daiva and then pitrya) that wear a pavitra water in a vessel made of gold, silver, copper, rhinoceros horn or precious stone or in whatever vessels may be available or in vessels made of bunches of leaves with the mantra 'yā divyā[1127] āpaḥ &c.'. The water is offered in the words 'O father' N. N. by name, this is *arghya* for you' (and then to other ancestors). Having mixed together in the first vessel (meant for the father) the drops of water remaining in the other vessels[1128] for other ancestors, he puts down on the ground the first vessel face downwards with the words 'thou art a place for the pitṛs'. Then (at this stage) *gandha*[1129] (sandalwood paste), flowers, incense, lamp and garment are offered (to the brāhmaṇas representing the ancestors).

Having taken out in another vessel some food from out of the food already cooked for śrāddha and having anointed it with ghee he (the performer) asks 'I shall perform *agnau-karaṇa*'. Being permitted by the brāhmaṇas in the words 'do so', he offers into (gṛhya) fire oblations[1130] as in Piṇḍa-

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1126. तिलोऽसि This mantra occurs in आश्व. गृ. सू. quoted in note 966 above. हलायुध and रघुनन्दन state that यवs are to be scattered with the mantra 'यवोऽसि यवयास्मद् द्वेषो यवयारातीः' (वाज. सं. 5.26) and sesamum grains are to be scattered with the mantra अपहता असुरा रक्षांसि वेदिषदः (वाज. सं. 2.29). Vide या. I. 230.

1127. For the मन्त्र 'या दिव्या etc.' vide note 966 above.

1128. There are six ancestors, three paternal and three maternal and therefore six vessels; drops of water from five vessels are poured into the first vessel. रघुनन्दन adds that the first vessel is covered with the vessel for great-grandfather and is then put down with top downwards. The ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व explains 'तत्र च पितरस्तिष्ठन्तीति बृहस्पतिः । आवृतास्तत्र तिष्ठन्ति पितरः श्राद्धदेवताः'.

1129. रघुनन्दन adds 'गन्धादीनां द्वन्द्वनिर्देशान्मिलितानामेव तन्त्रेण पित्रादिक-मुद्दिश्य उत्सर्गः'.

1130. Both हलायुध and रघुनन्दन state that the two मन्त्रs in अग्नौकरण are 'ओं अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा, ओं सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा'.

pitryajña, having served (into all the plates for all the brāhmaṇas invited) the food that remains after being offered in fire, he touches with his hands (above and below each plate) and repeats the mantra 'The earth is thy vessel &c.' (notes 992, 1108a). (He keeps some food aside for making piṇḍas later on). Then (having served the food in the plates) he plunges the thumb of the brāhmaṇas in the food with a ṛk (Ṛg. I. 22. 17, 'idam Viṣṇur vicakrame') addressed to Viṣṇu or with a Yajus so addressed ('Viṣṇo kavyamidam rakṣasva'). Then he scatters about (yavas before daiva brāhmaṇas silently and) sesamum grains with the mantra 'apahatā asurā rakṣāṁsi vediṣadaḥ' (Vāj. S. 2. 29). Then he should serve hot food very much liked (by diners or by the departed) or he may serve such food as he can afford. While the brāhmaṇas are engaged in eating (the dinner) he should perform *japa* of the following[1131], viz. the sacred Gāyatrī once or thrice preceded by *om* and the vyāhṛtis, the verses called Rākṣoghnī (note 1111), mantras addressed to the pitṛs (Ṛg. X. 15. 1-13 beginning with 'udīratām-avara ut parāsaḥ)', Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90. 1-16), Apratiratha hymn (Ṛg. X. 103. 1-13) beginning with 'āśuḥ śiśānaḥ') and other holy texts. Then finding that the brāhmaṇas are satiated with food, he should scatter some food in front of the dining brāhmaṇas, he should give to each brāhmaṇa water once (for *apośana* at the end of dinner). Then he should mutter as before the Gāyatrī, the (three) Madhumatī verses (Ṛg. I. 90. 6-8) and the word 'madhu' (thrice). Then he asks 'are you satiated'. Being permitted by them in the words 'we are satiated', he makes them give their consent as to the rest of the food, collects together all food in one vessel (in order to make piṇḍas from it); he offers (two sets of three piṇḍas, three for paternal ancestors and three for maternal ancestors) on darbhas near the spot where[1132] the brāhmaṇas dined and left uneaten food in plates and pours water over the piṇḍas for ablution[1133]. Some authors say that piṇḍas are to

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1131. It may be noted that in Bengal the numerous verses that are prescribed here for japa are apparently not muttered in modern times.

1132. उच्छिष्टसमीपे-गदाधर notes 'ब्राह्मणानामग्रतोऽन्नं प्रकिरेदिति कर्काचार्यः। पङ्क्तिमूर्धन्यपरयोरन्तरदिग्भागे अरत्निमात्रे विकिरं कुर्यादिति हेमाद्रिः'.

1133. एकतोक्षुत्य is grammatically irregular; it should be एकत उक्षुत्य. The पिण्डs are offered to paternal ancestors with their wives (सपत्नीक) and to maternal ancestors with their wives. The formula would be: अमुकगोत्र

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be offered after the brāhmaṇas perform *ācamana* at the end of the dinner. After they perform *ācamana* he gives to the brāhmaṇas water, flowers, *akṣatas* and *akṣayyodaka* [1134]. Then he prays for the following blessings. He prays 'may the pitṛs be not terrible (i. e. be kind) to us'. The brāhmaṇas reply 'may they be so'. He prays 'May our family prosper'. They reply 'may it be so'. He prays 'May donors increase in our family'. They reply 'let it be so'. He prays 'May Vedas and our progeny prosper'. The reply is 'May they do so'. He says 'May faith not depart from me'; they say 'May it not depart'. He says 'May we possess many things that we can donate'. They reply 'so be it'. After receiving these blessings he spreads kuśas called *svadhāvācanīya* [1134a] together with pavitras (on the ground near the piṇḍas or, on the piṇḍas themselves according to Devayājñika and others); he asks (all the brāhmaṇas or the most eminent one) 'shall I request you to utter the word *svadhā*'. Being permitted by them in the words 'May svadhā be recited' he prays 'May there be *svadhā* to the pitṛs, to the grandfathers, to the great-grand-fathers, to the maternal grandfather, maternal great-grandfather and maternal great-great-grandfather'. When the brāhmaṇas reply 'May there be svadhā' he sprinkles water over the svadhāvācanīya darbhas with the mantra 'ūrjam vahantīr' (Vāj. S. II. 34). Then he turns the vessel top upwards (which had been placed with top downwards) and he should give to the brāhmaṇas dakṣiṇā according to his ability. He should make the daiva brāhmaṇas repeat 'May all the gods be pleased'. He should then dismiss the brāhmaṇas with the mantra 'Vāje vāje' (Vāj. S. 9. 18), he should follow the brāhmaṇas (up to the village boundary) with the mantra 'ā mā vājasya' (Vāj. S. 9. 19), circumambulate them and then enter his own house.

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अस्मत्पितरमुकशर्मन् सपत्नीक वसुरूप एतत्तेऽन्नं स्वधा । इदममुकगोत्रायास्मत्पित्रेऽमुकशर्मणे सपत्नीकाय वसुरूपाय न मम. The same formula with appropriate changes is to be employed for पितामह, प्रपितामह, मातामह etc. Some writers proposed that nine pindas may be offered, three to पितृवर्ग, three to मातृवर्ग and three to मातामहवर्ग. हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1445 and 1447) provides that a line for मातृवर्ग should be drawn to the west of the one for पितृवर्ग and another line to the west of the one for मातृवर्ग for मातामहवर्ग and पिण्डs should be offered in that order.

1134. On अक्षय्योदक, गदाधर explains 'अक्षय्योदकशब्देन दत्तान्नपानादेरानन्त्यप्रार्थनसम्बन्धि जलमभिधीयते। तच्च पितृब्राह्मणेभ्य एवेति कर्कः। सर्वेभ्यो दद्यादिति वसुदेवसारे।.'

1134 a. सपवित्रान् कुशानास्तीर्य-कर्क and गदाधर explain 'सपवित्रान्स्वधावाचनीयार्थः'.

It is to be noted that in the Bengal Manual of Pārvaṇa-śrāddha based on the Brāhmaṇasarvasva of Halāyudha and also on Raghunandana's Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva the following details are added after the piṇḍas are placed on the darbhas and before the dismissal of the brāhmaṇas. He turns towards the north and says 'O pitṛs, regale yourselves here and come like bulls each to his portion.' Then he turns round to his former position and says 'the pitṛs regaled themselves and came like bulls each to his own share.' Then he loosens [1135] the side of his *dhoti* which has been tucked up and then folds up his hands (i. e. offers six namaskāras) with the mantra [1136] 'Namo vaḥ pitaro rasāya' (Vāj. S. II. 32). He smells [1137] the piṇḍas and gives the middle one to his wife, if she desires a son, with the mantra 'ādhatta' (Vāj. S. II. 33).

From considerations of space the procedure of pārvaṇa śrāddha among Hiraṇyakeśins in modern times is passed over here. Moreover, it closely resembles the procedure in Āśv. Gṛ. set out above, the principal difference being that some of the mantras are different. The Saṁskāraratnamālā of Gopīnātha deals with this from p. 985 onwards. But one noticeable feature of this last work is that of making hair-splitting distinctions. On p. 985 it refers to two śrāddhas (other than piṇḍa-pitṛ-yajña) to be performed on amāvāsyā, viz. *māsi-śrāddha* and *māsika-śrāddha*, the first being described by the Dharmasūtra of Hiraṇyakeśin and the second by the Gṛhyasūtra. Gopīnātha further says that māsikaśrāddha is the model of the other śrāddhas described in the Gṛhyasūtra and māsiśrāddha is the model of śrāddhas described in the Dharmaśāstras, such as Mahālayaśrāddha or Sāṁvatsarika-śrāddha, that Darśaśrāddha itself is māsi-śrāddha (p. 988) and that māsika-śrāddha may be performed on each *darśa* or on any one darśa day in a year and that māsi-śrāddha follows immediately after Piṇḍapitṛyajña as

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1135. About नीवीविस्रंसन, vide शतपथ q. in n. 960a. बृहद्याज्ञवल्क्य says 'वाकोणे कटिदेशे तु तिलैः सह कुशत्रयम् ।.'

1136. नमो वः पितरो रसाय—vide note 963 above. रघुनन्दन (यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व) remarks that in नमो वः पितरो रसाय...मन्यवे he offers obeisance to the pitṛs identifying them with the six seasons, that in 'namo vaḥ pitaraḥ' (Vāj. S. 2.32) he offers namaskāra to the pitṛs as identified with Agni Kavyavāhana and then prays to the pitṛs to bestow on them a house in the words 'namo vo gṛhān naḥ pitaro datta' Vāj. S. 2. 32).

1137. Vide Manu III. 218 अवजिघ्रेच्च तान् पिण्डान् and note 960 towards the end.

laid down by Manu (III. 122) and māsikaśrāddha may be performed after māsi-śrāddha. In modern times no one performs māsiśrāddha or māsika-śrāddha strictly in accordance with the ancient rules. Śrāddha is supposed to be performed by feeding a brāhmaṇa and giving him a dakṣiṇā of a few *annas*. The Śrāddhatattva (Jiv., part 1 p. 254) provides, after quoting Matsya and Bhaviṣya, that, if a person is unable to perform a pārvaṇaśrāddha every month, he should perform one at least thrice a year when the sun is in the zodiacal signs of Kanyā, Kumbha and Vṛṣabha and that if he is unable to perform even thrice then he should perform at least once when the sun is in the sign of Kanyā.

The two meanings of sapiṇḍa given by the Mit. and the Dāyabhāga have already been explained at great length in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 452–458 and pp. 472–477. The Dāyabhāga propounded the theory that whoever conferred greater spiritual benefit on the deceased by the performance of śrāddhas and the offering of piṇḍas was entitled to be preferred as an heir to the deceased's wealth. The Mit. said that heirship depended on blood relationship and the nearest in blood to the deceased was the preferential heir. But even under the Mit. whoever took the wealth of the deceased was bound to pay his debts (Yāj. II. 51) and to offer śrāddha and piṇḍa to him. This subject and the several propositions deduced from the texts have been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 734–745.

One thing to be remembered is that in determining the preferential right regard is to be had to the capacity of a person and the efficacy of the piṇḍas when offered. After a person takes the wealth of the deceased, there is no legal machinery to enforce his duty to offer piṇḍas[1138]. It was argued in *Nalinaksha v. Rajani Kanto* 35 C. W. N. 726 that, if an heir does not offer piṇḍas or refuses to offer them to his ancestor, he was not entitled under Hindu Law to succeed to him. This argument was repelled by the judges with the remark that there was no authority for such a proposition and that the right to inheritance is based under the Dāyabhāga not on offering piṇḍa but on the capacity to offer it (p. 729). Vide *Gooroo Gobinda Saha v. Anand Lal* 5 Beng. L. R. 15 (F. B.) and *Digamber v. Motilal* 9 Cal. 563 (F. B.) for the statement that the principle of spiritual benefit is the sole foundation of the theory of in-

1138. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 740 and note 1431.

heritance propounded in the Dāyabhāga. But in certain later cases such as *Akshayachandra v. Hari Das* 35 Cal. 721 it was rightly pointed out that spiritual benefit is not always the guiding principle under the Bengal school of law, that the principle of spiritual efficacy as the guiding principle fails in all classes of female relations such as the wife, the daughter and the mother whose rights are really based on special texts and that the reason for inheritance by a re-united coparcener was not spiritual benefit but was based on a *quasi* contract and affection.

The question about how śrāddha was to be performed if one or more of the three paternal ancestors were alive engaged the thoughts of writers from very ancient times. The Āśv. [1139] Śr. S. (II. 6. 16–23) first sets out the views of Gāṇagāri, Taulvali and Gautama and then refutes them. Gāṇagāri held that out of the three paternal ancestors piṇḍas should be offered to those that were dead and those that were alive should be honoured in person, since the śrāddha rite is meant for pleasing the ancestors; Taulvali opined that piṇḍas should be offered to all the three ancestors, whether living or dead, since in the rite of śrāddha they are only a secondary matter (a detail). Gautama thought that piṇḍas should be offered to dead ancestors, upto three from the father if the latter was living, from the grandfather if he was alive and from the great-grandfather if all the three be living. Āśv. replies; one cannot offer piṇḍas to three ancestors [1140] beyond the father, grand-father or great-grandfather, since one has no *adhikāra* to do so; one cannot offer piṇḍas to an ancestor after whom there is an ancestor (within three degrees) living. One may offer *homa* into fire to those that are alive. (If all three ancestors are alive) all the three piṇḍas must be cast into fire or he may not begin the rite at all. The Kātyāyana śr. [1141] sūtra provides

1139. तस्मै तस्मै य एषां प्रेताः स्युरिति गाणगारिः प्रत्यक्षमितरानर्चयेत् तदर्थत्वात्। सर्वेभ्य एव निपृणीयादिति तौल्वलिः क्रियागुणत्वात्। अपि जीवान्त एव आ त्रिभ्यः प्रेतेभ्य एव निपृणीयादिति गौतमः क्रिया ह्यर्थकारिता। उपायविशेषो जीवमृतानाम्। न परेभ्योऽनधिकारात्। न प्रत्यक्षम्। न जीवेभ्यो निपृणीयात्। न जीवान्तर्हितेभ्यः। जुहुयाज्जीवेभ्यः। सर्वहुतं सर्वजीविनः॥ आश्व. श्रौ. II. 6. 16–23.

1140. One can offer piṇḍas only to three ancestors beginning with the father according to Vedic passages quoted in notes 958, 960a above and Manu IX. 186. So there is no ancient authority to offer piṇḍa to 4th or 5th or 6th ascendant.

1141. प्रेतेभ्यो ददाति। जीवत्पितृकोऽपि। जीवान्तर्हितेऽपि। जीवपितृकस्य होमान्तमनारम्भो वा। न व्यवेते जातूकर्ण्यो न जीवन्तमतिददातीति। कात्या. श्रौ. सू. IV. 1. 23–27. Vide also शाङ्खायन श्रौ. सू. IV. 4. 12–15 for similar rules.

that piṇḍas are offered only to deceased ancestors; therefore if a person's father be alive or if there is a deceased ancestor between whom and the performer there is an ancestor that is alive, then one whose father is alive can only perform *homa* (into fire, but no piṇḍadāna) or he should not undertake at all (the rite of piṇḍa-pitṛyajña or pārvaṇaśrāddha); that Jatūkarṇya prescribes that no piṇḍadāna is possible when a living ancestor (father) intervenes between the performer and a deceased ancestor, since a śruti text says 'one does not offer piṇḍas to ancestors that are beyond a living ancestor.' Manu (III. 220–222) deals with this question as follows: If the performer's father be alive he should offer piṇḍas to three ancestors beginning from the paternal grand-father or he may request the father to dinner as he would do to a stranger brāhmaṇa and offer piṇḍas to the deceased grand-father and great-grand-father. If the father be dead and the grandfather be alive, he may offer a piṇḍa only to the father and the great-grandfather (i. e. only two piṇḍas) or the grand-father who is alive may be invited to dinner as if he were the stranger brāhmaṇa invited to represent a deceased grand-father or if permitted by the grandfather who is alive he may offer piṇḍas to father, great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (chap. 75) has several rules of a similar character. Some of the Purāṇas such as Skanda VI 225.24–25, Agni 117.58–59 deal with this matter. Gobhilasmṛti (II. 93 ff) has a long passage on this question, one verse of which is quoted below.[1142] Many of the commentaries and digests hold divergent views on this subject, viz. the Mit. on Yāj. I. 254, Kalpataru (śr. pp. 240 ff), Śr. K. K. pp. 552–556 and Nirṇayasindhu (III. pp. 499–503). It is impossible to reconcile all the views. The Kalpataru (on śr. p. 240) states that there are three alternative courses for him whose father is alive; (1) he should pass over the father that is alive and offer piṇḍas to those three ancestors to whom his father offers piṇḍas; (Manu. III, 220, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 75.1); (2) he should simply offer homa into fire as stated in Āśv. Śr. S. quoted above; (3) he should not engage in the rite of piṇḍapitṛyajña or pārvaṇaśrāddha at all (Gobhila-smṛti II. 93). The Nirṇayasindhu says that there are numerous alternatives mentioned by different writers, that they are forbidden in the Kali age and

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1142. सपितुः पितृकृत्येषु अधिकारो न विद्यते। न जीवन्तमतिक्रम्य किंचिद् दद्यादिति श्रुतिः॥ गोभिलस्मृति II. 93, q. by श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 552. Compare कात्या. श्रौ. सू. q. in note 1141.

that one view is that a man whose father is alive cannot engage in a pārvaṇaśrāddha and that the real conclusion is that śrāddha may be offered to those to whom the father (of the performer) who is living offers piṇḍas. It is clear that one whose father is living should have nothing to do with piṇḍadāna for deceased ancestors. Manu (in latter half of III. 220) allowed an alternative viz. one should feed one's father at a dinner (and honour him with the details of worship such as *gandha*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa*) and offer piṇḍas to the deceased grandfather and great-grandfather. When any one or two out of the three paternal ancestors are alive and śrāddha is permitted to a descendant several alternatives become possible by permutation and combination, which are passed over here from considerations of space and utility. But the various views held by different writers as described above show clearly what a firm grip the theory of the supreme benefits to be derived from śrāddhas had on the minds not only of common people but of learned men, who, in spite of the fact that the father was alive and was there to offer piṇḍas to his three ancestors, allowed even the son (whose father was living) to offer piṇḍas to the same three ancestors. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. extends the procedure about 'jīvatpitṛka' to one's mother's paternal ancestors (changing the mantra where necessary).[1142a] Similar rules apply where the performer's mother is alive (Agnipurāṇa 117.60 'evam mātrādikasyāpi tathā mātāmahādike').

It is provided by Gobhilasmṛti (III. 157) that a śruti injunction should be made effective by means of *anukalpa* (of some substituted procedure) if the primary procedure cannot be carried out.[1143] If a person cannot secure several brāhmaṇas but can secure only one, he should perform Pārvaṇa-śrāddha in which six piṇḍas are to be offered with a single brāhmaṇa, provided he is *paṅkti-pāvana*[1144] (sanctifier of a row of diners) and in such a case, *naivedya* should be offered in place of the dinner

1142 a. मातामहानामप्येवं श्राद्धं कुर्याद्विचक्षणः । मन्त्रोहेण यथान्यायं शेषाणां मन्त्रवर्जितम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 75.8. मन्त्रोहेण—This is to be understood as follows: " 'शुन्धन्तां पितरः' इत्यादौ शुन्धन्तां मातामहा इत्यादिपदक्षेपेण । शेषाणां पितृव्यमातुलादीनां मन्त्रवर्जितं आवाहनादिमन्त्रवर्जितं कुर्यादित्यर्थः ।" पृथ्वीच. folio 222 a.

1143. 'चरितार्थां श्रुतिः कार्या यस्मादप्यनुकल्पतः ।' अतो देयं यथाशक्ति श्राद्धकाले समागते ॥ कात्यायन q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1522). The first half occurs in गोभिलस्मृति III. 157, but the 2nd half is different.

1144. भोजयेदथवाप्येकं ब्राह्मणं पङ्क्तिपावनम् । दैवे कृत्वा तु नैवेद्यं पश्चाद्वह्नौ तु तत्क्षिपेत् ॥ शङ्ख 14.10; हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1524) reads पश्चात्तस्य तु निर्वपेत्.

to the *daiva* brāhmaṇas and the food should be thrown into fire; so says Śaṅkha 14.10. If even a single brāhmaṇa cannot be had for a pārvaṇaśrāddha, then one should prepare with kuśas the effigy of brāhmaṇa students (*baṭu*) and the performer should himself ask the questions and give the answers required in pārvaṇaśrāddha.[1145]

When one cannot secure a brāhmaṇa nor materials, or when one is on a journey, or on the birth of a son, or when one's wife is in her monthly illness, one may perform āmaśrāddha (śrāddha with uncooked grains).[1146] This is stated by the Skandapurāṇa VII. 1. 206. 52. Kātyāyana and Saurapurāṇa 19.32 have similar verses 'a twice-born person should perform āmaśrāddha when he is on a journey or is in distress, or if he has no fire for cooking and those who are weak may always perform it.' The Madanapārijāta (p. 483) states that one who has the *adhikāra* for pārvaṇaśrāddha can alone offer āmaśrāddha. Hārīta says that when there is an obstacle in performing a śrāddha, āmaśrāddha is prescribed except in the case of māsika and sāṁvatsarika śrāddhas.[1147] Āmaśrāddha is always prescribed for śūdras. It was further provided that the grains offered in śrāddha should be utilized by the brāhmaṇas for eating the cooked food for themselves and were to be applied for no other purpose (Hemādri, Śr. p. 1527). Vyāsa provides[1148] that the quantity of grains should be at least two or three or four times as much as the grains required for offering cooked food. Some words employed in the various items such as *āvāhana*[1149]

1145. निधाय वा दर्भवटूनासनेषु समाहितः। प्रैषानुप्रैषसंयुक्तं विधानं प्रतिपादयेत्॥ देवल q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1526), श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 89 (ascribes to सत्यव्रत and reads निधायाथ दर्भवटून्).

1146. द्रव्याभावे द्विजाभावे प्रवासे पुत्रजन्मनि। आमश्राद्धं प्रकुर्वीत यस्य भार्या रजस्वला॥ स्कन्द VII. 1. 206.52, quoted as व्यास's in स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 492); आपद्यनग्नौ तीर्थे च प्रवासे पुत्रजन्मनि। आमश्राद्धं प्रकुर्वीत भार्यारजसि संक्रमे॥ कात्या. q. by निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 462, मद. पा. p. 480; कल्पतरु p. 234 explains 'अनग्निश्चात्र पाकसमर्थाग्निरहितः। न पुनरनग्निरनाहिताग्निः।'.

1147. श्राद्धविघ्ने द्विजातीनामामश्राद्धं प्रकीर्तितम्। अमावास्यादि नियतं माससंवत्सरादृते॥ हारीत q. by अपरार्क p. 468, स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 492), श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 26 (लघुहारीत).

1148. आमं दद्याद्धि कौन्तेय तद्धान्नं द्विगुणं भवेत्। त्रिगुणं चतुर्गुणं वापि न त्वेकगुणमर्पयेत्। व्यास q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1528).

1149. आवाहने स्वधाकारे मन्त्रा जप्या विसर्जने। अन्यकर्मण्यनूह्याः स्युरामश्राद्धे विधिः स्मृतः॥ q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1529), स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 492) ascribes to मरीचि and explains "स्वधाकारे 'नमो वः पितर इषे' इत्यादिमन्त्रे इष इतिपदस्थाने आममूह्यायेत्यूहः।".

svadhākāra and dismissal of the brāhmaṇas had to be changed e. g. in āvāhana the verse employed is 'uśantastvā' (Vāj. S. 19.70) which ends with the words 'haviṣe attave' (which means 'in order to eat the *havis*') the words 'haviṣe svīkartave' would have to be substituted.

Āmaśrāddha is to be performed in the first part of the day, ekoddiṣṭa in the noon, the pārvaṇaśrāddha in the afternoon and vṛddhiśrāddha in the first part of the day (divided into five).[1149a]

If even uncooked food grains cannot be offered the performer should perform *hemaśrāddha* (śrāddha with money). When the sun passes from one sign of the zodiac into another, in default of food and brāhmaṇas, on a journey, on the birth of a son, in an eclipse, in the case of women and śūdras *hemaśrāddha* is allowed or when one's wife is in her monthly illness. In āmaśrāddha twice the quantity of grains required in offering cooked food and in hemaśrāddha four times (the price of the grains required for cooked food) has to be offered. If no money can be had the digests prescribe several modes which have already been set out above (vide p. 425, n. 955).

1149 a. आमश्राद्धं तु पूर्वाह्णे एकोद्दिष्टं तु मध्यतः। पार्वणं चापराह्णे तु प्रातर्वृद्धिनिमित्तकम्॥ हारीत and शातातप q. in अपरार्क p. 468, पृथ्वीच. folio 124a.

CHAPTER X

EKODDIṢṬA AND OTHER ŚRĀDDHAS

Having dealt at great length with Pārvaṇaśrāddha which is the model of all śrāddhas it is now time to speak of Ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha that is a modification of Pārvaṇaśrāddha.[1150] The word Ekoddiṣṭa means 'that in which only one deceased person[1151] is intended (to be invoked or benefited)'. The Pārvaṇaśrāddha is intended for three paternal ancestors and is thus distinguished from Ekoddiṣṭa. In Śāṅ. gṛ. IV. 2, Baud. gṛ. III. 12.6, the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (kaṇḍikā 4), and Yāj. I. 251-252, the points of difference between the two are clearly set out.[1152] In this śrāddha only one *arghya* is offered, there is only one *pavitra* and only one piṇḍa is offered, there is no *āvāhana* (as there is in Pārvaṇa), no *agnau-karaṇa*, there are no brāhmaṇas invited to represent the Viśve-devas; the question about being satiated by the dinner is to be asked in the word 'svaditam' (did it taste well) and the brāhmaṇas reply with 'susvaditam') (it had excellent taste); instead of saying 'may it be inexhaustible,' the formula here used is 'May it approach' (or wait upon the deceased person); when the brāhmaṇas are sent away at the end of the dinner the word used is 'be satisfied (or delighted)' and they reply 'we are delighted.' The Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 13. 23-26) and Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 8-11) closely follow the Śrāddhasūtra and Yāj. According to Śāṅ. gṛ. (IV. 2, 7),[1153]

1150. अथेत्यनेनैकोद्दिष्टस्य पार्वणानन्तर्याभिधानं तयोः प्रकृतिविकृतित्वं सूचयति। श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 244.

1151. एक उद्दिष्टो यस्मिन् श्राद्धे तदेकोद्दिष्टमिति कर्मनामधेयम्। मिता. on या. I. 251; elsewhere it says 'तत्र त्रिपुरुषोद्देशेन यत् क्रियते तत्पार्वणम्, एकपुरुषोद्देशेन क्रियमाणमेकोद्दिष्टम्'। मिता. on या. I. 217. हलायुध (folio 32 b) on श्राद्धसूत्र says 'एकोऽत्र संप्रदानत्वेनोद्दिष्ट इति।'.

1152. अथैकोद्दिष्टेषु नाग्नौकरणं नाभिश्रावणं न पूर्वं निमन्त्रणं न दैवं न धूपं न दीपं न स्वधा न नमस्कारो नाचापूपम्। बौ. गृ. सू. III. 12. 6.

1153. अथैकोद्दिष्टम्। एकोऽर्घ एकं पवित्रमेकः पिण्डो नावाहनं नाग्नौकरणं नात्र विश्वेदेवाः स्वदितमिति तृप्तिप्रश्नः सुस्वदितमितीतरे ब्रूयुरुपतिष्ठतामित्यक्षय्यस्थानेऽभिरम्यतामिति विसर्गोऽभिरताः स्म इतीतरे। श्राद्धसूत्र 4 (कात्यायनीय). Almost the same words occur in कौषीतकिगृह्य 4. 2 (Benares S. Series). The यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व (Jiv. II, p. 495) explains 'एकं एकदलरूपं पवित्रम्'.

Manu III. 257, Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 11), Yāj. I. 256 and others, for one year after the death of a twice-born person till the sapiṇḍīkaraṇa śrāddha is performed this is the way in which śrāddha is to be performed for the *preta* every month. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra 21. 2 provides that suitable changes (ūha) should be made in the mantras employed (e. g. instead of 'atra pitaro mādayadhvam' the mantra should be 'atra pitarmādayasva' (O father! [1154] regale thyself here). In Ekoddiṣṭa such a formula as 'ye ca tvām-anu' (those that come after thee) cannot be employed and the word 'pitṛ' is not to be employed (till sapiṇḍīkaraṇa is performed), but the word 'preta' (Aparārka p. 525 quoting Śaunaka-gṛhyapariśiṣṭa).[1155]

As seen above (p. 262, note 591a) Ekoddiṣṭa śrāddhas are of three kinds, nava, navamiśra and purāṇa. Navaśrāddhas are those that are performed till the 10th or 11th day after death, navamiśras (or miśras) are those that are performed after the 11th day till one year (or six months, according to some) after death. Aparārka quotes a verse from Vyāghra [1156] that Ekoddiṣṭa-śrāddha is performed on the 11th day, on the 4th day, at the end of each month for a year after death and every year on the day of death and a verse of Kātyāyana that (ekoddiṣṭa) śrāddha should be performed for one who had kept sacred fires on the 11th day after the day of cremation and that the Dhruva śrāddhas should always be performed on the day of death. Aparārka explains 'Dhruvāṇi' as meaning those that are performed after three fortnights from death. About the navaśrāddha there is again a divergence of views. One meaning has already been given above on p. 262 note 593. The Skandapurāṇa VI (Nāgarakhaṇḍa) 205. 1–4 and Garuḍapurāṇa (pretakhaṇḍa 5. 67–69) state that navaśrāddhas are nine viz. the three performed where a man died, where the funeral procession rested on the way and where the burnt bones were collected and six more performed on the 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th days after death.

1154. एकवन्मन्त्रानूहेदेकोद्दिष्टे। विष्णुध. सू. 21. 2. On this the वैजयन्ती explains "अत्र पितरो मादयध्वमिति बहुवचनान्तेषु अत्र पितर्मादयस्व इति एकवचनेनोहः कार्यः".

1155. ये च त्वामनु इत्यादि मन्त्रो न युज्यते। पितृशब्दं न कुर्वीत नमो वः पितर इत्यादि मन्त्रं न पठेत्। कल्पतरु (श्रा.) p. 246.

1156. तत्र व्याघ्रः। एकादशे चतुर्थे च मासि मासि च वत्सरम्। प्रतिसंवत्सरं चैवमेकोद्दिष्टं मृताहनि॥ कात्यायनः। आहुताग्निमतः कार्यं दाहादेकादशेऽहनि। ध्रुवाणि तु प्रकुर्वीत प्रमीताहनि सर्वदा॥ अपरार्क p. 521. This last is गोभिलस्मृति III. 66 which reads मत्याब्दिकं प्रकुर्वीत.

Numerous works lay down that there are sixteen śrāddhas which must be performed for a deceased person and that if these are not performed then his spirit is not freed from the condition of being a *preta* and a *piśāca*.[1157] There is a great deal of divergence of views about what these sixteen śrāddhas are, some works including sapiṇḍīkaraṇa among the 16, others excluding it therefrom. Gobhilasmṛti III. 67 enumerates[1158] the 16 as follows: The twelve monthly śrāddhas (performed every month on the *tithi* of death), the first (i. e. the śrāddha on the 11th day), two śrāddhas on (a day prior to the expiry of) every six months from the tithi of death and sapiṇḍīkaraṇa are the sixteen śrāddhas. The Garuḍapurāṇa[1159] refers to three groups of sixteen, one of which enumerates the 16 śrāddhas as those performed on the 12th day (after death), after three fortnights, after six months, after every month and at the end of the year, while the Padmapurāṇa[1160] enumerates them as follows: the sixteen śrāddhas are those performed on the 4th day after death, at the end of three fortnights, after six months, after a year and twelve śrāddhas performed each month (on the *tithi* of death). The Kalpataru p. 25 and Brahmapurāṇa q. by Aparārka (p. 523) state that the 16 śrāddhas are those performed on 4th, 5th, 9th and 11th days after death and the twelve monthly śrāddhas (on the tithi of death[1161]). Laugākṣi and

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1157. यस्यैतानि न दीयन्ते प्रेतश्राद्धानि षोडश । पिशाचत्वं ध्रुवं तस्य दत्तैः श्राद्धशतैरपि ॥ यम q. by श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 362. The same verse occurs in गरुडपुराण (प्रेतखण्ड 5. 50-51), लिखितस्मृति 16 (reads यस्यैतानि न कुर्वीत एकोद्दिष्टानि), लघुशङ्ख 13 (with variations), पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड 47. 272 reads न सन्तीह यथाशक्त्या च श्रद्धया). The verse is quoted by the मिता. on या. I. 254 (reading न दत्तानि and प्रेतत्वं सुस्थिरं तस्य). प्रेतलोके तु वसतिर्नृणां वर्षं प्रकीर्तिता। क्षुत्तृष्णे प्रत्यहं तत्र भवेतां भृगुनन्दन॥ मार्कण्डेय० q. by मिता. on या. I. 253.

1158. द्वादश प्रतिमास्यानि आद्यषाण्मासिके तथा। सपिण्डीकरणं चैव एतद्वै श्राद्धषोडशम्॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 67. The word आद्य has been explained by या. I. 256 as 'मृतेहनि प्रकर्तव्यं प्रतिमासं तु वत्सरम्। प्रतिसंवत्सरं चैवमाद्यमेकादशेऽहनि॥' on which the मिता: says 'आद्यं सर्वैकोद्दिष्टप्रकृतिभूतमेकोद्दिष्टमेकादशेऽहनि'. गरुड (प्रेत० 5.51) says; एकादशे द्वादशे वा दिने आद्यं प्रकीर्तितम्।. But अपरार्क p. 543 explains आद्य differently 'आद्यशब्देन नवश्राद्धान्युच्यन्ते'. षाण्मासिके is explained by गोभिलस्मृति III. 68 as एकाहेन तु षण्मासा यदा स्युरपि वा त्रिभिः। न्यूनाः संवत्सरश्चैव स्यातां षाण्मासिके तथा॥ q. by अपरार्क p. 522, श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 338 and explained as 'एकेनाह्ना त्रिभिर्वा अहोभिर्यदा षण्मासा न्यूनाः स्युः संवत्सरश्च तावत्संख्यया न्यूनोऽस्ति तदा षाण्मासिके श्राद्धे कार्ये इत्यर्थः'.

1159. द्वादशाहे त्रिपक्षे च षण्मासे मासिकेऽब्दिके। तृतीयां षोडशीमेतां वदाम्ति मतभेदतः॥ गरुड (प्रेतखण्ड 5.49-50); the other two groups are at chap. 35. 33-36 and in 37.

1160. चतुर्थाहे त्रिपक्षे च षण्मासे चाब्दिके तथा। द्वादश प्रतिमास्यानि श्राद्धान्येतानि षोडश। पद्म, सृष्टिखण्ड 5. 271.

1161. ब्रह्मपुराणे। नृणां तु त्यक्तदेहानां श्राद्धाः षोडश सर्वदा। चतुर्थे पञ्चमे चैव नवमैकादशे तथा। ततो द्वादशभिर्मासैः श्राद्धा द्वादशसंख्यया। q. by अपरार्क p. 523.

others say that after performing the 16 śrāddhas according to the procedure for Ekoddiṣṭa śrāddhas sapiṇḍana should be performed.[1162] The Madanapārijāta (p. 615), the Nirṇayasindhu (III. p. 599) and others say that in this conflict of views one should follow the usage of one's country, Vedic Śākhā or family. There were two views about the śrāddha on the 11th day. It should be remembered that Yāj. III. 22 laid down impurity on death for 10, 12, 15 and 30 days respectively for the four varṇas. One view espoused by Śaṅkha and Paiṭhīnasi was that in spite of the days of impurity not being over śrāddha must be performed on the 11th day (and for the moment the performer becomes pure for that purpose). The other view was that of the Matsyapurāṇa and Viṣṇudharmasūtra 21.1 that the first śrāddha (ekoddiṣṭa) was to be performed on the expiry of āśauca.

In the case of ascetics dying it is provided by Uśanas[1163] that by the fact of their taking to the order of *sannyāsa* (of the ekadaṇḍi kind in the Kaliyuga) they have not to undergo the condition of being *preta*, no Ekoddiṣṭa nor Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa should be performed for them by their son or other relative but only pārvaṇaśrāddha on the 11th day and every year thereafter. Śātātapa provides[1164] that no Ekoddiṣṭa, no water, no piṇḍa and no cremation rites should be offered to an ascetic nor mourning should be observed, but pārvaṇa-śrāddha should be performed. Pracetas quoted by Mit. on Yāj. I. 256 states that no ekoddiṣṭa is to be performed for an ascetic nor sapiṇḍīkaraṇa, but only pārvaṇa on the day of death every year in Bhādrapada dark half. The Śivapurāṇa (Kailāsa-saṁhitā) chapters 22 and 23 deal with the rites to be performed on an ascetic's death on the 11th and 12th days.

In the Navaśrāddhas no incense, no lamps are employed. All mantras having the words 'pitṛ' and 'svadhā namaḥ' are

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1162. श्राद्धानि षोडशापाद्य विदधीत सापिण्डनम्। लौगाक्षि q. by मिता. on या. I. 255, निर्णयसिन्धु p. 599, भट्टोजि on चतुर्विंशतिमतसंग्रह p. 168; ascribed to वायुपुराण by अपरार्क p. 532; सपिण्डीकरणादर्वाक् कुर्याच्छ्राद्धानि षोडश। एकोद्दिष्टविधानेन कुर्यात्सर्वाणि तानि तु॥ q. by अपरार्क p 522.

1163. एकोद्दिष्टं न कुर्वीत यतीनां चैव सर्वदा। अहन्येकादशे प्राप्ते पार्वणं तु विधीयते॥ सापिण्डीकरणं तेषां न कर्तव्यं सुतादिभिः। त्रिदण्डग्रहणादेव प्रेतत्वं नैव जायते॥ उशनस् q by मिता. on या. I. 255, परा. मा. I. 2 p. 458, श्रा. क्रि. कौ. pp. 444-445.

1164. एकोद्दिष्टं जलं पिण्डमाशौचं प्रेतसत्क्रियाम्। न कुर्याद्वार्षिकादन्यद् ब्रह्मभूता हि ते स्मृताः॥ शातातप q. by मद. पा. p. 627, श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 445, अपरार्क p. 538 (reads पार्वणादन्यद् ब्रह्मीभूताय भिक्षवे).

omitted and so is the word 'anu' omitted and there is no *japa* and no recital of mantras in the hearing of the brāhmaṇas. As stated in the Brahmapurāṇa, the śrāddhas performed in the house at the end of impurity on the 12th day, at the end of a month etc. are called ekoddiṣṭa. It follows that the rites called navaśrāddhas offered during the days of impurity are performed at the place of death or in the cemetery or at a place where water and piṇḍa are offered (and not in the house); vide Sm. C. (āśauca p. 176). In the *navamiśra* śrāddha mantras are employed according to some. In former times and now also all the 16 śrāddhas are performed on the 11th day. Hardly any one waits for one year to perform Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa. In former times it was laid down (e. g. by the Mit.) that in times of difficulty, Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa should be performed even before a year elapses after performing the sixteen śrāddhas. But now this exception has become the rule.

Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa or **Sapiṇḍana** is the reception of a deceased person into the community of pitṛs to whom piṇḍas are offered. Several times were prescribed by ancient works for this. Acc. to the Kauṣītaki gṛ. IV. 2 this śrāddha could be performed after the death of the deceased at the end of a year or at the end of three fortnights or on the happening of a lucky event (like the birth of a son or a marriage). The Bhāradvāja[1165] gṛ. (III. 17) allowed it at the end of a year (after death) or in the 11th or 6th or 4th month or on the 12th day. The Baud. Pitṛmedhasūtra II. 12.1 mentions five times for sapiṇḍīkaraṇa viz. one year, 11th, 6th or 4th month or 12th day. The Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa 6. 53–54) states the time of Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa to be one year, six months, three fortnights, the 12th day or on a lucky occasion. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 13. 26ff) makes similar provisions about sapiṇḍīkaraṇa (which is an ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha). Aparārka (p. 540) after a long discussion holds that there are three times for a performer who is an *āhitāgni* viz. 12th day, some day between the end of *āśauca* and the first amāvāsyā (after death) or the first amāvāsyā after āśauca ends and prescribes four times for one who has not kept sacred fires, viz. a year, six months, three fortnights or when a lucky event occurs. The Madanapārijāta quotes a verse of Vyāsa that the 12th day is

1165. संवत्सरे सपिण्डीकरणमेकादशे मासि षष्ठे चतुर्थे द्वादशेऽहनि। भारद्वाजगृह्य III. 17.1; आनन्त्यात्कुलधर्माणां पुंसां चैवायुषः क्षयात्। अस्थिरत्वाच्छरीरस्य द्वादशाहो प्रशस्यते॥ व्यास q. by मद. पा. p. 631, श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 350 (ascribes to व्याघ्र), गृहस्थ. folio 237 a (ascribes to व्याघ्र), भट्टोजि p. 176 of चतुर्विंशति°, श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 301.

commended (for the sapiṇḍana śrāddha) because family usages are innumerable, because man's life is short and because the body is evanescent. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (21.20) provides that for śūdras 12th day after death is the only day for Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa (but without Vedic mantras). Gobhila laid down that after Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa was performed, there was to be no performance of śrāddhas every month, but Gautama (or Śaunaka, according to Aparārka p. 543) held the view that they may be performed according to the procedure of ekoddiṣṭa śrāddhas. Bhaṭṭoji says [1166] that when sapiṇḍīkaraṇa is performed before the end of the year, then all the sixteen śrāddhas must be performed before Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa, yet the monthly śrāddhas should again be performed at their proper times for one year. Yāj. I. 255 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 21. 23 prescribe that even if Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa is performed for a deceased person within less than a year from death still for one year food and a jar of water should be given to a brāhmaṇa for the whole year (for the benefit of the deceased). Uśanas provides that even if the heirs of a deceased person are divided in wealth, still the *navaśrāddhas*, the sixteen śrāddhas, and sapiṇḍīkaraṇa must be performed by one alone [1167] (e. g. the eldest son), but Pracetas provides that when a year has (elapsed) śrāddha may be performed separately by each heir [1168].

The procedure of Sapiṇḍana or Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa is described in numerous works such as the Śān. gr. V. 9, Kauṣītaki gr. IV. 2, Baud. Pitṛmedhasūtra III. 12.12, Śrāddha-sūtra of Kātyāyana (kaṇḍikā 5), Yāj. I. 253–254, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 13.27 ff., Viṣṇu Dh. S. 21. 12–23, Padma (Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 10. 22–33), Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 28. 12–18, Garuḍa-purāṇa I. 220, Viṣṇudharmottara II. 77, Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 57–58, Nirṇayasindhu (III. p. 614). It is briefly set out here. [1169] As said by Baud.

1166. यदा संवत्सरपूर्तेः प्रागेव सपिण्डीकरणं क्रियते तदा यद्यपि षोडश श्राद्धानि ततः प्रागेव कृतानि-श्राद्धानि षोडशावृत्त्या न कुर्यात्तु सापिण्डनम्—इति वृद्धवासिष्ठोक्तेः, तथापि स्वस्वकाले पुनरपि मासिकादीन्यावर्तनीयानि। भट्टोजि on चतुर्विंशतिमतसंग्रह p. 171.

1167. नवश्राद्धं सपिण्डत्वं श्राद्धान्यपि च षोडश। एकेनैव हि कार्याणि संविभक्तधनेष्वपि॥ उशनस् q. by अपरार्क p. 524, मिता. on या. I. 255 (without name). This verse is गरुडपुराण, प्रेत॰ 34. 128–129.

1168. अर्वाक् संवत्सरात्सर्वे कुर्युः श्राद्धं समेत्य वै। संवत्सरे व्यतीते तु कुर्युः श्राद्धं पृथक् पृथक्॥ प्रचेतस् q. by अपरार्क p. 524.

1169. The सङ्कल्प in सापिण्डन will be somewhat as follows: अमुकगोत्रस्यामुकशर्मणः प्रेतस्य प्रेतत्वनिवृत्त्या पितृलोकप्राप्त्यर्थममुकगोत्रैः अमुकशर्मभिर्वसुरुद्रादित्यस्वरूपैः प्रेतपितृपितामहप्रपितामहैः सह सापिण्डीकरणं मृताहात् द्वादशेऽह्नि पार्वणैकोद्दिष्टविधिना करिष्ये।'.

Pitṛmedhasūtra III. 12.12, in this śrāddha there is invitation to the brāhmaṇas the previous day, there is agnaukaraṇa, there is the recital of Vedic texts when the brāhmaṇas are engaged in eating, Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas are honoured, the Viśvedevas are Kāma and Kāla (vide n. 1018), there is the presentation of incense and lamp, there is *svadhā* and also *namaskāra*. Four vessels for *arghya* should be got ready and filled with sandalwood paste, water and sesamum grains, one being for the deceased (the *preta*) and three for his paternal ancestors; two daiva brāhmaṇas should be invited, one to represent the *preta* and three to represent the three paternal ancestors of the *preta*; if a man is unable to invite so many brāhmaṇas, he should invite three, one for Viśvedevas, one for the *preta* and one for the three paternal ancestors. He should request 'I shall unite the vessel for the preta with the vessels for his three paternal ancestors.' When permitted in the words 'do unite', he should cast the kuśas in the vessel for the *preta* into the vessels for his three paternal ancestors, should keep a little water mixed with kuśas in the vessel for the *preta* and distribute the rest of the water from the *preta* vessel into the three vessels for his ancestors with the two mantras[1169a] 'ye samānā' (Vāj. S. 19. 45–46). Arghya is offered to the brāhmaṇa representing the preta with the water that remains in the preta vessel, arghya is offered to the three *pitrya* brāhmaṇas from the three pitrya vessels. Four piṇḍas should be prepared, one for the *preta* and three for his ancestors and then the performer requests 'I shall unite the pretapiṇḍa with the piṇḍas for the three ancestors of his'; when permitted in the words 'do unite', the performer divides the pretapiṇḍa into three parts and puts each third into each of the three piṇḍas with the same two mantras (Vāj. S. 19. 45–46). The Garuḍapurāṇa (I. 220.6) strikes a discordant note in that it states that the pretapiṇḍa is to be divided in two parts, each of which is to be placed inside the piṇḍas for pitāmaha and prapitāmaha only.

1169 a. The two mantras are : ये समानाः समनसः पितरो यमराज्ये । तेषां लोकः स्वधा नमो यज्ञो देवेषु कल्पताम्॥ ये समानाः समनसो जीवा जीवेषु मामकाः । तेषां श्रीर्मयि कल्पतामस्मिँल्लोके शतं समाः॥ वाज. सं. 19. 45-46, काठकसंहिता 38. 23-24. भारद्वाजगृह्य III. 17 sets out the following formula for तिलप्रदान 'ये समाना ये सजाता इति इत्यामसौ पितृभिः पितामहेभिः प्रपितामहेभिः सहैतत्ते तिलोदकं तस्मै ते स्वधा नम इति तिलोदकमवानम्।'. In place of असौ one has to use the vocative 'अस्मत्पितरमुकगोत्रामुकशर्मन् प्रेत'. पितामहेभिः and प्रपितामहेभिः are Vedic Instrumentals (plural).

Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa partakes of the character of both ekoddiṣṭa and pārvaṇa, the first applying to the *preta* and the 2nd to the three ancestors of the *preta*, so that in it two kinds of śrāddhas are combined. When the sapiṇḍīkaraṇa rite is completed by the giving of dakṣiṇā to the brāhmaṇas, then the *preta* ceases to be so and himself becomes a pitṛ. The status of being a *preta* involves the experiencing of great torments due to hunger and thirst and becoming a pitṛ means being brought in contact with the śrāddha *devatās* called Vasu, Rudra and Āditya.[1170] The word *preta* has two meanings, (1) a person who is dead and (2) one who being dead has not the sapiṇḍīkaraṇa performed for him. The result of sapiṇḍana is that the[1171] great-grandfather of the deceased whose sapiṇḍana is performed drops out from the list of pitṛs entitled to piṇḍa and becomes one called 'lepabhāk' (entitled to only wipings of the hand) and the former *preta* becomes one of the pitṛs and entitled to participate in the piṇḍas offered at a pārvaṇaśrāddha thereafter. As stated in the Garuḍapurāṇa I. 220. 2 the sapiṇḍīkaraṇa-śrāddha is to be performed like the pārvaṇa in the afternoon.

It may be noted that in some works the mantras recited at the time of pouring the water from the preta vessel into the pitṛ vessels are different. For example, the Viṣṇu Dh. S. 21. 14 says[1172] the mantras are 'Saṃsṛjatu tvā pṛthivī' (May the earth unite thee) and 'samānī va ākutiḥ' (Ṛg. X. 191. 4), while the

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1170. प्रेतत्वं च क्षुत्तृष्णोपजनितात्यन्तदुःखानुभवावस्था। यथाह मार्कण्डेयः। प्रेतलोके तु वसतिर्नृणां वर्षं प्रकीर्तिता। क्षुत्तृष्णे प्रत्यहं तत्र भवेतां भृगुनन्दन॥ इति। पितृत्वप्राप्तिश्च वस्वादिश्राद्धदेवतासम्बन्धः। मिता. on या. I. 254. या. I. 255–256 presuppose this idea.

1171. सपिण्डीकरणादूर्ध्वं पितुर्यः प्रपितामहः। स तु लेपभुजो याति प्रलुप्तपितृपिण्डकः॥ मार्कण्डेय 29. 1; ततः प्रभृति वै प्रेतः पितृसामान्यमाप्नुयात्। विन्दते पितृलोकं च ततः श्राद्धं प्रवर्तते॥ हारीत q. by कल्पतरु (श्रा.) p. 256, हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1640). श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 262 which last explains 'पितृसामान्यं पितृभिः सह पार्वणश्राद्धभोक्तृत्वमित्यर्थः। तेन पञ्चदश-श्राद्धानां प्रेतत्वपरीहारः फलं सपिण्डनस्य तु प्रेतत्वपरीहारः पितृलोकप्राप्तिः पितृभिः सह पार्वणभोक्तृत्वं च फलत्रयमिति।'. Vide also स्मृतिच. on आशौच (Mysore University ed.) p. 158 quoting प्रचेतस् and विष्णु.

1172. संवत्सरान्ते प्रेताय तत्पित्रे तत्पितामहाय तत्प्रपितामहाय च ब्राह्मणान् देवपूर्वान् भोजयेत्। अत्राग्नौकरणमावाहनं पाद्यं च कुर्यात्। संसृजतु त्वा पृथिवी समानी व इति प्रेतपाद्यपात्रं पितृपाद्यपात्रत्रये योजयेत्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 21. 12-14. q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1640). The mantra is संसृजतु त्वा पृथिवी वायुरग्निः प्रजापतिः। संसृजध्वं पूर्वेभिः पितृभिः सह॥. The काठकगृह्य 66. 7 prescribes that when parts of pretapiṇḍa are mixed up with पितृपिण्डs, this mantra and two more viz. 'samānā va ākūtāni' and 'sam vo manāṃsi' (काठकसंहिता 10. 38–39) are recited.

Gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa[1173] of Āśv. employs the three Madhumatī verses (Rg. I. 90.6–8) and the three fine verses at the end of the Ṛgveda beginning with 'saṅgacchadhvam' (Ṛg. X. 191. 2–4, 'May you unite' &c.).

Yāj. (I. 254) and Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 17–18) provide that Ekoddiṣṭa and Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa śrāddhas are performed for women also (but not pārvaṇa nor ābhyudayika). About the Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa of the mother there are somewhat conflicting dicta. If a woman dies sonless and her husband is alive, her sapiṇḍana is effected with her mother-in-law (Gobhilasmṛti II. 102). If a woman dies leaving no son and the husband also is dead, then no sapiṇḍana can be performed for her. If she died either on the funeral pyre of her husband[1174] or afterwards (as a *Sati*) then her son should perform her sapiṇḍana with her husband (i. e. the son's father) and there is no separate sapiṇḍana for her. If she was married in the *āsura* form or she was made a *putrikā*, then the son should perform his mother's sapiṇḍana with his maternal grandfather; while a son born of a woman married in the *Brāhma* and three other proper forms may perform her sapiṇḍana with her husband or the paternal grandmother or the maternal grandfather. In the case of these three alternatives if there is a certain family usage that should be followed; otherwise there is an option. If a woman has a step-son, the latter should perform her sapiṇḍana with his father, as Manu IX. 183 (= Vas. 17. 11) indicates. Vide the Mit. on Yāj. I. 253–254 and Sm. C. (on āśauca p. 169) for discussion of these points and for various alternatives.[1175]

The Nirṇayasindhu (III. p. 388) says that there is no sapiṇḍana for one whose upanayana was not performed when

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1173. प्रेतपिण्डं त्रिधा विभज्य पितृपिण्डेषु त्रिष्वादधाति मधु वाता इति तिसृभिः सङ्गच्छध्वमिति द्वाभ्यामनुमन्त्र्य शेषं पार्वणवत्कुर्यात्। आश्व. गृ. परि. 3.11.

1174. सपिण्डीकरणं तासां पुत्राभावे न विद्यते। प्रतिसंवत्सरं कार्यमेकोद्दिष्टं नरैः स्त्रियाः॥ मार्कण्डेय 28.18 on which कल्पधर (श्राद्धविवेक p. 113) says : अत्र पुत्राभाव इत्युपलक्षणं पतिपुत्राभाव इति मन्तव्यम्।.

1175. स्वेन भर्त्रा समं श्राद्धं माता भुंक्ते सुधामयम्। पितामही च स्वेनैव स्वेनैव प्रपितामही॥ बृहस्पति q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा.) p. 449, कल्पतरु (श्रा.) p. 259 (reads स्वधामयं and तथैव प्रपितामही) and श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 428; मातुः सपिण्डीकरणं पितामह्या सहोदितम्। गोभिलस्मृति II. 102 श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 428; पितुः पितामहे यद्वत् पूर्णे संवत्सरे सुतैः। मातुर्मातामहे तद्वदेषा कार्या सपिण्डता॥ उशनस् q. by मिता. on या. I. 253–254. The गरुड (प्रेत 34.121) says 'पितामह्या समं मातुः पितुः सह पितामहैः। सपिण्डीकरणं कार्यमिति तार्क्ष्य मतं मम॥.' Therefore the मिता. says 'मातुः सपिण्डीकरणेपि विरुद्धानि वाक्यानि दृश्यन्ते।'.

he died, but if he was more than five years old then the 16 śrāddhas are performed for him (though not sapiṇḍana) and piṇḍa is offered on bare ground. It may be noted that no auspicious rite like marriage in which ābhyudayika śrāddha is necessary can be performed until the sapiṇḍana of a deceased person of the family has been effected (except in the case of such absolutely necessary ceremonies as sīmantonnayana).

Manu (V. 89–90) prescribes that no water and other rites like sapiṇḍīkaraṇa are offered and performed for those who had left off their faith, who were born of condemned mixed marriages, who entered ascetic orders, who had committed suicide (by hanging, poison &c.), who had embraced heretical doctrines, for women that wilfully seek illicit connection with men, that did harm to their foetus or husband (were guilty of abortion and murder of husband) and that were addicted to drinking *surā*. Yāj. III. 6 contains similar provisions. It has to be noted that every kind of suicide is not condemned by the ancient smṛtis. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 939, 958–9 for cases where suicide was not condemned. Except in those cases Yama (q. by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 6) provides that in the case of the persons mentioned in Manu and Yāj. there is to be no āśauca observed, no water offered, no tears shed, no cremation and no last rites. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 6) quotes Vṛddha Yājñavalkya and Chāgaleya that in the case of those who are guilty of condemned suicide the procedure of Nārāyaṇabali should be resorted to after a year and *then śrāddha* may be offered to them. Then the Mit. describes at length the procedure of Nārāyaṇabali. Vide note 838 b p. 370 above for the Skandapurāṇa, Nāgarakhaṇḍa 219. 19–21 on the view that śrāddha may be performed on the 14th of the dark half for persons who committed suicide or who met a violent death.

The *Ābhyudayika-śrāddha* is to be now described. Āśv. gṛ. IV. 7 mentions in one place only four śrāddhas viz. Pārvaṇa, Kāmya, Ābhyudayika and Ekoddiṣṭa (note 966 above). Many of the sūtras such as Āśv. gṛ. II. 5. 13–15, Śāṅ. gṛ. IV. 4, Gobhila gṛ. IV. 3. 35–37, Kauṣītaki gṛ. IV. 4, Baud. gṛ. III. 12. 2–5, the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (kaṇḍikā 6) briefly describe this śrāddha. According to most of these sūtras this śrāddha is performed when there is a lucky event such as the birth of a son, or his *caula*, *upanayana* or marriage or there is the commencement of a charitable (*pūrta*) act (such as the dedication of a well or a tank or a park to the public). Āśv.

gr. and Gobhila gr. are very brief. They say that in this śrāddha performed on auspicious occasions or on the undertaking of meritorious acts an even number of brāhmaṇas is to be fed, that the rite is to be performed from left to right and that *yavas* (barley) are to be used instead of sesamum grains. As this śrāddha is only a modification (vikṛti) of *pārvaṇa* (as said by Aparārka p. 514) all rules of the latter will be applicable to the former except where special directions are given. The Āśv. gr. pariśiṣṭa II. 19, Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 56), Pitṛdayitā pp. 62–71 give a compact but tolerably full description of this śrāddha.

In this śrāddha which is to be performed in the morning (except on the birth of a son when it is to be done at once) the Viśve-devas are called Satya and Vasu, it is performed in the forenoon, the brāhmaṇas to be invited must be even in number, the darbhas are to be straight (and not doublefolded) and are not to be with their roots; the performer wears his sacred thread in the usual form (and not in the *prācināvīta* form), all actions are to be done from left to right (pradakṣiṇam and not prasavyam); the word svadhā is not to be used; yava grains are to be employed instead of sesamum grains; he invites them with the words 'find time to attend Nāndīśrāddha'. The brāhmaṇas say 'be it so'. He says 'May you two come (to my house)'; they reply 'we two shall come'. The performer faces the east or north (but never the south); the mantra about yavas is 'yavosi' (vide note 966)[1176] he requests 'I shall invoke the pitṛs called Nāndīmukha'.[1177] When permitted by the brāhmaṇas in the words 'do invoke' he says 'may the Nāndīmukha pitṛs be pleased'; he offers arghya only once with the words 'O Nāndīmukha pitṛs! this is the arghya for you'. Sandalwood paste, incense, lamp are to be given twice; the *homa* is made on the hand of the brāhmaṇa, the two mantras being 'to Agni, the bearer of *kavya*! svāhā' and 'to Soma accompanied by the pitṛs! svāhā.' While the

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1176. The मन्त्र here repeated is 'यवोसि...प्रत्नः पुष्ट्या (in place of स्वधया) नान्दीमुखान् पितॄन्...नः स्वाहा नमः (instead of स्वधा नमः)'.

1177. The सङ्कल्प will be somewhat as follows: ओम्, अद्यामुकगोत्राणां मातृपितामहीप्रपितामहीनाममुकामुकामुकदेवीनां नान्दीमुखीनां तथामुकगोत्राणां पितृपितामहप्रपितामहानाममुकामुकामुकशर्मणां नान्दीमुखानां तथामुकगोत्राणां मातामहप्रमातामहवृद्धप्रमातामहानाममुकामुकामुकशर्मणां नान्दीमुखानाममुकगोत्रस्य कर्तव्यामुककर्मनिमित्तकमाभ्युदयिकश्राद्धमहं करिष्ये। श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर p. 149. For देवीनां it is usual to put दानां.

brāhmaṇas are eating the dinner, the Rakṣoghna mantras and mantras addressed to Indra and propitiatory mantras may be recited but not the mantras addressed to pitṛs (viz. Ṛg. X. 15. 1–13); when he sees that the brāhmaṇas are satiated, he recites the five verses (Ṛg. IX. 11. 1–5) beginning with 'upāsmai gāyatā naraḥ' (O men! sing for this soma) instead of the Madhumatī verses (viz. Ṛg. I. 90. 6–8) and at the end he makes the brāhmaṇas hear the mantra 'the pitṛs have partaken (of the food), they have regaled themselves'. The performer should ask 'I shall request the nāndīmukha pitṛs to utter benedictions' at the stage where (in Pārvaṇa) 'akṣayyodaka' is asked for, to which the brāhmaṇas respond with the words 'do request.' The performer employs the word 'sampannam' (was it perfect) in asking about the gratification of the brāhmaṇas, who reply with the word 'susampannam' (it was quite perfect). On the brāhmaṇas sipping water after their dinner, he cowdungs the places where the dinner was taken, strews darbha grass thereon with their tips turned towards the east and offers thereon two piṇḍas for (each of the ancestors) made with the food that remains after the brāhmaṇas have eaten mixed with curds, jujube fruit and *pṛṣadājya* [1178] (mixture of curds and clarified butter). The piṇḍas are offered to the mātṛs, to the three paternal ancestors and the three maternal ancestors (viz. mother's father, mother's paternal grandfather and her paternal great-grandfather). Some do not offer piṇḍas in this śrāddha (as stated by Āśv. gṛ. pariśiṣṭa II. 19). The Pitṛdayitā and Śrāddha-tattva (Jīv. p. 297) say that no mātṛśrāddha is to be performed in Ābhyudayikaśrāddha by the followers of the Sāmaveda. It is possible that the śraddha for the mother, paternal grandmother and paternal great-grandmother was inspired by the Anvaṣṭakya śrāddha, as the sūtras from Āśv. gṛ. quoted below will indicate.[1178a]

The words Nāndīśrāddha and Vṛddhiśrāddha are synonymous. When Yāj I. 250 says[1179] that the Nāndīmukha pitṛs should be worshipped with piṇḍas when there is *vṛddhi* (a lucky or auspicious event), he indicates that Nāndīśrāddha and Vṛddhi-

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1178. पृषदाज्य is defined in आश्व. गृ. IV. 1. 17 as 'दधन्यत्र सर्पिरानयन्त्येत-त्पिज्यं पृषदाज्यम्'.

1178 a. अपरेद्युरन्वष्टक्यम्।...पिण्डपितृयज्ञे कल्पेन। हुत्वा मधुमन्थवर्जं पितृभ्यो दद्यात्। स्त्रीभ्यश्च सुरा चाचाममित्यधिकम्। आश्व. गृ. II. 5. 1, 3–5.

1179. एवं प्रदक्षिणावृत्को वृद्धौ नान्दीमुखान् पितॄन्। यजेत दधिकर्कन्धूमिश्रान् पिण्डान्यवैः क्रियाः॥ या. I. 250.

śrāddha mean the same thing. As noted by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 250 quoting Śātātapa this śrāddha is made of three parts, viz. mātṛ-śrāddha, pitṛśrāddha and mātāmahaśrāddha.[1180] On the other hand the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa I. 185. 15 states that there are two śrāddhas in this viz. Mātṛ-śrāddha and Nāndīmukha-pitṛ-śrāddha. Ābhyudayika-śrāddha and Vṛddhiśrāddha are treated as synonyms in some works such as the Padmapurāṇa,[1181] though it may be said that Ābhyudayika śrāddha is wider in import than Vṛddhiśrāddha, since it is also applicable to srāddha performed on the commencement of a *pūrta* act.

The Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 13. 2–7, Mārkaṇḍeya 28. 4–7, Padmapurāṇa (sṛṣṭi 9. 194–199), Bhaviṣyapurāṇa I. 185. 5–13, the Viṣṇudharmottara I. 142. 13–18 describe briefly the procedure of Nāndīśrāddha and also the occasions on which it is to be performed. The occasions specified are[1182]: on the marriages of sons and daughters, on entering a new house, on naming a child, at the time of Cūḍākarma, at Sīmantonnayana, on the birth of a son, a householder should honour the group of pitṛs called Nāndīmukha. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 28. 6 notes that some desire that this śrāddha should not have Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas, but the Padmapurāṇa (sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 9.195) says that in this Vṛddhi-śrāddha the mothers are to be first honoured, then the fathers, then the mātāmahas and then the Viśve-devas. Hemādri (śr. p. 107) quotes two verses from the Brahmapurāṇa to the effect that the father, paternal grandfather and paternal great-grandfather are called *aśrumukha* pitṛs, while the three paternal ancestors beyond the great-grandfather are called Nāndīmukha pitṛs.[1183] The Kalpataru (on śrāddha p. 270) explains these verses as meaning no more than this that in case the three paternal ancestors of a man are living and there is a lucky event, then the devatās for Nāndīśrāddha in his case would be the three

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1180. यद्यपि पितृन्यजेतेति सामान्येनोक्तं तथापि श्राद्धत्रयं क्रमश्च स्मृत्यन्तरादवगन्तव्यः। यथाह शातातपः। मातुः श्राद्धं तु पूर्वं स्यात्पितॄणां तदनन्तरम्। ततो मातामहानां च वृद्धौ श्राद्धत्रयं स्मृतम्॥ मिता. on या. I. 250, कल्पतरु (श्रा.) p. 271.

1181. तृतीयमाभ्युदयिकं वृद्धिश्राद्धं तदुच्यते। पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड 9. 194).

1182. कन्यापुत्रविवाहेषु प्रवेशे नववेश्मनि। नामकर्मणि बालानां चूडाकर्मादिके तथा। सीमन्तोन्नयने चैव पुत्रादिमुखदर्शने। नान्दीमुखं पितृगणं पूजयेत् प्रयतो गृही। पितृपूजाविधिः प्रोक्तो वृद्धावेष समासतः। विष्णुपुराण III. 13. 5–7, quoted by अपरार्क p. 515 (except the last half).

1183. पिता पितामहश्चैव तथैव प्रपितामहः। त्रयो ह्यश्रुमुखा ह्येते पितरः संप्रकीर्तिताः॥ तेभ्यः पूर्वे त्रयो ये तु ते तु नान्दीमुखा इति॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 107), कल्पतरु (श्रा.) p. 270, मद. पा. p. 633. नान्दी means समृद्धि acc. to ब्रह्मपुराण q. by कल्पतरु (श्रा.) p. 268.

paternal ancestors beyond the great-grandfather. The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa notes that according to family usage some did not offer piṇḍas in Vṛddhiśrāddha [1183a].

The word 'mātaraḥ' has two meanings. Gobhilasmṛti [1184] prescribes that at the beginning of all rites the Mātṛs together with Gaṇeśa have to be worshipped and it names fourteen mātṛs such as Gaurī, Padmā, Śacī (I. 11-12).[1185] In the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (88.11-20 and 38) they are said to be seven viz. Brahmāṇī and others. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 217-218 for the Mātṛs and their worship.[1186] Aparārka (p. 517) quotes verses to the effect that in Vṛddhiśrāddha one must offer worship to the seven mātṛs (Brahmāṇī and others), then to one's mother, paternal grandmother, and paternal great-grandmother, then to the Nāndīmukha pitṛs and then to the mātāmahas together with their wives. The Śrāddhaprakāśa (of Vīramitrodaya) quotes Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha to the effect that in the Mātṛśrāddha (as part of Vṛddhi-śrāddha) if a sufficient number of brāhmaṇas be not available then for the groups of mātṛs and of mātāmahīs four women (for each group) whose husbands are living and who have a son or sons should be invited to dinner [1186a] and honoured.

The *Pratisāṁvatsarika* or *Pratyābdika* śrāddha has already been described above at great length. It is to be performed every year on the day of death (Gobhilasmṛti III. 66). It is

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1183a पिण्डनिर्वपणं कुर्यान्न वा कुर्याद्विचक्षणः । वृद्धिश्राद्धे महाबाहो कुलधर्मानवेक्ष्य तु ॥ भविष्यपुराण ; on this the पृथ्वीच॰ folio 167a remarks 'अतश्चाग्नौकरणाद्दीनामपि निषेधः । तथा । अग्नौकरणमर्घं चावाहनं चावनेजनम् । पिण्डश्राद्धे प्रकुर्वीत पिण्डहीने निवर्तते ॥'.

1184. कर्मादिषु तु सर्वेषु मातरः सगणाधिपाः । पूजनीयाः प्रयत्नेन पूजिताः पूजयन्ति ताः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 13, q. by कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 272).

1185. ब्रह्माण्याद्यास्तथा सप्त दुर्गाक्षेत्रगणाधिपान् । वृद्ध्यादौ पूजयित्वा तु पश्चान्नान्दीमुखान् पितॄन् ॥ मातृपूर्वान् पितॄन्पूज्य ततो मातामहानपि । मातामहीस्ततः काश्चिद्युग्मा भोज्या द्विजातयः ॥ q. by अपरार्क p. 517.

1186. The worship of the mother Goddess or of mother Goddesses is one of the oldest and most widespread forms of religion. The mother Goddess appears in the civilizations of Mesopotamia and Syria, in prehistoric Europe and west Africa. Rude female figures, which represent idols of the mother Goddesses, have been discovered in the earliest deposits of prehistoric cultures. Vide 'Mother Goddesses' by Mr. S. K. Dikshit (Poona).

1186 a. मातृवर्गे मातामहीवर्गे वा ब्राह्मणालाभे पतिपुत्रान्विताश्चतस्रश्चतस्रः सुवासिन्यो भोजनीया इत्युक्तं वृद्धवसिष्ठेन । मातृश्राद्धे तु विप्राणामलाभे पूजयेदपि । पतिपुत्रान्विता भव्या योषितोऽष्टौ कुलान्विताः ॥ श्राद्धप्रकाश p. 298.

laid down that in the case of one's parents this śrāddha partakes of the character of *pārvaṇa*.[1186b] The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa and Skanda state that the Sāṁvatsarika śrāddha is the most eminent among śrāddhas and that if a son does not perform the yearly śrāddha of his parents on the day of death he goes to the horrible Hell called Tāmisra and then is born as a pig in a town.[1187] In connection with this, if the tithi or month of death or both are not known then Bṛhaspati, the Skandapurāṇa, Padma and Bhaviṣyapurāṇa lay down certain rules, viz.[1188] (1) if the *tithi* is known but the month is not known, then the śrāddha should be performed on that tithi in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa or Māgha; (2) if the month is known but the tithi is not known, then the śrāddha should be performed on the amāvāsyā of the month; (3) if both the tithi and the month are not known, then one should take the tithi and the month when the deceased started from home; (4) if even the day and month of starting be not known, then the tithi and month in which a person hears of the death of a relative should be taken. It is to be noted that the month in pitrya rites is lunar and the words '*dina, ahaḥ, vāsara*' in connection with pitrya rites mean 'tithi' (Aparārka p. 545). There is no *pratyābdika* śrāddha in an intercalary month. (Skanda VII. 1. 206. 59).

A few words may now be said about some other śrāddhas.

A well-known śrāddha is the Mahālayaśrāddha. Some of the Purāṇas deal with this. The Padmapurāṇa (Sṛṣṭi khaṇḍa) says 'In the fifth fortnight (*pakṣa*) beginning from the Full Moon day of Āṣāḍha, one should perform a śrāddha, whether the Sun is by that time in the zodiacal sign of Kanyā (Virgo) or not. The sixteen days when the Sun is in Kanyā are equal to the solemn sacrifices which are completed with the gift of the

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1186 b. एतच्च मृताहपार्वणं मातापित्रोरेव । तथा च हेमाद्रिधृतकात्यायनवचनं 'सापिण्डीकरणादूर्ध्वं पित्रोरेव हि पार्वणम् । पितृव्यभ्रातृमातॄणामेकोद्दिष्टं सदैव तु ॥ मातृपदं सपत्नीमातृपरम्।' श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 304.

1187. सर्वेषामेव श्राद्धानां श्रेष्ठं सांवत्सरं स्मृतम्। क्रियते यत्खगश्रेष्ठ मृतेऽहनि बुधैः सह ॥...स याति नरकं घोरं तामिस्रं नाम नामतः। ततो भवति दुष्टात्मा नगरे सूकरः खग ॥ भविष्य. I. 183. 20 and 25. The first occurs also in स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1. 205. 43.

1188. मृताहस्य यदा मासो न ज्ञायेत कथंचन। मार्गशीर्षेऽथवा माघे श्राद्धं तद्दिवसे स्मृतम्॥ यदा तु वासराज्ञानं मासज्ञानमथैव च। अमायामेव तन्मासं श्राद्धं सांवत्सरं भवेत्॥ पद्म (पातालखण्ड 101. 73-74). Vide भविष्यपुराण I. 183, 28-29, स्कन्द VII. 1. 205. 52 for similar rules. बृहस्पति q. by अपरार्क p. 545 has similar verses and adds 'दिनमासौ न विज्ञातौ मरणस्य यदा पुनः। प्रस्थानादिनमासौ तु ग्राह्यौ पूर्वोक्तया दिशा॥'.

best of dakṣiṇās. If it is not possible to perform the śrāddha in the dark half (when the Sun is in Kanyā), one may perform it when the Sun is in Tulā (Balance). When the Sun enters the sign of Scorpion (without a śrāddha being performed), the Fathers go away losing all hope and after pronouncing a terrible curse (on their descendants) they return to their abode.'[1189] The fifth fortnight from the Full Moon day of Āṣāḍha is the dark half of Bhādrapada. The dark half is the preserve of pitṛs. In Bhādrapada the Sun is in the middle of its apparent motion in dakṣiṇāyana. Therefore the dark half of Bhādrapada is specially chosen as the best period for śrāddha to the pitṛs i. e. for the Mahālaya. The śrāddha performed in Bhādrapada dark half is called Mahālaya-śrāddha, since that fortnight is the abode (*ālaya*) as it were of the *maha* (i. e. festival day) for pitṛs. The real idea is that the dark half of Bhādrapada is specially to be welcomed for a śrāddha when the Sun is in Kanyā during that fortnight and that even if the Sun is not in *Kanyā* the dark half of Bhādrapada is still a good time for a śrāddha to the pitṛs. The Skandapurāṇa[1190] also says 'In the fifth fortnight from the Full Moon of Āṣāḍha, when the Sun occupies the sign of Kanyā, the pitṛs of him who offers a śrāddha on the tithi of the death (of one's father) certainly derive gratification for one year thereafter.' The Kalpataru quotes the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa to the effect that if a man has not performed śrāddha in

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1189. आषाढीमवधिं कृत्वा यस्तु पक्षस्तु पञ्चमः। तत्र श्राद्धं प्रकुर्वीत कन्यां गच्छतु वा न वा॥ कन्यागते सवितरि यान्यहानि तु षोडश। क्रतुभिस्तानि तुल्यानि समाप्तवरदक्षिणैः॥ ...अभावात् कृष्णपक्षादौ तुलायां कर्तुमर्हति॥ अतो वृश्चिकमायाते निराशाः पितरो गताः। पुनः स्वभवनं यान्ति शापं दत्वा सुदारुणम्॥ पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड 47. 225–228). The first verse आषाढी० occurs in अग्निपुराण 175.33 and is ascribed to जातूकर्ण्य by श्रा. कि. कौ. p. 283 and अपरार्क p. 423, which reads the third पाद as श्राद्धकालः स विज्ञेयः. The verse कन्यागते० is ascribed to the ब्रह्मपुराण by श्रा. कि. कौ p. 285 (which reads तुल्यानि देवो नारायणोऽब्रवीत्) and to ब्रह्माण्डपुराण by अपरार्क p. 424 (which reads last पाद as तत्र दत्तं महाफलम्) and to श्लोकगौतम by श्रा. क. ल p.99. यान्यहानि तु षोडश—These words are explained in two ways: 'कदाचित् पक्षविवृद्धौ षोडशदिनात्मकोऽपि नभस्यस्यापरः पक्षः श्राद्धकर्मणि कालो न तु पञ्चदशदिनात्मको वेति दर्शयितुमुक्तम्। यद्वा अमावास्याया अनन्तरभूतायाः प्रतिपत्तिथ्या अपि संग्रहणार्थं 'तिथिषोडशकः' इत्युक्तम्। प्रतिपदोऽपि क्षीणचन्द्रत्वे सापरपक्षतुल्यत्वात्। स्मृतिच. (श्रा p. 365). There is also a third way viz. including the preceding full moon day along with the 15 days of the dark half. प्रजापतिस्मृति verse 161 is very similar to the verse कन्यागते० and कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 16) quotes it from ब्रह्माण्ड.

1190. आषाढ्याः पञ्चमे पक्षे कन्यासंस्थे दिवाकरे। मृताहनि पुनर्यो वै श्राद्धं दास्यति मानवः॥ तस्य संवत्सरं यावत्तृप्ताः स्युः पितरो ध्रुवम्। स्कन्द. VI. 216. 96-97, q. by श्राद्धकल्पलता p. 98.

Mahālaya (i. e. in the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada when the Sun is in the sign of Kanyā) he should offer it on the 15th day (of the dark half of Āśvina) on which, it is well-known, lamps are lighted.[1191] The Śrāddha-sāra (p. 113) and the Smṛtimuktāphala (on śrāddha p. 745) quote Vṛddha-manu to the effect that the latter half of Bhādrapada when the Sun is in Kanyā is called Mahālaya and also Gajacchāyā. Various views are held on the question of the exact day on which the Mahālayaśrāddha is to be performed, viz. it may be performed on any day from the first *tithi* of the dark half of Bhādrapada to the amāvāsyā or from the fifth of the dark half to the amāvāsyā of Bhādrapada or from the 8th or 10th of the dark half to amāvāsyā or from the 5th of the dark half of Bhādrapada to the 5th of the next fortnight or on any day on which the Sun is in Kanyā or on any day till the Sun enters Scorpion.[1192] Prajāpati states that there are numerous śrāddhas described by the Purāṇas, all of them yield rewards but the Mahālaya (śrāddha) is the most eminent among them.[1193]

The Mahālayaśrāddha is to be performed, as stated by the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, in accordance with the procedure of Pārvaṇaśrāddha.[1194] The Smṛtyarthasāra states that if it is not possible to perform all śrāddhas (except *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*) according to the detailed procedure of Pārvaṇaśrāddha they should be performed by the procedure called 'Saṅkalpavidhi', which consists in performing the details laid down for Pārvaṇa as far as possible except the details of *āvāhana*, *arghya*, *homa* and *piṇḍadāna*.[1195] The Madanapārijāta (pp. 609–610) also states that when a man has to perform a 'saṅkalpa-śrāddha' he need not go through the details of *arghyadāna*, *vikira* and there is no āvāhana, no *agnaukaraṇa* and no piṇḍadāna even, but he has simply to feed a brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas.

1191. येयं दीपान्विता राजन् ख्याता पञ्चदशी भुवि। तस्यां दद्यान्न चेद्दत्तं पितॄणां तु महालये॥ भविष्यपुराण q. by कल्पतरु (on श्रा. p. 17) and श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 291, स्मृतिमु. (श्रा. p. 747 ascribes to सुमन्तु).

1192. तदेवं कृत्स्नः पञ्चमः पक्षः पञ्चम्यादिदर्शान्तमष्टम्यादिदर्शान्त-दशम्यादिदर्शान्त-पञ्चमीदर्शयोः मध्ये अनिषिद्धमेकं वा दिनं महालयश्राद्धकालः। स्मृतिमु. (श्रा. p. 747).

1193. श्राद्धान्यनेकशः सन्ति पुराणोक्तानि वै नृप। फलप्रदानि सर्वाणि तेषामग्र्यो महालयः॥ प्रजापति verse 37.

1194. कन्यागते सवितरि दिनानि दश पञ्च च। पार्वणेनैव विधिना तत्र श्राद्धं विधीयते॥ मार्कण्डेयपु. q. by स्मृतिमु. (श्रा. p. 745).

1195. सपिण्डीकरणवर्ज्यं सर्वश्राद्धेषु विस्तृतपार्वणविधिनासम्भवे सङ्कल्पविधिनैव कार्यम्। सङ्कल्पविधानं नामावाहनार्घ्यहोमपिण्डवर्जं पार्वणोक्तं यथासम्भवं भवति। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 60.

In the Mahālayaśrāddha the Viśvedevas are Dhuri and Locana. This śrāddha is performed for the benefit not only of the paternal and maternal ancestors with their wives, but also for other relatives and persons that are dead (together with their wives, sons and husbands if these be dead) viz. one's step-mother, one's wife, son, daughter, paternal uncle, maternal uncle, brother, paternal aunt and maternal aunt, sister, paternal uncle's son, son-in-law, sister's son, father-in-law, mother-in-law, ācārya, upādhyāya, *guru*, friend, pupil and any other relative.[1196] Some perform only for the paternal ancestors with their wives and the maternal ancestors with their wives. The day on which the moon is in Bharaṇī nakṣatra in the dark half of Bhādrapada is called Mahābharaṇī and śrāddha performed on that day is said to be equal to Gayāśrāddha (Matsyapurāṇa q. by Śr. K. L. p. 99). The Mahālaya-śrāddha is to be performed on the 12th tithi of Bhādrapada dark half in the case of a sannyāsin and on no other tithi and his yearly śrāddha is to be performed by his son according to pārvaṇa method as in the case of householders. The dvādaśī is sacred to Viṣṇu and *yatis* always repeat the words 'namo Nārāyaṇāya' and therefore the 12th is the special tithi for the mahālaya-śrāddha of yatis. The Mahālayaśrāddha is not to be performed in an intercalary month (*malamāsa*).

Two more śrāddhas that are performed even to this day may be mentioned here. One is called 'Mātāmahaśrāddha' or 'Dauhitra-pratipad-śrāddha'. A daughter's son whose parents are alive can alone perform a śrāddha for his maternal grand-father (together with the maternal grand-mother if she also be dead) on the first tithi of the bright half of Āśvina[1197]. A daughter's son can perform it even if his maternal grand-father has a son or sons living. It may be performed with or without piṇḍadāna (generally without it) and it may be performed even if the daughter's son has not been invested with the sacred thread. The Śrāddhasāra notes that the mātāmaha-śrāddha is based only on the usage of śiṣṭas (p. 24).

Another is the 'Avidhavānavamīśrāddha', which is performed for one's mother or other women of the family who died while the husbands were alive. It is performed on the 9th of

1196. Vide धर्मसिन्धु II. p. 79 for the सङ्कल्प in महालयश्राद्ध.

1197. गर्भस्थोऽपि च दौहित्रो अश्वयुक्प्रतिपद्दिने । कुर्यान्मातामहश्राद्धं पितरौ यदि जीवतः ॥ प्रजापतिस्मृति verse 170.

the dark half of Bhādrapada. It ceases to be performed when the husband dies after the woman's death. The Nirṇayasindhu notices several views about this and says that one should follow the usage of one's country [1198]. According to the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa in this śrāddha not only a brāhmaṇa but also a woman whose husband is alive is to be fed and presents of a girdle, a garland and bangles are to be made to her.

It will have been seen from the translation of Āśv. gṛ., Yāj. and the Padmapurāṇa that dakṣiṇā, according to one's ability, has to be given in each śrāddha towards the end of the rite. The Skandapurāṇa (VI. 218. 12–14) provides that whatever is wanting in mantras or the proper time or in procedure becomes perfect by dakṣiṇā. Śrāddha without dakṣiṇā is like rain on an arid place or like dancing in the dark or like singing before a deaf person, that he who desires the permanent gratification of himself and his Manes should not offer a śrāddha without dakṣiṇā. The Rāmāyaṇa shows how on the 12th day after the death of king Daśaratha gifts of jewels, of hundreds of cows, wealth, food in abundance and vehicles, of male and female slaves, of spacious houses were made to the brāhmaṇas. [1199] The Āśramavāsikaparva (14. 3–4) recounts the valuable gifts to brāhmaṇas in honour of Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Duryodhana and other fallen warriors, adding that persons of all varṇas were treated to profuse food and drink. The Vāyupurāṇa (chapter 80) propounds in great detail the rewards of various kinds of gifts made in śrāddhas. From considerations of space those descriptions are passed over here and only a brief eulogy of the gift of cooked food is given in the note below. [1200] The Śāntiparva (chap. 42. 7)

1198. अत्र भर्तृमरणोत्तरं पूर्वमृतश्राद्धं न कार्यमिति केचिदाहुः पठन्ति च श्राद्धं नवम्यां कुर्यात्तन्मृते भर्तरि लुप्यते-इति तदेतन्निर्मूलत्वान्मूर्खप्रतारणमात्रम्। श्राद्धदीपकलिकायां मातृ-पितृमातृकुलोत्पन्ना याः काश्चिन्मृताः स्त्रियः। श्राद्धार्हा मातरो ज्ञेयाः श्राद्धं तत्र महीपते॥ इति। अत्र देशाचाराद् व्यवस्था। निर्णयसिन्धु II p 154.

1199. ततो दशाहेऽतिगते कृतशौचो नृपात्मजः। द्वादशेऽहनि संप्राप्ते श्राद्धकर्माण्यकारयत्॥ ब्राह्मणेभ्यो ददौ रत्नं धनमन्नं च पुष्कलम्। वास्तिकं बहुशुक्लं च गाश्चापि शतशस्तदा। दासीदासं च यानं च वेश्मानि सुमहान्ति च। ब्राह्मणेभ्यो ददौ पुत्रो राज्ञस्तस्यौर्ध्वदेहिकम्। रामायण, अयोध्याकाण्ड 77. 1–3 (M. L. J. edition, 1933). ततोऽनन्तरमेवात्र सर्ववर्णान्महामते। अन्नपानरसौघेण प्लावयामास पार्थिवः॥ आश्रमवासिकपर्व 14. 12.

1200. अन्नदो लभते तिस्रः कन्याकोटीस्तथैव च। अन्नदानात्परं दानं विद्यते नेह किंचन। अन्नाद् भूतानि जायन्ते जीवन्ति च न संशयः॥ जीवदानात्परं दानं न किंचिदिह विद्यते। अन्नेन जीवति त्रैलोक्यमन्नस्यैव हि तत्फलम्। अन्ने लोकाः प्रतिष्ठन्ति लोकदानस्य तत्फलम्। अन्नं प्रजापतिः साक्षात्तेन सर्वमिदं ततम्॥ वायुपुराण 80. 54–57.

states that while Yudhiṣṭhira performed the after-death ceremonies of the fallen heroes he erected *sabhās*, *prapās*, water reservoirs and the like intending them for each separately. Devala states: 'when the brāhmaṇas have sipped water after dinner, dakṣiṇā is to be given' and Bṛhaspati prescribes 'Dakṣiṇā should be given to all the brāhmaṇas according to the learning of them by means of (gifts of) cows, land, gold, clothes. He should do this in such a way that they feel satisfied; one who is well-off should do this specially.'[1201] The Āśvamedhika-parva (62. 2-5) states that Vāsudeva offered śrāddha to his sister's son Abhimanyu and donated to sixty thousand brāhmaṇas, gold, cows, bed-steads, clothes and fed them. A special rule was provided by Bṛhaspati that the clothes, ornaments, bed-stead and the like, the horse and the like that were used by the father during his lifetime should be presented to the brāhmaṇa invited for śrāddha after honouring him with sandalwood paste and flowers.[1201a] The Anuśāsana-parva (chapt. 96) states the origin of the practice of giving an umbrella and sandals on the completion of a śrāddha.

Something must be said about the gift of the bed-stead (*śayyā*) used by the deceased on the 11th or 12th day after death. The Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa 34. 69-89), Padma (sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 10. 12), the Matsyapurāṇa highly eulogise the gift of śayyā to a brāhmaṇa and his wife. The Matsyapurāṇa states that on the 2nd day after the end of impurity on death the performer (of śrāddha) should donate a bed-stead possessing special characteristics; on it the golden image of the deceased should be placed and also fruits and clothes. After honouring a brāhmaṇa couple with many ornaments this should be done; then a bull should be let loose (for the benefit of the deceased) and the gift of a dark brown cow should also be made.[1202] The Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa 34. 73-82) gives a more elaborate description which appears to be almost identical with the

1201. बृहस्पतिरपि । 'दद्याद्दक्षिणां तेषां सर्वेषामनुरूपतः । गोभूहिरण्यवासोभिस्तुष्टिर्भुक्तवतां यथा । तथा भवति कर्तव्यं समर्थेन विशेषतः ।' q. by पृथ्वीच. folio 112b; यद्यदिष्टतमं लोके यच्चास्य दयितं गृहे । तत्तद्गुणवते देयं तदेवाक्षयमिच्छता ॥ मार्कण्डेय 32.91, वामनपुराण 14. 106.

1201 a. वस्त्रालङ्कारशय्यादि पितुर्यद्वाहनादिकम् । गन्धमाल्यैः समभ्यर्च्य श्राद्धभोक्त्रे तदर्पयेत् ॥ बृहस्पति q. by व्य. म. p. 129, श्रा. क. ल. p. 213.

1202. सूतकान्ताद् द्वितीयेऽह्नि शय्यां दद्याद्विलक्षणाम् । काञ्चनं पुरुषं तद्वत्फलवस्त्रसमन्विताम् । सम्पूज्य द्विजदाम्पत्यं नानाभरणभूषणैः । वृषोत्सर्गं च कुर्वीत देया च कपिला शुभा ॥ मत्स्यपुराण 18. 12-14 q. by श्रा. क. ल. p. 213, श्राद्धरत्न p. 199.

verses of the Bhavisya quoted by Hemādri. The Bhavisya-purāṇa quoted by Hemādri (and from Hemādri by the Nirṇayasindhu p. 596) states the mantra to be recited viz. 'just as the bed-stead of Kṛṣṇa is never devoid of Lakṣmī, the daughter of the ocean, similarly my bed may not be empty in each birth that I may have to undergo.'[1203] Acceptance of the gift of a śayyā was looked down upon in former times and even now it is only the poor brāhmaṇas (that are not generally learned) that accept this gift. The Padmapurāṇa condemns the acceptance of the gift of śayyā in no measured terms. It says 'when a brāhmaṇa accepts the gift of a bed-stead, he should have to undergo the ceremony of upanayana again. In the Veda as well as in the Purāṇa (the gift of) a bed-stead is everywhere condemned and all those who accept the gift go to hell.' [1204]

Certain other matters connected with śrāddhas may be briefly touched upon. In very ancient times twelve kinds of sons were recognized out of whom the kṣetraja, [1205] the putrikāputra and dattaka were most important. All these were the sons of two fathers. The question mooted was : to whom were they to offer piṇḍas ? The Madanapārijāta (pp. 607–608) quotes a passage from the Hārita-dharmasūtra [1206] and explains it. Hārīta says : 'seed does not grow without a field. Since it is seen that both are necessary the child born is the child of both. Out of the two (fathers) the procreator is to be first invoked

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1203. मन्त्रस्तु—यथा न कृष्णशयनं शून्यं सागरजातया। शय्या ममाप्यशून्यास्तु तथा जन्मनि जन्मनि॥ यस्मादशून्यं शयनं केशवस्य शिवस्य च। शय्या...जन्मनि॥ नि सि. III. p. 597. The गरुडपुराण (प्रेतखण्ड 34.81) has the verse यथा न etc

1204. गृहीतायां तु शय्यायां पुनः संस्कारमर्हति। वेदे चैव पुराणे च शय्या सर्वत्र गर्हिता॥ गृहीतारस्तु जायन्ते सर्वे नरकगामिनः॥ पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड 10. 17–18).

1205. The kṣetraja son was procreated on the wife or widow of a sonless man by a *sagotra* (a brother or other agnate) or even an *asagotra* according to the rules of *niyoga*, the procreator being called *bījin* and the husband on whose wife or widow the son was begotten was called *kṣetrin*. The putrikāputra is of two kinds, (1) a sonless man gives his daughter in marriage to another with the stipulation that the son born of the marriage will be the son of the girl's father (Vas. 17. 17, Manu IX. 127); (2) A daughter herself may be made a son (Vas. 17. 16). A dattaka is a son whom his father or mother gives to another as a son confirming the gift with water (Manu IX. 168). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 647–650 for detailed explanations about these and other secondary sons.

1206. तत्र हारीतः। नाक्षेत्रं बीजं रोहति। उभयदर्शनादुभयोरपत्यमिति। तेषामुत्पादयितुः प्रथमः प्रवरो भवति। द्वौ द्वौ पिण्डौ निर्वपेत्। अथवैकपिण्डे द्वावनुकीर्तयेत्। द्वितीये पुत्रस्तृतीये पौत्रो लेपिनश्च त्रीनन्वावक्षाण आ सप्तमादित्येके। मद. पा. pp. 607–608 and कल्पतरु (on श्रा. pp. 241–242).

(and then the kṣetrin). He (the son) may offer two piṇḍas to each grade of the ancestors or he may offer a single piṇḍa (to the father and) may repeat the names of both (fathers) as to that single piṇḍa. The son (of the son of two fathers) may repeat two names as to the 2nd piṇḍa (i. e. the piṇḍa for paternal grand-father); the grand-son (of the son of two fathers) may do the same as to the third piṇḍa (viz. the piṇḍa for paternal great-grandfather).' Manu IV. 140 and Gobhila-smṛti II. 105 say about the putrikāputra[1207] that he presents the first piṇḍa to his mother (as she was appointed as a son), the 2nd to her father and the third to his father's father. This appears to be one order in which piṇḍas are to be offered by the putrikāputra, while Manu IX. 132 sets out another method since it says that a putrikāputra inherits the entire wealth of his own father if he is sonless and he gives two piṇḍas (i. e. performs two śrāddhas) for his own father and for his maternal grandfather. The Śāṅ. Śr. S. provides[1208] that if there be two fathers, the son should recite the names of both (*bijin* and *kṣetrin*) with reference to the same piṇḍa. Even Yāj. says 'The son procreated according to the rules of *niyoga* by a sonless man on the wife of another inherits the wealth of both and offers piṇḍa to both.'[1209] The Mit. adds that if a person appointed to procreate a son on another's wife has a son, then the son so begotten becomes the son of the kṣetrin alone and not of the bījin. As the kṣetraja and putrikāputra have become obsolete for several centuries the subject has only an academic interest now. But the *dattaka* is still in vogue and a few words must be said here about the persons to whom the dattaka offers piṇḍas. The Kalpataru quotes from the Pravarādhyāya a passage on this point which is as

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1207. मातुः प्रथमतः पिण्डं निर्वपेत् पुत्रिकासुतः। द्वितीयं तु पितुस्तस्यास्तृतीयं तु पितुः पितुः॥ गोभिलस्मृति II. 105. कुल्लूक appears to be wrong in explaining पितुः पितुः in मनु IX. 140 as 'तृतीयं मातुः पितामहाय दद्यात्।'. मनु IX. 132 is 'दौहित्रो ह्यखिलं रिक्थमपुत्रस्य पितुर्हरेत्। स एव दद्याद् द्वौ पिण्डौ पित्रे मातामहाय च॥'. Here दौहित्र means पुत्रिकापुत्र.

1208. असावेतत्ते ये च त्वामत्रान्विति पिण्डान् यथावनेजितं निधायोभावेकस्मिन् पिण्डे पितुर्भेदे। शाङ्खायनश्रौ. सू. IV. 3. 10-11 q. by. कल्पतरु p. 241 (on श्रा.). The आप. श्रौ. I. 9. 7 says 'यदि द्विपिता स्यादेकैकस्मिन् पिण्डे द्वौ द्वावुपलक्षयेत्।'.

1209. अपुत्रेण परक्षेत्रे नियोगोत्पादितः सुतः। उभयोरप्यसौ रिक्थी पिण्डदाता च धर्मतः॥ या. II. 127; यदा तु नियुक्तः पुत्रार्थं केवलं क्षेत्रिणः पुत्रार्थं प्रयतते तदा तदुत्पन्नः क्षेत्रिण एव पुत्रो भवतीति न बीजिनः। स च न नियमेन बीजिनो रिक्थहारी पिण्डदो वेति। मिता.

follows:[1210] 'If these (i. e. those who are bījin) have no issue born of their own wives, (the sons begotten by *niyoga* or given in adoption) should inherit their wealth and offer piṇḍas to them up to three ancestors; if both (the bījin and kṣetrin or the giver and taker in adoption) have no other son, then they (sons begotten or adopted) should offer piṇḍa to both; in one and the same śrāddha they should repeat (the names of) the two ancestors respectively (of the acceptor and that of the begetter) after having separately intended the same piṇḍa for both up to the third ancestor.' The Baud. Dh. S.[1211] quotes a verse as follows 'The son of two fathers shall give the piṇḍa (to his two fathers and pronounce) two names with each piṇḍa; three piṇḍas will thus serve for six persons (ancestors).' It would be seen from the passage quoted above from Hārīta that some authorities allowed two separate piṇḍas for each degree of ancestors when there were two in the same degree. Manu IX. 142 lays down 'the son given should not take the *gotra* and wealth of his natural father; the piṇḍa follows the gotra and wealth; the *svadhā* (obsequies) of him who gives (his son in adoption) cease or fail (so far as that son is concerned).' This verse has been so interpreted by some decisions of the High Courts and of the Privy Council as to mean that the son adopted becomes totally severed from the family of his birth. This subject has been discussed at great length in H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 690–697 and it is established there that the severance of the son given in adoption is only partial, that the gotra of the natural family persists even after adoption into another family for purposes of marriage and āśauca and that the Nirṇayasindhu,[1212] the Dharma-sindhu and the Dattaka-candrikā declare that the son given away in adoption into another family can perform the śrāddha of his natural father,

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1210. अथ यद्येषां स्वभार्यास्वपत्यं न स्याद्रिक्थं हरेयुः पिण्डं चैभ्यस्त्रिपुरुषं दद्युरथ यद्युभयोर्न स्यादुभाभ्यां दद्युरेकस्मिञ्छ्राद्धे पृथगुद्दिश्यैकपिण्डे द्वावनुकीर्तयेत् प्रतिग्रहीतारं चोत्पादयितारं चा तृतीयात्पुरुषात् । q. by कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 241) with variations. The same passage is cited as from कात्यायन by the व्य. म. p. 115 (my edition), and from कात्यायन and लौगाक्षि (quoted in प्रवरमञ्जरी) by नि. सि. III. p. 389.

1211. अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । द्विपितुः पिण्डदानं स्यात् पिण्डे पिण्डे च नामनी । त्रयश्च पिण्डाः षण्णां स्युरेवं कुर्वन्न मुह्यति ॥ इति । बौ. ध. सू. II 2. 22-23.

1212. दत्तकस्तु जनकस्य पुत्राद्यभावे दद्याच्च तत्सखे । गोत्ररिक्थे जनयितुर्न भजेद्दत्रिमः सुतः । गोत्ररिक्थानुगः पिण्डो व्यपैति ददतः स्वधा ॥ इति मनूक्तेः । इदं जनकस्य पुत्रसत्त्वविषयम् । नि. सि. III. p. 389 ; दत्तकस्तु जनकपितुः पुत्राद्यभावे जनकपितुः श्राद्धं कुर्याद् धनं च गृह्णीयात् । धर्मसिन्धु III. (उत्तरार्ध) p. 371.

if the latter has no son at the time of his death and can also take his wealth.

Vṛṣotsarga (the letting loose of a bull). This topic has been dealt with by several sūtra works such as the Śān. gṛ. III. 11, the Kauṣītaki gṛ. III. 11 (in Benaras S. S. and III. 6 in Madras University Series), Kāṭhaka gṛ. 59, 1 ff., Pāraskara gṛ. III. 9, Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra, chap. 86. 1–20. In numerous works some verses called *gāthās* sung by the pitṛs are set out one of which expresses the yearning of the pitṛs as follows:[1213] 'one should desire to have many sons; since if even one (of the sons) goes to Gayā (and offers śrāddha after his father's death) or if he performs a solemn horse sacrifice or lets loose a dark-coloured bull (the man having such a son will secure final release)'. The description in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra being tolerably full is set out here;[1214] "(This ceremony) takes place on the full moon day in Kārtika or Āśvina. In this rite he must first examine the bull. The bull must be the offspring of a milch cow having young ones living, he must have all auspicious

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1213. „एष्टव्या बहवः पुत्रा यद्येकोपि गयां व्रजेत् । यजेत वाश्वमेधेन नीलं वा वृषमुत्सृजेत्॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85. 67, बृहस्पतिस्मृति verse 21, लघुशङ्ख 10, मत्स्यपुराण 22 6, ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 32–33, वायुपुराण 83. 11–12, पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड 11.68), ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद 19.11), विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 146.58 and I. 144.3. The meaning is 'बहूनां पुत्राणां मध्ये एकेनापि गयाश्राद्धकरणे पितृमुक्तिर्भवति,' as stated in स्कन्दपुराण, नागरखण्ड, chap. 216. 114–117. The first half occurs in अनुशासनपर्व 88. 14 and the whole verse in मत्स्य 207. 40 (which says it is an ancient gāthā and reads the third *pāda* as 'गौरीं वाप्युद्वहेत्कन्यां'). Compare कूर्म॰ II. 20. 30–31.

1214. अथ वृषोत्सर्गः। कार्तिक्यामाश्वयुज्यां वा। तत्रादावेव वृषभं परीक्षेत। जीववत्सायाः पयस्विन्याः पुत्रम्। सर्वलक्षणोपेतम्। नीलम्। लोहितं वा। मुखपुच्छपादशृङ्गशुक्लम्। यूथस्याच्छादकम्। ततो गवां मध्ये सुसमिद्धमग्निं परिस्तीर्य पौष्णं चरुं पयसा श्रपयित्वा पूषा गा अन्वेतु न इह रतिरिति च हुत्वा वृषमयस्कारस्त्वङ्कयेत्। एकस्मिन् पार्श्वे चक्रेणापरस्मिन् पार्श्वे शूलेन। अङ्कितं च हिरण्यवर्णा इति चतसृभिः शं नो देवीरिति च स्नापयेत्। स्नातमलङ्कृतं स्नातालङ्कृताभिश्चतसृभिर्वत्सतरीभिः सार्धमानीय रुद्रान् पुरुषसूक्तं कूश्माण्डीश्च जपेत्। पिता वत्सानामिति वृषभस्य दक्षिणे कर्णे पठेत्। इमं च। वृषो हि भगवान्धर्मश्चतुष्पादः प्रकीर्तितः। वृणोमि तमहं भक्त्या स मे रक्षतु सर्वतः॥ एतं युवानं पतिं वो ददामि तेन क्रीडन्तीश्चरत प्रियेण। मा हास्महि प्रजया मा तनूभिर्मा रधाम द्विषते सोम राजन्। वृषं वत्सतरीयुक्तमैशान्यां कारयेद्दिशि। होतुर्वस्त्रयुगं दद्यात्सुवर्णं कांस्यमेव च॥ अयस्कारस्य दातव्यं वेतनं मनसेप्सितम्। भोजनं बहुसर्पिष्कं ब्राह्मणांश्चात्र भोजयेत्॥ उत्सृष्टो वृषभो यस्मिन् पिबत्यथ जलाशये। जलाशयं तत्सकलं पितॄंस्तस्योपतिष्ठति॥ शृङ्गेणोल्लिखते भूमिं यत्र क्वचन दर्पितः। पितॄणामन्नपानं तत्प्रभूतमुपतिष्ठति॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 86. 1–20. The काठकगृह्य (59.3) reads 'इह रतिरिति हुत्वा'. The commentator gives ten mantras here of which इह रतिरिति is the 2nd. The first half of एतं युवानं occurs in तै. सं. III. 3.9.1 (reads परि वो ददामि). The whole verse occurs in a corrupt form in विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 147.12 and the verse वृषो हि is विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 147. 10.

marks (i. e. must not be deficient in any limb), must be dark-coloured[1215] or red but having a white mouth, white tail, white feet and white horns, he must be one that can protect the herd (or that throws into the background by his height all the herd). Then after having kindled a blazing fire among the cows (in the cowpen) and having strewn kuśa grass around it let him boil with milk a dish sacred to Pūṣan and offer (two oblations) with the mantra 'May Pūṣan follow our cows' (Ṛg. VI. 54.5) and the mantra 'here is pleasure' (Vāj. S. 8.51); a blacksmith should then mark the bull, on one flank with a discus and on the other flank[1216] with a trident. Let him wash the bull after he is marked with four mantras beginning with 'the golden-coloured' (Tai. S. V. 6.1. 1–2) and with the (five) mantras beginning with 'May the divine (waters) bring us happiness' (Ṛg. X. 9. 4–8). Having washed and decked the bull he should bring him together with four young cows which also should have been washed and decked and mutter the Rudras (Tai. S. IV. 5. 1–11), the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. 10. 90. 1–16) and the Kūṣmāṇḍīs (Vāj. S. XX. 14–16, Tai. Ā. X. 3–5). Then let him recite in the right ear of the bull the mantra[1217] 'father of calves' and the following mantras 'The holy dharma[1218] is a bull and is declared to have four feet; I choose him with devotion (as the object of worship); may he protect me on all sides. This young bull I give you as husband (O young cows!), roam

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1215. A नीलवृष is variously defined. The मत्स्यपु. 207.38 and विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 146.56 define 'चरणानि मुखं पुच्छं यस्य श्वेतानि गोपतेः। लाक्षारससवर्णश्च तं नीलमिति निर्दिशेत्॥'. In विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 146.42–55 and मत्स्य 207 the characteristics of auspicious and inauspicious bulls are given. The श्रा. क. ल. p. 214 quotes शौनक as 'लोहितो यस्तु वर्णेन मुखे पुच्छे च पाण्डुरः। श्वेतः खुरविषाणाभ्यां स नीलो वृष उच्यते॥'. This is ascribed to ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (रेवाखण्ड) by श्रा. प्र. and शु. प्र. p. 226.

1216. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर says शूलेन दक्षिणे पार्श्वे वामे चक्रेण निर्दहेत्। I. 147.6; while the भविष्योत्तर q. by शु. प्र. p. 227 says 'ततो वामे त्रिशूलं च दक्षिणे चक्रमालिखेत्'.

1217. The श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर (p. 75) sets out the whole verse as 'पिता वत्सानां पतिरघ्न्यानामथो पिता महतां गर्गराणाम्। वत्सो जरायु प्रतिधुक् पीयूष आमिक्षा घृतं तद्वस्य रेतः॥'. It is a corrupt reading of तै. सं. III. 3. 9. 2 (which reads पतिरघ्नियानां and आमिक्षा मस्तु घृतमस्य रेतः).

1218. The holy *dharma*......four feet—This refers to the idea that Dharma, when in pristine glory in the कृतयुग, has four feet, but in each succeeding युग one foot is lost; vide मनु I. 81 (= शान्तिपर्व 232.37). Dr. Jolly is not right when he refers (in SBE vol. 7 p. 262) the words to नारद I. 11 (SBE vol. 30 p. 7) where व्यवहार is said to have four feet of which धर्म is one. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 259–262 for explanation.

about sportingly with him as your lover. May we not lack progeny, O king Soma, nor physical fitness and may we not succumb to our enemy'. He must drive away the bull together with the young cows in the north-eastern direction and give a pair of garments, gold and a vessel of bell metal to the hotṛ (officiating priest). The blacksmith should be given wages as desired by him and food seasoned with a good deal of clarified butter should be served to (three) brāhmaṇas (at least). That [1219] pool at which a bull let loose (in honour of a deceased person by his son or the like) drinks water serves (reaches) the manes. Wherever a bull (let loose) exulting in his strength scratches (or digs up) the earth, that earth becoming abundant food and water waits upon the manes." [1220] In the Anuśāsanaparva the pitṛs are represented as saying that by letting loose a dark-coloured bull, by offering water mixed with sesame and by lighting lamps in the rains a man becomes free from the debt he owes to the pitṛs (chap. 125. 73–74).

In the Garuḍapurāṇa it is stated that the deceased person for whom a bull is not let loose on the 11th day after death permanently remains a *preta*, even if hundreds of śrāddhas are offered for him. The same Purāṇa further provides that if a bull be not available on the 11th day, then the effigy of a bull made of darbhas and flour or clay should be symbolically let loose.[1221] In the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa the 12th day after death is prescribed for the letting loose of a bull (N. S. III. p. 505). The Nirṇayasindhu says that the making of an effigy of a bull with clay, darbhas and flour is without authority. Even at present people let loose a bull but owing to the rise in the prices of bulls this is becoming less frequent. Several medieval digests such as the Pitṛdayitā (pp. 84, 94), Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara (pp. 69–77), Nirṇayasindhu (III. pp. 595–596), Śuddhiprakāśa

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1219. 'That pool' etc. The वायुपुराण (83. 45–48) contains verses of similar import, only two of which are quoted here 'वृषोत्सृष्टा पुनात्येव दशातीतान्दशावरान् ...शृङ्गैः खुरैर्वा यद् भूमिमुल्लिखत्यनिशं वृषः । मधुकुल्याः पितॄंस्तस्य अक्षय्यास्ता भवन्ति वै ॥' 45, 48.

1220. The वृषोत्सर्गविधि in विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (I. 147. 1–19) closely follows the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र.

1221. एकादशाहे प्रेतस्य यस्योत्सृज्येत नो वृषः । प्रेतत्वं सुस्थिरं तस्य दत्तैः श्राद्धशतैरपि ॥ ...एकादशेऽह्नि संप्राप्ते वृषालाभो भवेद्यदि । दर्भैः पिष्टैस्तु संपाद्य तं वृषं मोचयेद् बुधः ॥ गरुडपुराण II. 5.40, 44–45. बृहस्पति q. by श्रा. क. ल. p. 214 and षट्त्रिंशन्मत q. by शु. प्र. p. 225 have a verse very similar to the first and the 2nd is ascribed to संग्रह by the श्रा. क. ल.

pp. 225–230, Antyeṣṭipaddhati of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa present a far more elaborate description, but from considerations of space they are passed over here. It is provided in these and other digests that such a bull should not be seized by anyone nor made to draw a vehicle and the cow or cows let loose along with him should not be milked nor confined in a cow-pen. A bull is not let loose for a deceased woman, but a cow may be donated together with its calf without being branded and after being decked with sandal-wood paste.[1221a]

What is the idea underlying the letting loose of a bull after the death of a person? If a conjecture may be hazarded, it appears to have been thought that if a bull were freed from toil (that is the lot of most bulls) and placed in the midst of pleasant surroundings, that act of the relatives of the deceased may in a vicarious manner conduce to the happiness of the departed spirit in the other world.

One remarkable matter about śrāddhas is yet to be mentioned. The Baud. gṛhyaśeṣasūtra III. 19, the Liṅgapurāṇa (II 45. 8–90, some of which are quoted by Śr. Pr. pp. 363–364), the Kalpataru (on śrāddha pp. 277–279), Hemādri (Śr. pp. 1704–1717), the Śrāddhaprakāśa (pp. 361–371) and a few other digests describe the procedure of *Jīvat-śrāddha* or Jīva-śrāddha, which a man was allowed to perform for the benefit of his own soul, while he was himself alive. Baudhāyana's being probably the most ancient extant description it is briefly set out here. "A man who desires his own highest happiness should fast on the 13th tithi of the dark half and bring together materials on the same day, which are required in the funeral rites of deceased persons, viz. six garments, a golden needle, a goad, a noose made of (cotton) threads, a ragged garment, a stalk of palāśa leaves, a chair of udumbara wood, jars and other materials also. On the next day he bathes; after standing in the midst of water he comes out and makes (the brāhmaṇas) pronounce 'this is an auspicious day, may there be happiness and prosperity (for you)'; he makes a gift of garments, a ring and dakṣiṇā and facing the south eats rice boiled in milk and mixed with ghee.

1221 a. वाचस्पतिमिश्र wrote a work called चन्द्रमधेनुदान in which he quotes two verses of देवल from the रत्नाकर as follows: जीवत्पत्नी तु या नारी म्रियते पुत्रिणी यदि । सवत्सामङ्कितां धेनुमाचार्याय प्रदापयेत् ॥ पतिपुत्रवती नारी म्रियते चाग्रतस्तयोः । वृषं नैवोत्सृजेत्पुत्रः पिता यावत्तु जीवति ॥. Vide Descriptive Cat. of Sanskrit Mss. under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by M. M. Haraprasad Shastri, vol. III (smṛti Mss.) pp. 405–406 No. 2310.

He kindles the fire according to the general [1222] procedure laid down for *homa*, spreads round it *darbhas*, cooks food on the fire and offers from the cooked food four oblations of food into the fire; the first is made after first reciting the Puronuvākyā [1222a] (invitatory prayer) 'catvāri śṛṅgā' ('Agni has four horns,' Ṛg. IV. 58. 3, Tai. Ā. X. 10. 2) and offers the oblation with the Yājyā (offering prayer) 'tridhā hitam' (placed in three plates, Ṛg. IV. 58. 4). The Puronuvākyā and Yājyā of the 2nd oblation of rice are 'tatsavitur vareṇyam' (Ṛg. III. 62. 10, Tai. S. I. 5. 6. 4) and 'yojayitrī sūnṛtānām'. Of the third oblation the Puronuvākyā and Yājyā are respectively 'ye catvāraḥ' (Tai. S. V. 7. 2. 3) and 'Dve sruti' (Ṛg. X. 88. 15, Tai. Br. I. 4. 2. 3); the Puronuvākyā and Yājyā of the 4th oblation are respectively 'agne naya' (Ṛg. I. 189. 1, Tai. S. I. 114. 3) and 'yā tiraścī' (Bṛ. Up. VI. 3. 1). [1223]. Then he offers oblations of clarified butter with the Puruṣasūkta of 18 verses (Vāj. S. 31. 1–18, Tai. Ā. III. 12) and 1008, 108 or 28 oblations of clarified butter with the *Gāyatrī* verse. Then he goes to a spot where four roads meet, makes a gift of the needle, goad, ragged garment, the rope to a short-statured brāhmaṇa who has a dark skin and having made him repeat the words 'May the servants of Yama be gratified' he places the jars on grains of rice. Having wound round the jars that are full of water threads he prepares an effigy of a human being, three threads for the head, three for the mouth, 21 for the neck, 4 for the body, two on each arm, one for the male organ, five for each of the feet with the words 'May the revered Yama be pleased.' Then making ready the chair, washing it with *pañcagavya*, he makes the effigy of a human being on black antelope skin with palāśa stalks, he establishes the prāṇas in the effigy made on the jar and placing his body on the body made with stalks he should sleep. When he rises,

1222. For the general procedure of homa, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 207–211.

1222 a. The पुरोनुवाक्या (or simply अनुवाक्या) is so called because it is recited to make the deity favourable before the sacrifice is offered (पुरः पूर्वं याज्याया देवतामनुकूलयितुं या अनूच्यते इति व्युत्पत्त्या). Yājyā is the offering prayer. It is preceded by ये यजामहे and followed by vaṣaṭ (pronounced as वौ3षट्). Both these are uttered by the hotṛ in a high tone. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1058–1060. The yājyā is recited while standing, but the Puronuvākyā is recited sitting. The verse योजयित्री सूनृतानां appears to be an adaptation of चोदयित्री सूनृतानां (Ṛg. I. 3.11).

1223. The verse is : या तिरश्ची निपद्यते (से?) अहं विधरणी इति । तां त्वा घृतस्य धारया यजे संराधनीमहम् ॥ बृह. उ. VI. 3.1.

he should himself bathe his body with (the water in) the jars with verses of Puruṣasūkta and with pañcagavya and pure water and eat in the evening food mixed with sesamum grains together with clarified butter. He should give dinner to brāhmaṇas for the gratification of the servants of Yama. On the 4th day he burns (the effigy) with mantras. He should offer water and piṇḍa with the words 'piṇḍa to me of such and such a gotra for benefit in the next world; *svadhā namaḥ*.' With these words he should bring to a close the rite. He should observe impurity for ten days for himself, but his agnates have not to observe impurity for him. On the 11th day he performs ekoddiṣṭa. They also cite the following verse 'one who is in distress, a woman and a śūdra having burnt one's body (i. e effigy) with mantras should perform all rites on that very day. This is the revelation.' In the case of women the rite is performed silently or with (?) Vedic mantras. In this way he should perform his own śrāddha every month for a year and at the end of each year up to twelve years. And then he should stop. When he is not able to do all these (himself) his son and the like may perform them. They also recite the following verse; 'Although heirs may be alive one may perform one's śrāddha while alive, having quickly set about doing everything according to the rules, except Sapiṇḍana. One should not make delay as to the time specified above, since life is evanescent '."

It may be noted that the Baud. gṛhyaśeṣasūtra III. 22 contains a very brief procedure of the same rite, but therein two verses of Kaṇva and one of Viṣṇu are quoted. It appears that this is a later addition. The text of Baud. gṛhyaśeṣasūtra III. 19 is quoted by Śr. Pr. pp. 361–363. But the Śrāddhaprakāśa also quotes a long passage from the Liṅgapurāṇa and explains it (pp. 363–368). The procedure in the Liṅgapurāṇa, however, materially differs from that of Baudhāyana. It is passed over here from considerations of space. The Śrāddhamayūkha also gives an elaborate description. Some of its provisions are stated here. In Jīvat-śrāddha the word *preta* should nowhere be used. An effigy of the person is made with fifty kuśas and is to be burnt by another with the mantra 'kravyādam-agnim' (Ṛg. X. 16. 9). The person has to kindle fire on the banks of a river with his face to the south with his gṛhya fire or ordinary fire and has to dig up a pit and make a prayer to the earth as in the case of an actual death.

In the Bombay University Library there is a Ms. of Jīvat-śrāddha ascribed to Śaunaka in the Bhadkamkar Collection.

It contains a far more elaborate procedure than that of Baudhāyana and is in prose. It contains many of the provisions of Baudhāyana. Further details are passed over here.

The provision of a śrāddha for a living person offered by himself is a perversion of the ancient idea of śrāddha. The basic and fundamental conception of a śrāddha was to gratify the spirits of *deceased* ancestors. People had gone crazy with the idea of śrāddhas and invented this new mode to satisfy that craze. I have known persons that performed Jīvat-śrāddha, though they had sons, younger brothers and nephews who would have certainly performed śrāddhas for them on their death.

It is customary to make a gift of a cow with a calf to a brāhmaṇa, preferably a kapilā cow, on the 2nd day after the period of āśauca. Often times this is the only cow given, and the cow called Vaitaraṇī referred to above (p. 183, note 427) is rarely donated in the midst of the sorrow and turmoil immediately on the death of a dear and near relative. A declaration is first made that a gift of a cow will be made and then water is poured on the hand of a brāhmaṇa. Then holding kuśas in his hand the donor makes a gift of the cow with a formula noted below[1224]. The donee replies with the words 'om svasti' (Yes, may it be well!). Then dakṣiṇā (in gold or silver coins) is given and the brāhmaṇa says 'om svasti', holds the tail of the cow and repeats a Kāmastuti (eulogy of Kāma)[1225] according to the recension of the Veda he has studied. The Anuśāsanaparva (57. 28–29) eulogises the gift of a kapilā cow with the calf, given with a milking pail of bell-metal, whose horn tips are decked with gold, by stating that such a gift not only saves the donor in the other world but also his sons, grandsons and family for seven generations. The Anuśāsanaparva (77.10 ff) sets out a legend why the kapilā cow is the best of all cows.

The Purāṇas and digests devote a good deal of space to śrāddhas at tīrthas and at Gayā. Vide Atri 55–58, Vāyupurāṇa 83. 16–42, Hemādri (on Śr.) pp. 1568 ff and 1575 ff. This subject will be briefly dealt with in the section on *tīrthas*.

1224. ओम्। अद्याशौचान्ते द्वितीयेऽह्नि अमुकगोत्रस्य पितुरमुकप्रेतस्य स्वर्गप्राप्तिकामः इमां कपिलां गां हेमशृङ्गीं रौप्यखुरां वस्त्रयुग्मच्छन्नां कांस्योपदोहां मुक्तालाङ्गूलभूषितां सवत्सां यमदैवत्याममुकगोत्रायामुकशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय तुभ्यमहं संप्रददे। श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर p. 77.

1225. For कामस्तुति, vide p. 184, n. 430 above.

Much is said on the question whether śrāddhas should be performed in the intercalary month. The intercalary month is called by various names, viz. Malimluca (Kāṭhaka Saṁ. 38. 14),[1226] Saṁsarpa or Aṁhasaspati (Vāj. S. 7.30 and 22.31), Malamāsa, Adhimāsa. An intercalary month is known even to the Ṛg-veda (Ṛg. I. 25.8). The vendor of soma and the thirteenth month are condemned as *pāpa* (sinful) in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[1227]. The Purāṇas tried to bolster up the intercalary month by calling it Purusottama-māsa (i. e. the month of Viṣṇu) but the original stigma attaching to the 13th month seems to have persisted. The general rule about an intercalary month is stated by the Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa:[1228] 'the month called Malimluca is polluted and springs from sin; it is condemned for all acts; it should be discarded in all rites in honour of gods and pitṛs.' But exceptions to this sweeping prohibition have been recognized. Hārīta provides[1229] that all śrāddhas that come after Sapiṇḍana are not to be performed in an intercalary month. Vyāsa laid down[1230] that such ceremonies as jātakarma, annaprāśana, the navaśrāddhas, śrāddha on Maghā and the thirteenth *tithi*, the sixteen śrāddhas, bath, gifts, japa and śrāddha at the time of the eclipse of the sun or moon—these should be performed even in an intercalary month. The Smṛtimuktāphala concludes (p. 728) that there is no blemish in performing a śrāddha in an intercalary month provided it is to be performed before the end of one year from death. It is provided by Bhṛgu[1231] that the sāṁvatsarika śrāddha of those who die in an intercalary month

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1226. मलिम्लुचो नामासि त्रयोदशो मास इन्द्रस्य शर्मासि। काठकसं. 38. 10 (161–162); संसर्पोस्यंहस्पत्याय त्वेत्याहास्ति त्रयोदश मास इत्याहुस्तमेव तत् प्रीणाति। तै. सं. VI. 5. 3.4.

1227. तं (सोमं) त्रयोदशान्मासादक्रीणंस्तस्मात्त्रयोदशो मासो नानुविद्यते न वै सोमविक्रय्यनुविद्यते पापो हि सोमविक्रयी। ऐ. ब्रा. III. 1 (com. त्रयोदशमासो नानुविद्यते शुभकर्मानुकूलो नास्ति).

1228. मलिम्लुचस्तु मासो वै मलिनः पापसम्भवः। गर्हितः पितृदेवेभ्यः सर्वकर्मसु तं त्यजेत्। गृह्यपरिशिष्ट q. by श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 38.

1229. सपिण्डीकरणादूर्ध्वं यत्किञ्चिच्छ्राद्धिकं भवेत्। इष्टं वाप्यथवा पूर्तं तन्न कुर्यान्मलिम्लुचे॥ हारीत. q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 374), श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 323, श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 252 (as लघुहारीत).

1230. जातकर्मान्नप्राशने नवश्राद्धं तथैव च। मघात्रयोदशीश्राद्धं श्राद्धान्यपि च षोडश। चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे स्नानं श्राद्धं दानं तथा जपः। कार्याणि मलमासेऽपि नित्यं नैमित्तिकं तथा॥ व्यास q. by श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 283, स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 373 ascribes to यम).

1231. मलमासे मृतानां तु श्राद्धं यत्प्रतिवत्सरम्। मलमासेऽपि तत्कार्यं नान्येषां तु कर्हिचित्॥ भृगु q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 375). The नि. सि. III. p. 474 says 'मलमासमृतानां तु यदा स एवाधिकः स्यात्तदा तत्रैव कार्यमन्यथा शुद्ध एव'.

may be performed in the intercalary month, but if there be none such then in the ordinary month of the same name. When the tithi for performing a śrāddha comes and there is then an intercalary month, Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha says that śrāddha should be performed in both months.[1232]

Further discussion about what may be done in *Malamāsa* and what is prohibited therein will be taken up in the section on *Kāla*. The question as to the day on which a śrāddha is to be performed if the *tithi* is spread over two days or if there is a *kṣaya* of the *tithi* will also be discussed in that section.

Some of the works on śrāddha such as the Pṛthvī-candrodaya deal with what is called 'saṅghāta-śrāddha.'[1232a] When on the same day several persons die, but not at the same time, then the śrāddhas for them should be performed, as said by Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, in the order in which they died. But if five or six persons die at the same time on the same day (as when a vessel sinks in the sea or a market is burnt down all at once), then the order in which śrāddhas are to be performed is determined by the nearness of relationship to the performer of śrāddha in the case of each. For example, if a person's wife, son, brother and paternal uncle meet death at the same time, then the order should be this that the śrāddha of the wife is performed first, then of the son, then of the brother and then of the uncle. If the parents die at the same time by accident, then the father's cremation or other rites should be first performed and then of the mother.

Provision is made if the performance of a śrāddha is rendered impossible by some obstacle. Ṛṣyaśṛṅga provides[1233]

1232. श्राद्धीयाहनि संप्राप्ते अधिमासो भवेद्यदि। मासद्वयेऽपि कुर्वीत श्राद्धमेवं न मुह्यति॥ वृद्धवसिष्ठ q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 375), नि. सि. p. 13.

1232 a. तत्रैकस्मिन्नहनि क्रमेण मृतानां मरणक्रमेणैकेन कर्त्रा श्राद्धं कर्तव्यम्। तदाह ऋष्यशृङ्गः। कृत्वा पूर्वमृतस्यादौ द्वितीयस्य ततः पुनः। तृतीयस्य ततः कुर्यात्संनिपाते त्वयं क्रमः।...भवेद्यदि सपिण्डानां युगपन्मरणं तदा। सम्बन्धासत्तिमालोच्य तत्क्रमाच्छ्राद्धमाचरेत्॥ पृथ्वीच. folio 265 a ; जाबालिः। पित्रोस्तु मरणं चेत्स्यादेकदैव यदा तदा। पितुर्दाहादिकं कृत्वा पश्चान्मातुः समाचरेत्॥ *ibid* folio 266 a.

1233. देये पितॄणां श्राद्धे तु आशौचं जायते यदि। आशौचे तु व्यतिक्रान्ते तेभ्यः श्राद्धं प्रदीयते॥ एकोद्दिष्टे तु संप्राप्ते यदि विघ्नः प्रजायते। मासेऽन्यस्मिंस्तिथौ तस्यां श्राद्धं कुर्यात्प्रयत्नतः॥ ऋष्यशृङ्ग q. by अपरार्क p. 561, श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 480, मद. पा. 618. स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1. 206. 70 is a very similar verse and the verse एकोद्दिष्टे तु is गरुडपुराण (प्रेतखण्ड 45.9).

'if impurity (on death) intervenes when a śrāddha is to be offered to the pitṛs, śrāddha should be offered at the end of the period of impurity. If an obstacle arises at the time when an ekoddiṣṭa is to be performed, the śrāddha should be performed in another month on the same *tithi*'. This last refers to a monthly śrāddha. If any of the sixteen śrāddhas fails owing to an obstacle it should be performed on the amāvāsyā or better still on the 11th day of the dark half. If there is an obstacle owing to impurity on death in the performance of a monthly śrāddha or yearly śrāddha it should be performed at the end of the impurity or on amāvāsyā.[1234] The Padmapurāṇa (Pātālakhaṇḍa 101. 68–70) provides similar rules. If the obstacle is the performer's illness or his inability to collect materials or his wife being in her monthly illness, he may offer āmaśrāddha described above.

It may be noted that while great emphasis was laid on inviting a very learned brāhmaṇa at a śrāddha, that object was often frustrated in practice by the provisions made in certain smṛtis that one[1235] should not partake of śrāddha food for three years after sapiṇḍana (which is often one year after death) and that by dining at a śrāddha in the first year one eats the bones and marrow of the deceased, in the second year his flesh, in the third year his blood and śrāddha in the 4th year is (somewhat) pure. Vide Par. M. vol. II part 1 p. 423, where smṛti passages prescribing prāyaścittas for partaking of food at various śrāddhas including *sāṁvatsarika* are set out. Hārīta says: one partaking of food at Navaśrāddha should undergo Cāndrāyaṇa, the Prājāpatya for dining at a monthly śrāddha and fast for one day for dining at a *pratyābdika* śrāddha. This is on the same lines as acceptance of gifts. A donor collected merit by making gifts, but it was for the acceptor to decide whether he should accept gifts. The ideal

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1234. मासिकाब्दे तु संप्राप्ते त्वन्तरा मृतसूतके। वदन्ति शुद्धौ तत्कार्यं दर्शे वापि विचक्षणाः॥ षट्त्रिंशन्मत q. by अपरार्क p. 561; मासिकान्युदकुम्भानि श्राद्धानि प्रसवेषु च। प्रतिसंवत्सरं श्राद्धं सूतकानन्तरं विदुः।...एकादश्यां कृष्णपक्षे कर्तव्यं शुभमिच्छता। तत्र व्यतिक्रमे हेलावमायां क्रियते तु तत्॥ पद्म० (पातालखण्ड 101. 68 and 71).

1235. अथ शुद्धश्राद्धं दिवोदासीये। सपिण्डीकरणादूर्ध्वं यावदब्दत्रयं भवेत्। तावदेव न भोक्तव्यं कर्येऽहनि कदाचन॥...प्रथमेऽस्थीनि मज्जा च द्वितीये मांसभक्षणम्। तृतीये रुधिरं भोक्तं श्राद्धं शुद्धं चतुर्थकमिति श्राद्धकारिकोक्तेः। नि. सि. III p. 475; चान्द्रायणं नवश्राद्धे प्राजापत्यं तु मिश्रके। एकाहं तु पुराणेषु प्रायश्चित्तं विधीयते॥ हारीत q. in परा. मा. II. 1. p. 423; see श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर p. 113, श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 345 for similar rules from other स्मृतिs; यम V. 10. 19 says 'नवश्राद्धे न भोक्तव्यं भुक्त्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेत्।'.

placed before brāhmaṇas was that one, though entitled to accept gifts on account of his vedic learning and *tapas*, should not accept gifts, if he desires to secure the highest world (Yāj. I. 213), while Manu IV. 186 affirms [1236] that though entitled to accept gifts a brāhmaṇa should not again and again resort to that method, since the spiritual power that he acquires by Vedic study is lost by accepting gifts. Manu IV. 85-86 (= Padma V. 19. 236-237) say that acceptance of a gift from the king is terrible (in its consequences) and Padma warns that gift appears sweet like honey but is like poison (i. e. deadly in its effects). This reasoning applied with greater force to officiating and dining at a śrāddha, where not only gifts are to be received, but also sumptuous food that will please the palate is served in abundance.

It has been seen above how the most ancient literary monument, viz. the Ṛgveda, shows that the funeral rites performed immediately after death were prompted by affectionate concern for the departed spirit mingled with some element of fear, that the object of those rites was to provide sustenance to the departed spirit and to endow it with an intermediate body before it became one of the pitṛs. It has also been found that in the most ancient times of which we have literary evidence, there were rites for the worship of ancestors, being the Piṇḍapitṛyajña performed every month on amāvāsyā, the Mahāpitṛyajña performed in the Śākamedha and the Aṣṭakā śrāddhas. Gradually the rites for deceased ancestors became more and more frequent, all-inclusive and elaborate, so that ultimately an exaggerated importance came to be attached to the cult of śrāddhas over which there was an enormous expenditure of time, effort and wealth. The question now arises what Indians of the 20th century should do about śrāddhas. One finds that in these days when many brāhmaṇas even do not engage in any of the five daily obligatory yajñas (the pañca-yajñas), they are solicitous to offer śrāddha at least once a year to their ancestors. The following may be therefore suggested as a *via media* for all kinds of people. Those who have faith in the duty of performing śrāddhas and their efficacy for the benefit of

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1236. प्रतिग्रहसमर्थोऽपि प्रसङ्गं तत्र वर्जयेत्। प्रतिग्रहेण ह्यस्याशु ब्राह्मं तेजः प्रशाम्यति॥ मनु IV. 186; vide पद्म. IV. 19. 268 for a similar verse. राजन् प्रतिग्रहो घोरो मध्वास्वादो विषोपमः। तद् ज्ञायमानः कस्मात्त्वं कुरुषेऽस्मत्प्रलोभनम्॥ दशसूनासमश्चक्री... तेन तुल्यस्ततो राजा घोरस्तस्य प्रतिग्रहः॥ पद्म V. 19. 235.

the dead may perform them on a small scale, bearing in mind the emphatic admonition of Manu (III. 125–126), the Kūrmapurāṇa II. 22. 27, Padmapurāṇa V. 9. 98[1237] that one should desist from extravagance in the matter of śrāddhas, particularly in the number of brāhmaṇas to be invited. Those whose faith is shaken or shattered by the onrush of modern ideas and English education or firm belief in the doctrines of *karma* and *punarjanma* should also remember one thing. The main underlying conception of śrāddha is certainly admirable, viz. a tender and affectionate regard for one's near and dear relatives. It is a good practice to set apart at least one day in a year for the remembrance of one's near and dear relatives that are no more, to invite relatives, friends, and learned people to a dinner in memory of the dead and to bestow monetary gifts on poor but learned persons of character and devoted to the practice of plain living and high thinking. This will be in keeping with our past traditions and will also give a new orientation to and infuse new life into practices and usages that have become lifeless and meaningless to many people. From very ancient times one of the fundamental conceptions of our faith has been the idea of three debts owed to sages, gods and *pitrs*. The debt owed to the ancestors is paid off by the procreation of a son who would offer piṇḍas to his (and therefore also to his father's) ancestors. This is a grand conception. Nothing can be more sublime than the formula which one has to repeat at the time of offering *piṇḍas* and water (with sesame) at Gayā 'may those of my ancestors that are in the form of *pretas* be all satiated by means of the (balls made) of barley flour mixed with sesame and may everything, whether moving or immoveable from Brahmā up to blades of grass derive satisfaction from the water offered by me.' If the implication of this formula be thoroughly understood and

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1237. द्वौ दैवे पितृकृत्ये त्रीनेकैकमुभयत्र वा। भोजयेत्सुसमृद्धोपि न कुर्याद्विस्तरं बुधः॥ पद्म V. 9. 98. जायमानो ह वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्य एष वा अनृणो यः पुत्री यज्वा ब्रह्मचारिवासी। तै. सं. VI. 3. 10.5 ; ऋणमस्मिन् संनयत्यमृतत्वं च गच्छति। पिता पुत्रस्य जातस्य पश्येच्चेज्जीवतो मुखम्॥ ऐ. ब्रा. 33.1. This subject has been dealt with already in H. of Dh. vol III. pp. 414–416 and may be further dilated upon under Gayāśrāddha. ये केचित्प्रेतरूपेण वर्तन्ते पितरो मम। ते सर्वे तृप्तिमायान्तु सक्तुभिस्तिलमिश्रितैः॥ आब्रह्मस्तम्बपर्यन्तं यत्किंचित्सचराचरम्। मया दत्तेन तोयेन तृप्तिमायान्तु सर्वशः॥ वायुपुराण 110. 63–64. Compare also a similar invocation in वायु. 110. 21–22 and the Mettasutta in the Suttanipāta.

implemented by actual practice, it will make the whole world kin. Therefore, while discarding the heavy accretions accumulated through ages, we Hindus of these days must see to it that we do not throw overboard the gold that lies buried under the crust of ritual and ill-understood ceremonies.*

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* In passing I may mention that my friend Mr. N. G. Chapekar, B. A., LL. B., retired First Class Subordinate Judge residing at Badlapur in the Thana District, has been celebrating the yearly śrāddha of his mother in the manner indicated above for about twenty-five years.

SECTION IV

CHAPTER XI

TĪRTHAYĀTRĀ (pilgrimages to holy places)

All religions have laid great emphasis on the sacredness of certain localities and have either enjoined or recommended with great insistence pilgrimages to them. Among the five incumbent practical religious duties[1237] of a Moslem, pilgrimage at least once in his life to Mecca and Medina, the birth place and burial place of the prophet Mohammad, is one. The four places of pilgrimage for Buddhists have been the place of the birth of Buddha (Lumbinī or Rummindei), the place where he attained perfect enlightenment (Bodh Gayā), the place where he set in motion the wheel of *dharma* by delivering his first sermon (at Sārnāth near Benares) and the place where he passed away into the state of *nirvāṇa* (Kusīnārā). Vide Mahāparinibbānasutta (S. B. E. vol. XI p. 90). For Christians Jerusalem has been the holiest place and no religious community except the Christians undertook in historic times several great military pilgrimages. The crusades were launched to free the Holy Land of Christians from the domination of Moslems. In spite of what Gibbon says [1238] somewhat cynically about those who joined the crusades, it must be admitted that there were thousands among the crusaders who risked their lives and fortunes in the pursuit of an ideal. In India holy places have played a very important part. Large rivers, mountains and forests have always been venerated as sacred[1239]

1237. Vide S. B. E. vol. VI, Introduction LXXI, for the five duties. The pilgrimage is called *Hāj* and the Moslem who performs it is entitled to be called *Hāji*.

1238. Gibbon remarks 'At the voice of their pastor, the robber, the incendiary, the homicide arose by thousands to redeem their souls by repeating on the infidels the same deeds which they had exercised against their christian brethren and the terms of atonement were eagerly embraced by offenders of every rank and denomination' Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. VII (ed. of 1862) p. 188.

1239. Tagore in his 'Sādhanā' (p. 9) remarks 'India chose her places of pilgrimage wherever there was in nature some special grandeur or

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and as the abodes of gods. In ancient and medieval India pilgrimages brought many advantages to the community as well as to the pilgrims themselves. Though India was divided into many kingdoms and the people of India followed several cults and sub-cults, pilgrimages tended to foster the idea of the essential and fundamental unity of Indian culture and of India also. Benares and Rāmeśvara were held sacred by all Hindus, whether they hailed from the north of India or from the peninsula. Though the Hindu community was broken up into numerous castes and suffered from caste exclusiveness, pilgrimages tended to level up all men by bringing them together to the same holy rivers or shrines. The traditions associated with holy places, the discipline through which the pilgrims passed, association with holy and philosophic men and the whole atmosphere and environment at *tīrthas* made it easy for pilgrims to remain at a high spiritual level and inculcated in them a mood of reverence that lasted long even after they returned from the pilgrimage. Pilgrimages supplied the much needed stimulus to draw ordinary men away from selfish pursuits and to make them think of the higher and more enduring moral and spiritual values. These obvious benefits and the belief that a holy place was the abode of some divinity led ancient dharmaśāstra writers to lay emphasis on visits to tīrthas. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. provides [1240] that the *dharma* common to all men comprises the following: forbearance, truthfulness, restraint of the mind, cleanliness, charity, control of the senses, *ahiṁsā*, obedience to elders, *visiting holy places*, compassion, straightforwardness,

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beauty so that her mind could come out of its world of narrow necessities and realize its place in the Infinite. This was the reason why in India a whole people who once were meat-eaters gave up taking animal food to cultivate the sentiment of universal sympathy for life, an event unique in the history of mankind.' There is a fundamental difference in the outlook of modern Westerners and that of ancient and medieval Indians (which persists to a large extent even now). If there is a beauty spot anywhere most men in the West would think of building a hotel there for tourists, while ancient and medieval Indians would have thought of erecting a shrine there.

1240. क्षमा सत्यं दमः शौचं दानमिन्द्रियसंयमः। अहिंसा गुरुशुश्रूषा तीर्थानुसरणं दया। आर्जवं लोभशून्यत्वं देवब्राह्मणपूजनम्। अनभ्यसूया च तथा धर्मः सामान्य उच्यते॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र II 16-17. Vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 80. 1-4 for a list of सामान्यधर्मs such as अहिंसा, सत्यवचन, तीर्थानुसरण and H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 11 notes 28-30 for quotations about सामान्यधर्मs from शान्तिपर्व, वामनपुराण, ब्रह्मपुराण and other sources.

freedom from avarice, honouring gods and brāhmaṇas and freedom from jealousy. Modern men whose faith in some of the aspects of the religious beliefs of our forefathers has been weakened or altogether sapped by the sight of the professional ministrants at the tīrthas and their rapacity and ignorance should not judge the ancient attitude towards tīrthas harshly.

The word tīrtha occurs frequently in the Ṛgveda and other Vedic saṁhitās. In several passages of the Ṛgveda tīrtha appears to mean a road or a way (e. g. in Ṛg. I. 169. 6 'tīrthe nāryaḥ pauṁsyāni tasthuḥ', Ṛg. I. 173. 11 'tīrthe nācchā tātṛṣāṇam-oko', Ṛg. IV. 29. 3 'karan-na Indraḥ sutīrthābhayam ca.' In some places tīrtha may be taken to mean a ford in a river, as in Ṛg. VIII. 47. 11' 'sutīrtham-arvato yathānu no neṣathā sugam &c.', Ṛg. I. 46. 8 'aritram vām divas-pṛthu tīrthe sindhūnām rathaḥ'. In Ṛg. X. 31. 3 'tīrthe na dasmam-upa yantyūmāḥ', tīrtha probably means 'a holy place'. On Ṛg. VIII. 19. 37 'Suvāstvā adhi tugvani' the Nirukta IV. 15 explains that Suvāstu is a river and *tugvan* means 'tīrtha' (either a ford or a holy spot). In the Tai. S. VI. 1. 1. 1–2 [1241] it is said that the sacrificer is to bathe at a tīrtha (probably a holy river). The Rudras are said to prowl about tīrthas (ye tīrthāni pracaranto sṛkāvanto niṣaṅginaḥ) in Tai. S. IV. 5.11.1–2 and Vāj S. 16. 61 (reads 'sṛkāhastā'). In the Śāṅkhāyana Br.[1242] it is said that Day and Night are the sea that absorbs everything and the twilights are the unfathomable *tīrthas* (of the sea)'. Tīrtha also means the way between the 'utkara' and 'cātvāla' pit for going to or coming from the sacrificial ground (the *vihāra*).[1242a] Vide H. of Dh vol. II. p. 984.

It is said that, just as some parts of the human body (e. g. the right hand or ear) are held to be purer (than others), so some localities on the earth are held to be very holy. Tīrthas are held to be holy (on three grounds, viz.) on account of some wonderful natural characteristic of the locality or on account of the peculiar strikingness (or grandeur) of some watery place or on account of the fact that some (holy) sages resorted to

1241. अप्सु स्नाति साक्षादेव दीक्षातपसी अवरुन्धे तीर्थे स्नाति। तै. सं. VI. 1.1.1–2 Vide जैमिनि III. 4. 14–16 for a discussion on the purpose of this passage.

1242. समुद्रो वा एष सर्वहरो यदहोरात्रे तस्य हैते अगाधे तीर्थे यत्सन्ध्ये तद्यथा अगाधाभ्यां तीर्थाभ्यां समुद्रमतीयात्तादृक् तत्। शां. ब्रा. II. 9.

1242 a. ते अन्तरेण चात्वालोत्करा उपनिष्क्रामन्ति तद्धि यज्ञस्य तीर्थमाम्नातं नाम। शां. ब्रा. 18 9.

them (for bathing, austerities &c.). Tīrtha, therefore, means a locality or spot or expanse of water which gives rise to the accumulation of righteousness (merit) owing to its own peculiar nature without any adventitious circumstance (such as the presence of Śālagrāma near it).[1243] Or it is better to say that those localities that have been technically spoken of by wise and great sages as tīrthas are tīrthas, just as Pāṇini employs such technical terms as Nadī and Vṛddhi in his grammar. The Skandapurāṇa [1244] says that a spot of the earth resorted to by ancient good men for the collection of merit is called tīrtha and that the main thing is to go to (i. e. associate with holy) men and pilgrimage is only a secondary object.

In the Ṛgveda waters, rivers in general and certain named rivers [1245] are referred to with great reverence as holy and are deified. In Ṛg. VII. 49 the refrain of all four verses is 'may the divine waters protect me' (tā āpo devīr-iha māmavantu). In Ṛg. VII. 49. 1 waters are spoken of as purifying (punānāḥ). Ṛg. VII. 47, X. 9, X. 30 [1246] are hymns addressed to waters as divinities. They are said to purify a man not only physically but are also invoked to rid a man of all sins and lapses from the right path. The Tai. S. II. 6. 8. 3 asserts that all deities are centred in waters (āpo vai sarvā devatāḥ). In the Atharvaveda [1247] (I. 33.1) waters are described as holy and purifying and are invoked to confer happiness. About twenty rivers in all

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1243. यथा शरीरस्योद्देशाः केचिन्मेध्यतमाः स्मृताः । तथा पृथिव्या उद्देशाः केचित् पुण्यतमाः स्मृताः॥ प्रभावादद्भुताद्भूमेः सलिलस्य च तेजसा। परिग्रहान्मुनीनां च तीर्थानां पुण्यता स्मृता॥ पद्मपुराण (उत्तरखण्ड) 237.25-27, स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 6.43-44, नारदीयपुराण II. 62. 46-47. These verses are quoted by कल्पतरु on तीर्थ pp. 7-8 (ascribes them to महाभारत) and by तीर्थप्र. p. 10. Similar verses occur in अनुशासनपर्व 108. 16-18 'शरीरस्य यथोद्देशाः शुचयः परिकीर्तिताः। तथा पृथिव्या भागाश्च पुण्यानि सलिलानि च।...परिग्रहाच्च साधूनां पृथिव्याश्चैव तेजसा। अतीव पुण्यभागास्ते सलिलस्य च तेजसा॥'.

1244. मुख्या पुरुषयात्रा हि तीर्थयात्रानुषङ्गतः। सद्भिः समाश्रितो भूप भूमिभागस्तथोच्यते॥ स्कन्द I. 2. 13.10; यद्धि पूर्वतमैः सद्भिः सेवितं धर्मसिद्धये। तद्धि पुण्यतमं लोके सन्तस्तीर्थं प्रचक्षते॥ स्कन्दपुराण q. by पृथ्वीच० folio 135 b.

1245. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 12 for the rivers mentioned in the Ṛg.

1246. इदमापः प्रवहत यत्किं च दुरितं मयि। यद्वाहमभिदुद्रोह यद्वा शेप उतानृतम्॥ ऋ. X. 9.8.

1247. हिरण्यवर्णाः शुचयः पावका यासु जातः सविता यास्वग्निः। या अग्निं गर्भं दधिरे सुवर्णास्ता न आपः शं स्योना भवन्तु॥ अथर्व० I. 33. 1.

are invoked in Ṛg. V. 53. 9, X. 64. 9, and X. 75. 5–6.[1248] In Ṛg. X. 104. 8 Indra is said to have secured for gods and men ninety-nine flowing rivers. Vide also Ṛg. I. 32. 14 for 99 rivers. Ṛg. X. 64. 8 speaks of rivers that are thrice seven and the next verse mentions the three great rivers, viz. Sarasvatī, Sarayu and Sindhu, as divine and as mothers. Sāyaṇa remarks that these three are the principal rivers of three groups of seven rivers each. Seven Sindhus are mentioned in many verses of the Ṛgveda (e. g. I. 32. 12, I. 34. 8, I. 35. 8, II. 12. 12, IV. 28. 1, VIII. 24. 27, X. 43. 3) and the Atharvaveda (VI. 2. 1 'apām napāt sindhavaḥ sapta pātana). The river Sarasvatī has three hymns devoted to it as a deity in the Ṛg. (viz. VI. 61, VII. 95 and 96) and it is addressed in many detached verses also. Ṛg. VII. 95. 2 says that the pure Sarasvatī, flowing from the mountains up to the sea, alone among rivers, knew the prayer of Nāhuṣa and granted it. A king and smaller people are said to dwell on the banks of the Sarasvati (Ṛg. VIII. 21. 18)[1249]. The impetuous and roaring

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1248. इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि स्तोमं सचता परुष्ण्या। असिक्न्या मरुद्वृधे वितस्तयाऽऽर्जीकीये शृणुह्या सुषोमया॥ तृष्टामया प्रथमं यातवे सजूः सुसर्त्वा रसया श्वेत्या त्या। त्वं सिन्धो कुभया गोमतीं क्रुमुं मेहत्न्वा सरथं याभिरीयसे॥ ऋ. X. 75. 5–6.

1249. Vide Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. XV. pp. 1–63, where an attempt is made to show that Sarasvatī was really the Indus. But this is far from acceptable. Sarasvatī, Sarayu and Sindhu are mentioned in Ṛg. X. 64. 9 as the chief rivers of three groups. Prof. Ksetreschandra Chattopadhyaya refers to the conflict of views among scholars, admits (on p. 22) that, in the 10th Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda, Sarasvatī cannot be identified with the Indus, that in Ṛg. III. 23. 4 Sarasvatī cannot be held to be the Indus and asserts that in Maṇḍalas VI and VII of the Ṛg. Sarasvatī is really the Indus, while in Maṇḍala X it is not so. The whole argument is vitiated by several unwarranted assumptions. He takes the modern conditions of *Sarsuti* as existing in the early Vedic period. What reasons are there against holding that the Sarasvatī was in very ancient times a mighty river like the modern Indus and that owing to volcanic eruptions or earthquake upheavals and convulsions in the dim past the Sarasvatī lost its mighty character? Further how many centuries does he postulate as having intervened between the composition of the 6th and 7th Maṇḍalas and Ṛg. III. 23. 4 and Ṛg X. 75. 5? I for my part find no difficulty in holding that in Ṛgvedic times there were two mighty rivers, the Sindhu (Indus) and the Sarasvatī. I cannot enter into this question in greater detail here. Even in the Purāṇas the Sarasvatī is described as springing from a Plakṣa tree, as flowing through Kurukṣetra, as rending asunder thousands of hillocks and as entering the Dvaita forest. Vide Vāmanapurāṇa chap. 32. 1–4 'सैषा शैलसहस्राणि विदार्य च महानदी। प्रविष्टा पुण्यतोयैषा वनं द्वैतमिति श्रुतम्॥.'

-flood of the Sarasvatī impinging by its powerful waves against the tops of hills is referred to in Ṛg. VI. 61. 2 and 8[1250]. In VII. 96. 1, Sarasvatī is spoken of as *asuryā* (of divine origin) among rivers. Sacrifices are said to have been performed on the Dṛṣadvatī, the Āpayā and Sarasvatī (Ṛg. III. 23. 4). In Ṛg. II. 41. 16 Sarasvatī is called the best of rivers and goddesses (ambitame nadītame devitame Sarasvati). Ṛg. I. 3. 11-12 praise[1251] Sarasvatī as a river and a deity, as a purifier (*pāvaka*), as the impeller of sweet but truthful words and the inspirer of good thoughts and as bringing to notice its great flood of waters. From Ṛg. VII. 95. 2, VII. 49. 2 and I. 71. 7 it is obvious that the Ṛgvedic sages knew that the seven rivers fell into the sea. It would be proper to hold that the seven rivers are Sindhu (Indus), the five rivers of the Panjab and the Sarasvatī. Though from the Ṛgveda passages cited above it appears that in the times of the hymns of the Ṛgveda Sarasvatī was a big river with abundant waters, that it flowed between the Yamunā and Śutudrī (X. 75. 5), in the times of the Brāhmaṇas it disappeared in the sands. It is now generally identified with the modern Sarsuti which is lost in the desert at Bhatnair. The Vāj. S. 34. 11 says that five rivers together with their tributary streams fall into Sarasvatī.[1252] There were three *sattras* called Sārasvata, viz. the first in honour of Mitra and Varuṇa, the 2nd for Indra and Agni and the third for Aryaman. The *dīkṣā* (consecration ceremony) was to be performed on the south bank of the dry bed of the Sarasvatī where it disappeared underground[1253]. Vide Tāṇḍya Br.

1250. इयं शुष्मेभिर्बिसखा इवारुजत्सानु गिरीणां तविषेभिरूर्मिभिः। ऋ. VI. 61.2; यस्या अनन्तो अह्रुतस्त्वेषश्चरिष्णुरर्णवः। अमश्चरति रोरुवत्॥ ऋ VI. 61.8. The निरुक्त II. 23 remarks 'तत्र सरस्वतीत्येतस्य नदीवत् देवतावच्च निगमा भवन्ति' and explains Ṛg. VI. 61.2 as a verse where सरस्वती is described as a river.

1251. चोदयित्री सूनृतानां चेतन्ती सुमतीनाम्। यज्ञं दधे सरस्वती॥ महो अर्णः सरस्वती प्र चेतयति केतुना। ऋ. I. 3. 11-12. For this last, vide निरुक्त XI. 27.

1252. पञ्च नद्यः सरस्वतीमपि यन्ति सस्रोतसः। सरस्वती तु पञ्चधा सो देशेऽभवत्सरित्॥ वाज सं. 34. 11.

1253. सरस्वत्या विनशने दीक्षन्ते।...दृषद्वत्या अप्ययेऽपोनप्त्रीयं चरुं निरूप्याथातियन्ति। चतुश्चत्वारिंशदाश्वीनानि सरस्वत्या विनशनात् प्लक्षः प्रास्रवणः तावदितः स्वर्गो लोकः सरस्वतीसंमितेनाध्वना स्वर्गलोकं यन्ति।... यदा प्लक्षं प्रास्रवणमागच्छन्त्यथोत्थानम्।... कारपचवं प्रति यमुनामवभृथमभ्यवयन्ति। ताण्ड्य 25. 10. 1, 15, 16, 21, 23. मनु II. 17 defines ब्रह्मावर्त as the country between the divine rivers सरस्वती and दृषद्वती and (II 21) मध्यदेश as the country between the Himālaya and Vindhya mount-

(*Continued on the next page*)

25. 10 for the first Sārasvata-sattra, 25. 11 for the 2nd and 25.12 for the third. The land between Vinaśana and Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa (which was the source of the Sarasvatī) was the proper locality for Sārasvata sattra. At the confluence of Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī an *iṣṭi* to Apām Napāt was performed wherein boiled rice (*caru*) was the offering. From the place where the Sarasvatī disappeared up to Plakṣa-Prāsravaṇa the distance was a journey on horse-back for forty days and nights. When the sacrificers (in the sattra) reach Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa they should stop the performance of the items of the sattra and undergo the Avabhṛtha bath near the river Yamunā (modern Jumna) which flows through the country called Kārapacava (and not in the Sarasvatī even if it had water). For details, vide Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra (10. 15-19) which mentions (in 10. 19. 1) a spot called Parīṇah in Kurukṣetra where the Vedic fires were to be kindled, the Āśv. Ś. S. 12. 6. 1-28 which adds that at the distance of each throw of the Śamyā from the Vinaśana one day is to be spent by the sacrificers, the Kātyāyana Śrauta-sūtra (24. 5-6) which states that the iṣṭi at the confluence of the Dṛṣadvatī and Sarasvatī is to be offered to Agni Kāma, Āp. Ś. S. 23. 12-13 (which gives more details than any one of the other three sūtras). In the Ait. Br. a story is narrated that the sages performed a sattra on the Sarasvatī and Kavaṣa who was sitting amongst them was driven out by them as not a brāhmaṇa but the son of a female slave and left in a sandy desert with the idea that he would die of thirst; but he praised the waters or *Apām napāt* with the hymn, Ṛg. X. 30 ('pra devatrā brahmaṇe') called 'Aponaptrīya' and Sarasvatī came rushing towards the place where Kavaṣa stood and surrounded it, which (spot) thence-

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(Continued from the last page)

ains, which is to the east of विनशन and west of Prayāga. For the mention of विनशन in the Baud. Dh. S., Vanaparva and Śalyaparva, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 14 note 35. Dr. D. R. Patil in his thesis 'Cultural History of Vāyupurāṇa' (p. 334) remarks that the institution of pilgrimage was first started by Buddhists and Jains and that later on it became common to all faiths in India. This is quite wrong. The Brāhmaṇa and Śrautasūtra passages clearly show that there were holy places in the comparatively small part of India up to the Yamunā where the Sārasvata sattras had to be carried on. The importance of holy places, visiting them and performing religious rites there were known in the Brāhmaṇa period at least a thousand years before Buddhism and Jainism began to spread.

forward came to be called [1254] 'Parisaraka'. This shows that in the times of the Ait. Br. and long before it the bed of the Sarasvatī was dry. Devala [1255] mentions several places as Sārasvata tīrthas. The Ṛgveda [1256] VIII. 6.28 appears to hold that the valleys of mountains and the confluences of rivers are sacred. Mountains have been held by most ancient peoples to be the abodes of gods. Mount Parnassus north of Delphi was one of the most holy mountains in classical Greece and Olympus was supposed to be the home of the gods. In the Ṛgveda Parvata is a dual deity with Indra. 'O, Indra and Parvata! may you two sharpen (or purify) us (our intellects)' Ṛg. I. 122.3 [1257]; O, Indra and Parvata! May you two, being in the forefront of battle, kill with the thunderbolt every one who desires to attack us with an army' Ṛg. I. 132. 6. In Ṛg. VI. 49. 14 a prayer is addressed to Parvata separately 'May the god Ahirbudhnya, may Parvata and may Savitṛ bestow on us food together with the waters on account of our prayers'. In Ṛg. III. 33.1 the two great rivers Vipāś (modern Beas) and Śutudrī are described as issuing from the lap of mountains. Here the word 'Parvata' is used in its ordinary sense. The Atharvaveda [1258] speaks of a salve (āñjana) from Traikakuda peaks of the Himālaya mountain 'May that salve which comes off the Himālaya from Traikakuda (peaks) destroy all wizards and all witches'. The Hir. Gṛ. I. 3.11.5 (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 168) also

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1254. ऋषयो वै सरस्वत्यां सत्रमासत। ऐ. ब्रा. 8. 1; माध्यमाः सरस्वत्यां सत्रमासत तद्धापि कवषो मध्ये निषसाद। तं हेम उपोदुर्दास्या वै त्वं पुत्रोऽसि न वयं त्वया सह भक्षयिष्याम इति। स ह क्रुद्धः प्रद्रवत्सरस्वतीमेतेन सूक्तेन तुष्टाव तं हेयमन्वियाय। शां. ब्रा. XII. 3. It may be noted that the Vanaparva chap 83 when enumerating the numerous tīrthas on the Sarasvatī and in कुरुक्षेत्र mentions a famous tīrtha called Saraka which is said to contain in it the sanctity of three *crores* of tīrthas (verses 75-76). This सरक appears to be the same as the पारिसरक tīrtha of सरस्वती.

1255. प्लक्षप्रस्रवणं वृद्धकन्यकं सारस्वतमादित्यतीर्थं कौबेरं वैजयन्तं पृथूदकं नैमिषं विनशनं वंशोद्भेदं प्रभासमिति सारस्वतानि। देवल q. by तीर्थकल्पतरु p. 250.

1256. उपह्वरे गिरीणां सङ्गथे च नदीनाम्। धिया विप्रो अजायत॥ ऋ. VIII. 6. 28 =वाज. सं. 26. 15 (which reads सङ्गमे).

1257. शिशीतमिन्द्रापर्वता युवं नस्तन्नो विश्वे वरिवस्यन्तु देवाः॥ ऋ. I. 122. 3 (सायण explains पर्वतः पर्ववान् वृष्ट्यादिपूरणवान् पर्जन्यः); युवं तमिन्द्रापर्वता पुरोयुधा यो नः पृतन्यादप तंतमिद्धतं वज्रेण तंतमिद्धतम्। ऋ. I. 132. 6 (सायण explains पर्वतः पर्ववान् मेघः। तदभिमानी देवः); तन्नोऽहिर्बुध्न्यो अद्भिरर्कैस्तत्पर्वतस्तत्सविता चनो धात्। ऋ. VI. 49. 14.

1258. यदाञ्जनं त्रैककुदं जातं हिमवतस्परि। यातूंश्च सर्वाञ्जम्भयत्सर्वाश्च यातुधान्यः॥ अथर्व० IV. 9.9; vide also Sat. Br. in SBE vol. 26 p. 15.

refers to this salve. Gaut., Baud. Dh. S. and Vas. Dh. S. have the same sūtra [1259] stating that the '*deśas* (localities) that are holy and hence destroyers of sin are all mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of sages (ṛṣis), cowpens and temples of the gods.' The Vāyupurāṇa [1260] and Kūrma state that all parts of the Himālaya are holy, the Ganges is holy everywhere, all rivers falling into the sea and all seas are holy. The Padmapurāṇa (Bhūmikhaṇḍa 39. 46–47) says that all rivers, whether flowing through a village or a forest, are holy and that where no name of a tīrtha on rivers is known it should be called Viṣṇutīrtha. Kālidāsa speaks of the Himālaya as *devatātmā* (as vivified by the presence of gods) in the Kumārasambhava (I. 1). The Bhāgavata V. 19.16 names 27 holy mountains while the Brahmāṇḍa (II. 16. 20–23) names thirty. The grandeur and sublimity of snow-capped mountains, of large life-sustaining rivers and of great forests easily impress the minds of almost all people and induce them to think that there is something divine about them, that the Supreme

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1259. सर्वे शिलोच्चयाः सर्वाः स्रवन्त्यः पुण्या ह्रदास्तीर्थान्यृषिनिवासा गोष्ठपरिस्कन्दा इति देशाः। गौ. 19. 14 = वासिष्ठ 22. 12 = बौ. ध. सू. III. 10. 12 (which reads ऋषिनिकेतनानि गोष्ठक्षेत्रपरिष्कन्दा इति॰).

1260. सर्वं पुण्यं हिमवतो गङ्गा पुण्या च सर्वतः। समुद्रगाः समुद्राश्च सर्वे पुण्याः समन्ततः॥ वायुपुराण 77. 117; सर्वत्र हिमवान् पुण्यो गङ्गा ... न्ततः। नद्यः समुद्रगाः पुण्याः समुद्रश्च विशेषतः॥ कूर्म II. 37. 49–50; 'राजा समस्ततीर्थानां सागरः सरितां पतिः।' नारदीय (उत्तर) chap. 58. 19; सर्वे प्रस्रवणाः पुण्याः सर्वे पुण्याः शिलोच्चयाः। नद्यः पुण्याः सदा सर्वा जाह्नवी तु विशेषतः॥ शङ्ख 8 14 (reads सरांसि च शिलोच्चयाः) q. by तीर्थप्रकाश p. 14; सर्वाः समुद्रगाः पुण्याः सर्वे पुण्याः नगोत्तमाः। सर्वमायतनं पुण्यं सर्वे पुण्या वनाश्रमाः॥ श्लोक q. by तीर्थकल्प॰ p. 250; पद्म IV. 93.46 has almost the same words (reads वराश्रमाः). The great mountains (called कुलपर्वतs) generally enumerated are: महेन्द्रो मलयः सह्यः शुक्तिमानृक्षपर्वतः। विन्ध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च सप्तात्र कुलपर्वताः॥ कूर्म I. 47. 23–24, वामन 13. 14–15; वायु I. 85, मत्स्य 113.10–12. ब्रह्म 18.16 enumerate them somewhat differently. The बार्हस्पत्यसूत्र III. 81 says: 'तत्रापि रैवतकविन्ध्यसह्यकुमारमलयश्रीपर्वतपारियात्राः सप्त कुलाचलाः।'. The नीलमतपुराण 57 reads 'महेन्द्रो।...ऋक्षवानपि। विन्ध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च न विनश्यन्ति पर्वताः॥.' The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (II. 16.39) and वायु (45.108) observe about rivers falling into the sea: तास्तु नद्यः सरस्वत्यः सर्वा गङ्गाः समुद्रगाः। विश्वस्य मातरः सर्वा जगत्पापहराः स्मृताः॥. In some Purāṇas certain great rivers are said to be specially holy at certain times. For example, देवीपुराण quoted by कल्प॰ (on तीर्थ) p 242 states 'कार्तिके ग्रहणं श्रेष्ठं गङ्गायमुनसङ्गमे। मार्गे तु ग्रहणं पुण्यं देविकायां महामुने॥ पौषे तु नर्मदा पुण्या माघे संनिहिता शुभा। फाल्गुने वरुणा ख्याता चैत्रे पुण्या सरस्वती॥ वैशाखे तु महापुण्या चन्द्रभागा सरिद्वरा। ज्येष्ठे तु कौशिकी पुण्या आषाढे तापिका नदी। श्रावणे सिन्धुनामा च भाद्रमासे च गण्डकी। आश्विने सरयूश्चैव भूयः पुण्या तु नर्मदा॥ गोदावरी महापुण्या चन्द्रे राहुसमन्विते॥; 'एवमादिष्वथान्येषु तीर्थेषु सरिद्वरासु सर्वेष्वपि स्वभावेषु पुलिनेषु प्रस्रवणेषु पर्वतेषु निकुञ्जेषु वनेषूपवनेषु गोमयलिप्तेषु मनोज्ञेषु। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85.

Being is partially revealed in such surroundings. In Protestant Europe and the U. S. A. hardly anyone performs a pilgrimage to a holy place in these days. Instead, they tour different countries for rest, health and in search of natural beauty and a respite from humdrum existence. But pilgrimage to a place supposed to be holy for the curing of disease is not rare even now. When one reads a work like that of Louis Carell, a great surgeon and a winner of the Nobel prize, on the miracles worked at Lourdes in France (in 'a Journey to Lourdes') one sees that pilgrimage has taken on a new motive in the West. Similarly, pilgrimage to the tombs of unknown warriors has become common owing to the two world wars.

In Ṛg. X. 146 a large forest [1261] (Araṇyānī) is invoked as a deity. The Vāmanapurāṇa mentions [1262] seven forests in Kurukṣetra as holy and as removers of sin, viz. Kāmyaka, Aditivana, Vyāsavana, Phalakīvana, Sūryavana, Madhuvana and Puṇyaśītavana.

In the Sūtras and ancient smṛtis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya tīrthas do not occupy a very prominent position. But in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas they are highly lauded and placed even above sacrifices. In the Vanaparva [1263] a comparison is made between sacrifices to gods and pilgrimages. Sacrifices require numerous implements, collection of materials, the co-operation of priests and the presence of a wife and so

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1261. अरण्यान्यरण्यान्यसौ या प्रेव नश्यसि। कथा ग्रामं न पृच्छसि न त्वा भीरिव विन्दतीँ३॥ ऋ. X. 146. 1. The निरुक्त 9. 30 explains this verse and says अरण्यानी means अरण्यस्य पत्नी, while the वार्तिक 'हिमारण्ययोर्महत्त्वे' on पा. IV. 1. 49 holds that अरण्यानी is formed from अरण्य in the sense of महत्त्व.

1262. शृणु सप्त वनानीह कुरुक्षेत्रस्य मध्यतः। येषां नामानि पुण्यानि सर्वपापहराणि च॥ काम्यकं च वनं पुण्यं०। वामनपुराण 34. 3-5.

1263. ऋषिभिः क्रतवः प्रोक्ता देवेष्विव यथाक्रमम्। फलं चैव यथातथ्यं प्रेत्य चेह च सर्वशः॥ न ते शक्या दरिद्रेण यज्ञाः प्राप्तुं महीपते। बहूपकरणा यज्ञा नानासम्भारविस्तराः॥ प्राप्यन्ते पार्थिवैरेतैः समृद्धैर्वा नरैः क्वचित्। नार्थन्यूनैर्नावगणैरेकात्मभिरसाधनैः॥ यो दरिद्रैरपि विधिः शक्यः प्राप्तुं नरेश्वर। तुल्यो यज्ञफलैः पुण्यैस्तं निबोध युधां वर॥ ऋषीणां परमं गुह्यमिदं भरतसत्तम। तीर्थाभिगमनं पुण्यं यज्ञैरपि विशिष्यते॥ महाभारत, वनपर्व 82. 13-17, q. by तीर्थकल्पतरु p. 37, तीर्थप्र. p. 12 (which explains अवगणैः तक्षादिसहायरहितैः, यज्ञस्य कुण्डमण्डपादिसाध्यत्वात्, एकात्मभिः, पत्नीरहितैः, असंहतैः ऋत्विगादिसङ्घातरहितैः'). The अनुशासनपर्व (107. 2-4) has almost the same verses as न ते शक्या...शक्यः प्राप्तुं सदा भवेत्; मत्स्यपुराण (chap. 112. 12-15) has these verses (except the half verse नार्थन्यूनै...साधनैः and पद्मपुराण, आदिखण्ड 11. 14-17, 49. 12-15; vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 273. 4-5 for the same ideas in almost the same words.

they can be performed only by princes or rich men. They cannot be performed by poor men, who are devoid of wealth, who are without a wife and without friends, who are helpless. The reward that a man gets by visiting holy places cannot be secured by performing such sacrifices as Agniṣṭoma in which large fees are paid (to priests); therefore visiting holy places is superior to sacrifices. But the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 82. 9-12 and Anuśāsana 108. 3-4) lays the greatest emphasis on the cultivation of high moral and spiritual qualities if the full reward of pilgrimages is to be reaped. It says [1264] 'He whose hands, feet and mind are well controlled and who possesses knowledge, austerities and a good reputation derives the (full) reward of pilgrimages. He who turns his face away from receiving gifts and is content with what little he gets and is free from vanity obtains the rewards of pilgrimages. He, who is free from hypocrisy (or deceit), is not engaged in various undertakings (for earning money), is not a heavy eater, has subdued his senses and is (therefore) free from all sins; so also he who does not fly into a rage, who always speaks the truth, who is firm in his observances, and acts towards all beings by treating them like himself, obtains the full reward of pilgrimages'. The idea seems to be that pilgrimages may help to remove the sins of men who are not possessed of the above characteristics, while those who possess these acquire a great store of merit in addition. The Skanda (Kāśikhaṇḍa 6.3) asserts 'snāna cannot be predicated of a man whose body alone is flooded with water; that man who is plunged in restraint of senses, who is pure, relieved of all taint and is stainless, is alone to be called snāta' (as having had a bath). The Anuśāsana has almost the same

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1264. यस्य हस्तौ च पादौ च मनश्चैव सुसंयतम् । विद्या तपश्च कीर्तिश्च स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥ प्रतिग्रहादुपावृत्तः सन्तुष्टो येन केनचित् । अहङ्कारनिवृत्तश्च स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥ अकल्कको निरारम्भो लघ्वाहारो जितेन्द्रियः । विमुक्तः सर्वपापेभ्यः स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥ अक्रोधनश्च राजेन्द्र सत्यशीलो दृढव्रतः । आत्मोपमश्च भूतेषु स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥ वनपर्व 82. 9-12 q. by the तीर्थकल्पतरु pp. 4-5, तीर्थप्र. p. 13 (only 9 and 12). 'हस्तयोः संयमः परपीडाचौर्यादिनिवृत्त्या, पादयोः संयमः अगम्यदेशगमनपरताडनादिनिवृत्त्या । मनसः संयमः कुत्सितसङ्कल्पादिनिवृत्त्या । विद्या अत्र तत्तत्तीर्थगुणज्ञानम्, तपः तीर्थोपवासादि, कीर्तिः सच्चारित्रत्वेन प्रसिद्धिः' तीर्थप्र. p. 13. 'अकल्ककः दम्भरहितः, निरारम्भोऽर्थार्जनादिव्यापाररहितः' तीर्थकल्पतरु p. 5. Vide also वनपर्व 92.11, 93. 20-23. The above verses of the वनपर्व occur in पद्म, आदिखण्ड 11. 9-12 and the first two in पद्म, उत्तरखण्ड 237. 30-32; all occur in स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 6. 48-51; वायु 110. 4-5 are the same as the first two; *the verse* यस्य हस्तौ च is शङ्खस्मृति *8. 15,* ब्रह्म *25.2,* अग्नि 109. 1-2; the स्कन्द (I. 2.2. 5-6) says that Aṅgiras sang the gāthā यस्य... संयतम् । निर्विकाराः क्रियाः सर्वाः स...श्नुते.

words (108 .9).[1264a] The Vāyupurāṇa states[1265] 'A steadfast (or wise) man visiting tīrthas with faith and controlling his senses would be purified even if he has been guilty of sins; what need is there to say about him whose actions have been pure? One who has no faith, who is full of sins, whose mind is not free from doubts (about the rewards of pilgrimages and the rites there), who is an atheist and who is bent on bad reasoning—these five do not reap the rewards of pilgrimages'. The Skandapurāṇa (I. 1. 31. 37) remarks that all holy places, sacrifices and various gifts are meant for cleansing the mind (of its sins and sinful proclivities, manaḥ-śuddhi). The Padmapurāṇa (IV. 80. 9) remarks: sacrifices, *vratas*, *tapas* and *dāna* cannot be carried out fully in the Kali age; but bathing in the Ganges and taking the name of Hari are free from all defects. The Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa[1266] puts the matter very clearly when it says 'When resort is made to a tīrtha, it removes the sins of the sinful and tends to the increase of merit in the case of the good and that a holy place yields fruit to men of all varṇas and āśramas.' Some of the Purāṇas (such as Skandapurāṇa, Kāśīkhaṇḍa 6, Padma, Uttarakhaṇḍa, 237) say that in addition to the holy places on land (*bhauma*) there are certain virtues that may be called mental tīrthas (in a figurative sense). According to them 'truthfulness, forbearance, restraint of the senses, compassion for all beings, straight-forwardness, charity, self-control, contentment, celibacy (brahmacarya), sweet speech, knowledge, patience, austerity, are tīrthas and the highest tīrtha is purity of mind.' They further state that a man who is avaricious, wicked, cruel, hypocritical and immersed in pleasures of senses is still sinful and impure even if he bathes in all *tīrthas* and that fish are born and die in holy waters but they do not go to heaven because their minds are not purified and that even charity, sacrifices, austerity,

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1264 a. नोदकक्लिन्नगात्रस्तु स्नात इत्यभिधीयते । स स्नातो यो दमस्नातः सबाह्याभ्यन्तरः शुचिः ॥ अनुशासन 108.9.

1265. तीर्थान्यनुसरन् धीरः श्रद्धानो जितेन्द्रियः । कृतपापो विशुध्येत किं पुनः शुभकर्मकृत् ॥ अश्रद्दधानाः पाप्मानो नास्तिकाः स्थितसंशयाः । हेतुद्रष्टा च पञ्चैते न तीर्थफलभागिनः ॥ वायु 77. 125 and 127 q. by तीर्थकल्प० pp. 5-6, ती. चि. p. 4 (which explains पापात्मा बहुपापग्रस्तस्तस्य पापशमनं तीर्थे भवति न तु यथोक्तफलम्). These verses occur also in स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 56. 52-53.

1266. पापानां पापशमनं धर्मवृद्धिस्तथा सताम् । विज्ञेयं सेवितं तीर्थं तस्मात्तीर्थपरो भवेत् ॥ सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां सर्वाश्रमनिवासिनाम् । तीर्थं फलप्रदं ज्ञेयं नात्र कार्या विचारणा ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 273. 7 and 9.

cleanliness, frequenting sacred places, learning—all these are not tīrthas, if the mind is not pure.[1267] The Brahmapurāṇa (25.4–6) states 'a heart that is wicked is not purified by baths at holy places, just as a vessel in which *surā* (liquor) was carried remains impure even after being washed with water hundreds of times, that tīrthas, gifts, *vratas*, or (residence in) hermitages do not purify a man whose heart is wicked, who resorts to hypocrisy and whose senses run away (are uncontrolled). Wherever a man who has his senses under control may dwell, there are present Kurukṣetra, Prayāga and Puṣkara'. The Vāmanapurāṇa has a fine[1267a] *Rūpaka* about the soul being a river full of the water of control, flowing with truth and having character as the bank and the waves of compassion (for all beings) and states that the soul cannot be purified by water. The Padmapurāṇa (II. 39. 56–61) extends the meaning and scope of tīrthas by remarking that places where Agnihotra and śrāddha are performed, a temple, a house where Veda is being studied, a cowpen, the place where a soma drinker dwells, parks, a place where the Aśvattha exists, a place where Purāṇa is being recited or where one's teacher stands or where a chaste housewife dwells, or where a father and a worthy son dwell are all holy.

Numberless tīrthas and holy shrines have been mentioned from ancient times. The Matsyapurāṇa states[1268] that Vāyu declared that there are 35 millions of tīrthas in the sky, in the aerial regions and on the earth and all of them are centred in the Ganges; while the Vāmanapurāṇa 46. 53 states that there are 35 millions of Liṅgas. The Brahmapurāṇa says that the number of tīrthas and shrines is so large that they cannot be

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1267. सत्यं तीर्थं क्षमा तीर्थं...तीर्थानामुत्तमं तीर्थं विशुद्धिर्मनसः पुनः।...जायन्ते च म्रियन्ते च जलेष्वेव जलौकसः। न च गच्छन्ति ते स्वर्गमविशुद्धमनोमलाः॥...दानमिज्या तपः शौचं तीर्थसेवा श्रुतं तथा। सर्वाण्येतान्यतीर्थानि यदि भावो न निर्मलः॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 6. 28–45, पद्म, उत्तरखण्ड 237. 11–28; compare मत्स्य 22.80 (सत्यं तीर्थं दया तीर्थं०).

1267 a. आत्मा नदी संयमतोयपूर्णा सत्यावहा शीलतटा दयोर्मिः। तत्राभिषेकं कुरु पाण्डुपुत्र न वारिणा शुध्यति चान्तरात्मा॥ वामनपुराण 43. 25.

1268. तिस्रः कोट्योऽर्धकोटिश्च तीर्थानां वायुरब्रवीत्। दिवि भुव्यन्तरिक्षे च तत्सर्वं जाह्नवी स्मृता॥ मत्स्यपुराण 110.7, नारदीय (उत्तर) 63. 53–54, and पद्म IV. 89. 16–17 and V. 20 150 (last पाद is तानि ते सन्ति जाह्नवी); वराह 159. 6–7 षष्टिकोटिसहस्राणि षष्टिकोटिशतानि च। तीर्थान्येतानि देवाश्च तारकाश्च नभस्तले। गणितानि समस्तानि वायुना जगदायुषा॥; तिस्रः कोट्योऽर्धकोटी च तीर्थानि भुवनत्रये। तानि स्नातुं समायान्ति गङ्गायां सिंहगे गुरौ॥ ब्रह्मपु. 175. 83; तस्माच्छृणुध्वं वक्ष्यामि तीर्थान्यायतनानि च। विस्तरेण न शक्यन्ते वक्तुं वर्षशतैरपि॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 25. 7–8.

enumerated in detail even in hundreds of years. The Vanaparva [1269] remarks that Naimiṣa is the (best) tīrtha on the earth and Puṣkara in the aerial region, while Kurukṣetra is the most distinguished in all the three worlds and that all the ten thousand crores of tīrthas are present in Puṣkara (chap. 82.21). New tīrthas were added from time to time and the monetary benefits derived by the permanent residents and particularly by the tīrtha priests led them to prepare numerous māhātmyas of an apocryphal character and father them on Vyāsa, the reputed author of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Most of the writers of digests on tīrthas follow a process of selection. The Tīrthakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara, one of the earliest digests (about 1110-1120 AD), devotes more than half the work to Vārāṇasī and Prayāga alone, assigns only two or three pages to such famous tīrthas as Puṣkara, Pṛthūdaka, Kokāmukha, Badarikāśrama, Kedāra. The Nṛsiṁhaprasāda (Tīrthasāra) mostly deals with tīrthas in the Deccan and southern India such as Setubandha, Puṇḍarīka (modern Pandharpur), Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā-veṇyā, Narmadā. The Tristhalīsetu of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa devotes two-thirds of it to Benares and its sub-tīrthas and the rest to Prayāga and Gayā. This unequal treatment arose from various causes, such as the localities where the authors lived, their familiarity with the holy places and their predilections. There was also another tendency among the authors of Purāṇas, Māhātmyas and digests viz. that of great exaggeration and over-statement which is often repellent. If a man reads the description of one tīrtha and does not discount much as sheer hollow laudation, he is likely to feel that a pilgrimage to a certain tīrtha will yield all the desires in this life as well in the next and that after visiting a holy tīrtha like Kāśī or Prayāga he need not go to any other tīrtha, nor need he perform any *yajña* or act of charity and the like. A few striking passages may be cited here. The Vanaparva remarks that [1270] even gods and sages secured

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1269. पृथिव्यां नैमिषं तीर्थमन्तरिक्षे च पुष्करम्। त्रयाणामपि लोकानां कुरुक्षेत्रं विशिष्यते॥ वनपर्व 83. 202, q. by तीर्थप्र. p. 19 and तीर्थकल्पतरु p. 178; नीलकण्ठ explains: नैमिषारण्ये कृतं पुण्यं पृथिव्यामेव सन्ततिसंपत्तिसार्वभौमादिपदप्राप्तिहेतुरित्यर्थः, अन्तरिक्षे सूर्यचन्द्रादिमार्गे नक्षत्रादिचक्रेषु पुष्करं प्रापयतीत्यर्थः।. The same verse occurs in मत्स्य 109.3, पद्म (आदिखण्ड 27.87) and the first half in वामन 7. 37.

1270. पुष्करेषु महाभाग देवाः सर्षिगणाः पुरा। सिद्धिं समभिसंप्राप्ताः पुण्येन महतान्विताः॥ तत्राभिषेकं यः कुर्यात्पितृदेवार्चने रतः। अश्वमेधाद्दशगुणं फलं प्राहुर्मनीषिणः॥ वनपर्व 82. 26-27; नास्मात्परतरं तीर्थं लोकेऽस्मिन्परिपठ्यते। पद्म. (5th खण्ड, 27.78).

perfection at Puṣkara and that whoever takes a bath there and devoutly worships gods and his pitṛs secures rewards ten times of what the performance of Aśvamedha might give. About this very tīrtha viz. Puṣkara, the Padmapurāṇa says that there is no holier tīrtha in this world. The Vanaparva (83. 145) in its eulogy of Pṛthūdaka asserts that Kurukṣetra is holy, that Sarasvatī is holier than Kurukṣetra and that Pṛthūdaka is holier than all other tīrthas. The Matsyapurāṇa puts the [1271] comparative holiness of several tīrthas thus 'the waters of the Sarasvatī purify after (one bathes for) three days, those of Yamunā in seven days, those of the Ganges at once, while the water of the Narmadā purifies a man at sight of it.' In its eulogy of Vārāṇasī the Kūrma-purāṇa states 'there is no place higher than Vārāṇasī nor will there be one' (I. 31. 64). The inveterate habit of exaggeration goes so far that it is said that by merely residing in Kāśī till one's death not only does a man become free from the great sin of brāhmaṇa murder but from the never-ending cycle of births and deaths and is not born again.[1272] The Liṅgapurāṇa says the same thing. The Vāmanapurāṇa remarks [1273] that *mukti* (release from *saṁsāra*) can be secured in four ways, viz. by knowledge of *Brahman*, by śrāddha at Gayā, by loss of life in repelling the carrying away of cows and by residence in Kurukṣetra and that those who die in Kurukṣetra never come down (to the earth). Mere residence in Kāśī was so much lauded that the Matsya (181. 23), the Agni (112. 3) and other Purāṇas say that after repairing to Kāśī one should smash one's feet with a stone (in order that

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1271. त्रिभिः सारस्वतं तोयं सप्ताहेन तु यामुनम्। सद्यः पुनाति गाङ्गेयं दर्शनादेव नार्मदम्॥ पद्म, आदिखण्ड 13. 7, मत्स्य॰ 186. 11. The अभिलषितार्थचिन्तामणि (Mysore ed.) I. 1.130 has a very similar verse 'सरस्वती त्रिभिः स्नानैः पञ्चभिर्यमुनापहृत्। जाह्नवी स्नानमात्रेण दर्शनेनैव नर्मदा'॥.

1272. आ देहपतनाद्यावत्तत्क्षेत्रं यो न मुञ्चति। न केवलं ब्रह्महत्या प्राकृतं च निवर्तते। प्राप्य विश्वेश्वरं देवं न स भूयोऽभिजायते। मत्स्य 182. 16–17, q. by तीर्थकल्प॰ p. 17 (which reads प्राकृतश्च that is explained as संसारबन्ध) and तीर्थचि. p. 345 which quotes the passage from लिङ्गपुराण, but those verses are not found in chap. 92 of the लिङ्गपुराण (Venk. ed.) which deals with वाराणसीमाहात्म्य. लिङ्गपुराण I. 92.63 is विमुक्तस्त्वकामोऽपि त्यक्तधर्मरतिर्नरः। इह क्षेत्रे मृतः सोऽपि संसारे न पुनर्भवेत्॥; कामं तत्र मृतो देवि जन्तुर्मोक्षाय कल्पते॥ लिङ्ग॰ 1. 92. 94. The verse आ देहपतनात् occurs in स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 25. 67.

1273. ब्रह्मज्ञानं गयाश्राद्धं गोग्रहे मरणं ध्रुवम्। वासः पुंसां कुरुक्षेत्रे मुक्तिरुक्ता चतुर्विधा॥ [illegible] कालेन पतनाद्ध्रुवम्। कुरुक्षेत्रमृतानां च पतनं नैव विद्यते॥ वामनपुराण 33.8 and 16; the first occurs in वायु॰ 105.16, अग्नि 115. 5–6.

one may not be induced to visit another tīrtha)[1274] and stay in Kāśī forever.

The Brahmapurāṇa classifies tīrthas into four divisions[1275] viz. daiva (created by gods), āsura (those associated with such asuras as Gaya), ārṣa (those established by sages) such as Prabhāsa, Naranārāyaṇa and mānuṣa (created by kings like Ambarīṣa, Manu, Kuru) and provides that each preceding one is superior to each succeeding one. It enumerates six rivers to the south of the Vindhya and six rivers having their sources in the Himālayas as most holy and as devatīrthas, viz. Godāvarī, Bhīmarathī, Tuṅgabhadrā, Veṇikā, Tāpī, Payoṣṇī, Bhāgīrathī, Narmadā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Viśokā, and Vitastā. Similarly, Kāśī, Puṣkara and Prabhāsa are devatīrthas (Tīrthapr. p. 18). The Brahmapurāṇa (175. 31–32) assigns daiva, āsura, ārṣa and mānuṣa tīrthas respectively to the Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali yugas.

There is a good deal of discussion in the Purāṇas and digests about those who are entitled or have the eligibility or capacity (*adhikāra*) for tīrthayātrā. The Vanaparva[1276] provides that brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras, when they have bathed in holy places, are not born again. The same work further states that whatever sin a man or a woman may have committed from birth, the moment a person takes a bath in the holy Puṣkara all that sin vanishes.[1277] Therefore not only men but women also had the right to undertake tīrthayātrā. The Matsyapurāṇa[1278] goes further and asserts that 'Avimukta

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1274. अश्मना चरणौ हत्वा वसेत्काशीं न हि त्यजेत्। अग्नि 112.3; अविमुक्तं यदा गच्छेत् कदाचित्कालपर्ययात्। अश्मना चरणौ भित्त्वा तत्रैव निधनं व्रजेत्॥ मत्स्य 181.23, which last is quoted in तीर्थकल्प॰ p. 16; अश्मना चरणौ हत्वा वाराणस्यां वसेन्नरः। कूर्म I. 31.35 q. by तीर्थप्र. p. 140.

1275. चतुर्विधानि तीर्थानि स्वर्गे मर्त्ये रसातले। दैवानि मुनिशार्दूल आसुराण्यारुषाणि च। मानुषाणि त्रिलोकेषु विख्यातानि सुरादिभिः।...ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवैर्देवैर्निर्मितं दैवमुच्यते। ब्रह्मपुराण 70. 16–19 q. by तीर्थप्रकाश p. 18, which also quotes the verses from ब्रह्मपुराण 70. 33–35 about the twelve rivers (देवतीर्थs). आरुष stands for आर्ष. Vide ब्रह्म 70. 33–40 for examples of the four kinds of तीर्थs.

1276. ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्रा वा राजसत्तम। न वै योनौ प्रजायन्ते स्नातास्तीर्थे महात्मनः। वनपर्व 82. 30–31 q. by तीर्थप्र. p. 19 (which reads न वियोनिं व्रजन्त्येते, meaning 'are not born in a condemned or low body').

1277. जन्मप्रभृति यत्पापं स्त्रिया वा पुरुषेण वा। पुष्करे स्नातमात्रस्य सर्वमेव प्रणश्यति॥ वनपर्व 82. 33–34 q. by तीर्थप्र. p. 23.

1278. नानावर्णा विवर्णाश्च चण्डाला ये जुगुप्सिताः। किल्बिषैः पूर्णदेहाश्च प्रकृष्टैः पातकैस्तथा। भेषजं परमं तेषामविमुक्तं विदुर्बुधाः। मत्स्यपुराण 184. 66–67, कूर्मपु. I. 31. 42–43 q. by तीर्थकल्पतरु p. 26, तीर्थप्र. (on p. 140), तीर्थचि. p. 140.

(Vārāṇasī) is the highest cure for men of numerous castes, for men not (recognized as) belonging to any particular *varṇa*, for cāṇḍālas who are abhorred (by people) and for persons whose bodies are full of diseases and of aggravated sins.' It is stated in the Vāmanapurāṇa:[1279] persons of all the four *āśramas* (i. e. brahmacārins, householders, forest hermits and *sannyāsins*) by bathing in the tīrtha (mentioned by it) save seven generations in their families and that persons belonging to the four varṇas and women, when they bathe in tīrthas with devotion, see the highest goal. It was provided by the Brahmapurāṇa that a brahmacārin can undertake a pilgrimage only if ordered or directed by his guru, and that a householder whose wife is alive and is chaste must go on a pilgrimage with her; otherwise he would not reap the fruit of pilgrimage. The Padmapurāṇa (Bhūmikhaṇḍa chap. 59-60) narrates the story of a vaiśya called Kṛkala who went on a pilgrimage without his virtuous wife and did not reap the fruits of a long pilgrimage (bhāryām vinā yo dharmaḥ sa eva viphalo bhavet, 59. 33). The Tīrthacintāmaṇi and Tīrthaprakāśa quote a passage (from the Kūrmapurāṇa) which glorifies Vārāṇasī (called Avimukta there) as follows[1280] 'brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas, śūdras, persons of mixed castes (varṇasaṅkara), women, *mlecchas* and others who are born in evil forms and are of mixed blood, worms, ants, birds and beasts when they die in Avimukta are born as human beings in Benares and no one guilty of sins dying in Avimukta goes to Hell.' As regards[1281] women and śūdras, a smṛti verse provided '*Japa*, *tapas*, pilgrimage to holy places, becoming an ascetic (sannyāsin), efforts to attain mastery over mantras and worshipping deities (as a priest)—these six lead to sinfulness in the case of women and

1279. ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थश्च वानप्रस्थो यतिस्तथा। कुलानि तारयेत्स्नातः सप्त सप्त च सप्त च॥ ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः स्त्रियः शूद्राश्च तत्पराः। तीर्थस्नाता भक्तियुताः पश्यन्ति परमं पदम्॥ वामनपुराण 36. 78-79.

1280. ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्रा ये वर्णसङ्कराः। स्त्रियो म्लेच्छाश्च ये चान्ये सङ्कीर्णाः पापयोनयः॥ कीटाः पिपीलिकाश्चैव ये चान्ये मृगपक्षिणः। कालेन निधनं प्राप्ता अविमुक्ते वरानने।...शिवे मम पुरे देवि जायन्ते तत्र मानवाः। नाविमुक्ते मृतः कश्चिन्नरकं याति किल्बिषी। कूर्म I. 31. 32-34, मत्स्यपुराण 181. 19-21 q. by तीर्थचि. p. 346, तीर्थप्र. p. 139 (which quotes from कूर्मपुराण and adds नाविमुक्ते मृतः कश्चिन्नरकं याति किल्बिषी); ईश्वरानुगृहीता हि सर्वे यान्ति परां गतिम्। नाविमुक्ते मृतः कश्चिन्नरकं याति किल्बिषी। कूर्म I. 31. 31-34 q. by तीर्थचि. p. 346, तीर्थप्र. p. 139. The same verses occur in पद्म I. 33. 18-21.

1281. जपस्तपस्तीर्थयात्रा प्रव्रज्या मन्त्रसाधनम्। देवताराधनं चेति स्त्रीशूद्रपतनानि षट्॥ q. by तीर्थप्र p. 21, ascribed to मनु by भट्टोजि in त्रिस्थलीसेतुसारसंग्रह p. 2.

śūdras.' This was explained away by stating that this text refers to undertaking pilgrimage without the husband's permission (in the case of a woman) and as to a śūdra in such a way as to be opposed to the primary duty of a śūdra to wait upon learned brāhmaṇas (as laid down in Manu X. 123). Kātyāyana[1282] as quoted in the Vyavahāramayūkha provides 'whatever a woman does that relates to (benefit in) a future state (i. e. state after death) without the permission of her (husband's) father, husband or son, would become fruitless.' It is clear therefore that it was recognized early that *tīrthayātrā* was a popular way for redemption of sins in the case of all classes of men and women. Though a Hindu woman succeeding as heir to her husband's estate has only a limited and qualified ownership over it, judicial decisions have recognized that she can alienate a small portion of her husband's estate for the expenses of a pilgrimage to Gayā for performing her husband's śrāddha for the latter's spiritual benefit or of a pilgrimage to Pandharpur. Vide *Muteeram* v. *Gopal* 11 Beng. L. R. 416; *Darbari Lal* v. *Gobind* 46 All. 822; *Ganpat* v. *Tulsiram* 36 Bom. 88 (pilgrimage to Pandharpur).[1283] It was also provided that there was no question of untouchability [1284] when bathing in holy waters.

1282. नारी खल्वननुज्ञाता पित्रा भर्त्रा सुतेन वा । विफलं तद्भवेत्तस्या यत्करोत्यौर्ध्वदैहिकम् ॥ कात्या. q. by व्य. म.; p. 113; this verse is quoted by चतुर्वर्ग॰ on व्रत I. p. 327 as from आदित्यपुराण and और्ध्वदैहिक is explained as व्रतानि.

1283. Strangely enough, the Calcutta High court has held that a widow cannot validly alienate a part of her husband's property inherited by her as heir for a pilgrimage to Benares; vide *Hari* v. *Bajrand* 13 C. W. N. 544 at p. 547. But a gift to the temple of Jagannātha at Purī for *bhog* (offerings of cooked food) to the deity and for the maintenance of the priests there for the salvation of the husband and the members of his family and for the widow's own salvation was upheld by the Privy Council in *Sardar Singh* v. *Kunj Behari* 49 I. A. 383. As seen in note 1294 below, a person on returning from a pilgrimage had to honour and feed brāhmaṇas. In *Dinanath* v. *Hrishikesh* 18 C. W. N. 1303, 1306, where a widow on returning from a pilgrimage to Gayā for the benefit of her husband's soul incurred a debt for feeding brāhmaṇas and her husband's relatives and alienated a portion of her husband's property, it was held that the debt was one for a spiritual purpose and was binding on the reversioners after the death of the widow.

1284. तीर्थे विवाहे यात्रायां संग्रामे देशविप्लवे । नगरग्रामदाहे च स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न दुष्यति ॥ बृह. q. by कल्पतरु on शुद्धि p. 169, स्मृतिच. I. p. 122. This is variously explained. The तीर्थप्र. p. 41 says 'तीर्थे विवाह इत्यनेनानिवार्य-तीर्थाद्यधिकरणकास्पृश्यस्पर्शो न दोषायेत्यभिधानात् । स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न दुष्यतीति वचनं [illegible] कल्पतरुकृता लिखितं तीर्थे [illegible] न दोष इति । अत एव पुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रादौ तथैव शिष्टाचार इति'. Vide above note 750 for the same quotation. The शुद्धिप्र. p. 130 explains: तीर्थादौ अस्पृश्यस्पर्शे नाचमनस्नानादि.

There is a verse of Bṛhaspati: 'At holy places, in marriages, in a religious festival (or procession), in a battle, when there is an invasion of the country and when a town or village is on fire, no blame attaches on the ground of incurring contact with untouchable persons or things.'

In order to guard against the facile assumption that without a change of heart or change in one's sinful mode of life a mere physical act of pilgrimage and bath in holy waters would be enough, some of the texts in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas adopted two propositions: viz. the one noted above that it is the pure mind that is a real tīrtha and further emphasized that it is better to stay at home and perform all the duties of a householder including the performance of vedic sacrifices than to go on a pilgrimage. The Śāntiparva[1285] in the dialogue between Tulādhāra and Jājali (a brāhmaṇa proud of his *tapas*) asserts that puroḍāśa is the holiest of offerings, that all rivers are (holy like) Sarasvatī and all hillocks (and not merely Himālaya and the like) are holy, that one's soul is a tīrtha and advises Jājali not to be a guest (i. e. to be wandering in quest of tīrthas) to several countries. The Tīrthacintāmaṇi and Tīrthaprakāśa quote passages from the Brahmapurāṇa that a brāhmaṇa should wander about tīrthas after his capacity to perform sacrifices has come to an end, that it is better for a man to stay at home and perform the duties of an householder when he has the capacity and authority to perform *iṣṭis* and *yajñas*, and that all the tīrthas do not come up (in their rewards) to the performance of *agnihotra*.[1286] The Kūrmapurāṇa[1287] has the following remarkable verses on this point. 'That person who abandoning his proper duties[1287] resorts to tīrthas does not reap the fruits of

1285. पुरोडाशो हि सर्वेषां पशूनां मेध्य उच्यते। सर्वा नद्यः सरस्वत्यः सर्वे पुण्याः शिलोच्चयाः। जाजले तीर्थमात्मैव मा स्म देशातिथिर्भव। एतानीदृशकान् धर्मानाचरन्निह जाजले। कारणैर्धर्ममन्विच्छन् स लोकानाप्नुते शुभान्। शान्तिपर्व 263. 40-42. नीलकण्ठ explains: 'यत्रैवात्मसमाधानं तत्रैव सर्वाणि तीर्थानि सन्तीत्यर्थः।'.

1286. यज्ञाधिकारे त्वथवा निवृत्ते विप्रस्तु तीर्थानि परिभ्रमेत।... यस्यास्ति यज्ञेष्वधिकारिताऽस्ति वरं गृहं गृहधर्माश्च सर्वे। एवं गृहस्थाश्रमसंस्थितस्य तीर्थे गतिः पूर्वतरैर्निषिद्धा। सर्वाणि तीर्थान्यपि चाग्निहोत्रतुल्यानि नैवेति वयं वदामः। ब्रह्मपुराण q. by तीर्थकल्पतरु p. 9, तीर्थचि. pp. 5-6 and तीर्थप्र. p. 19. Vide नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 22 for the first verse.

1287. यः स्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य तीर्थसेवां करोति हि। न तस्य फलते तीर्थमिह लोके परत्र च॥ प्रायश्चित्ती च विधुरस्तथा यायावरो गृही। प्रकुर्यात्तीर्थसंसेवां ये चान्ये तादृशा जनाः॥ सहाग्निर्वा सपत्नीको गच्छेत्तीर्थानि यत्नतः। सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तो यथोक्तां गतिमाप्नुयात्॥ ऋणानि त्रीण्यपाकृत्य कुर्याद्वा तीर्थसेवनम्। विधाय वृत्तिं पुत्राणां भार्यां तेषु निधाय च॥ कूर्म II. 44. 20-23.

pilgrimage in this world as well as in the next. A person who has to undergo an expiation (for a sin), or who is a widower or who is a householder of the *yāyāvara* [1288] type or similar persons may resort to pilgrimages. One may go to holy places with his vedic fires or with his wife; he becomes free from all sins and secures the best goal as stated above. One who wants to go on pilgrimages should pay off the three debts, should provide means of maintenance for his sons and should consign his wife to their care.'

Ancient writers on Dharmaśāstra favoured pilgrimages by prescribing, as stated in the Viṣṇu Dh. S., that [1289] no money was to be demanded from a Vedic student, a forest hermit, an ascetic, a pregnant woman and a pilgrim by a ferryman or by a toll officer and that if he took money from such persons he was to be made to return it. But this prescription was not invariably followed even by Hindu Kings. The Rājataraṅgiṇī (VI. 254–255 and VII. 1008) notices that a tax was levied on Kashmirians performing śrāddhas at Gayā.[1290] It appears that Siddharāja king of Aṇahilavāḍ (1095–1143 A. D.) levied a tax on pilgrims going to Somanātha at the frontier town Bāhuloḍa, that he remitted the tax at the intercession of his mother and that the tax thus remitted amounted to 72 lakhs of rupees every year (this last may be an exaggeration to glorify Siddharāja).[1290a] Moslem kings levied this tax. It appears that a great writer called Kavīndrācārya took up the cause of Hindu pilgrims visiting Prayāga and Kāśī and so eloquently pleaded it before Emperor Shah Jehan that the latter remitted the tax altogether

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1288. A householder is said to be of two sorts, śālīna and yāyāvara. The latter is one who subsists by picking up grains that fall down when the corn that is reaped is taken from the fields to the house or threshing floor or who does not accumulate wealth or who does not earn his livelihood by officiating as a priest or by teaching or by accepting gifts. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 641–642 and notes 1501–1504. For the three debts to Gods, Manes and sages, vide. H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 270 and 425.

1289. ब्रह्मचारिवानप्रस्थभिक्षुगुर्विणीतीर्थानुसारिणां नाविकः शौल्किकः शुल्कमाददानश्च। तच्च तेषां दद्यात्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V. 132–133.

1290. काश्मीरिकाणां यः आग्रशुल्कोच्छेत्ता गयान्तरे। सोऽप्येरमन्तकः शूरः परिहासपुराश्रयः॥ बद्ध्वा महाशिलां कण्ठे वितस्ताम्भसि पातितः। राजत. VI. 254–55. The valiant एरमन्तक of परिहासपुर who had relieved Kashmir residents from the tax at Gayā was drowned in Vitastā (by queen Diddā) with a big stone tied round his neck.

1290 *a*. Vide Bom. G. vol. I. part I p. 172 and Prabandha-cintāmaṇi (tr. by Tawney p. 84).

and conferred upon the great scholar [1291] the title of 'Sarva-vidyā-nidhāna'. People throughout India felt such relief at the remission of the tax that congratulatory letters and addresses (several of them couched in very poetic language) poured upon Kavīndrācārya. These have been published in a work styled 'Kavīndra-candrodaya' by Dr. Har Dutta Sharma and Mr. M. M. Patkar (in the Poona Oriental series), a characteristic verse from which is quoted below.[1292] In a remarkable copper-plate Inscription in Sanskrit [1293] and Kannada issued by the Hoysala king Narasiṁha III in Māgha *śake* 1200 (1279 A. D.) it is said that the king granted the revenues (amounting to 645 *niṣkas* a year) of a village called Hebbāle to the pilgrims of Kāśī and to god Śrīviśveśvara for the purpose of enabling the pilgrims to Benares (including those from the whole of Karṇāṭaka, from the countries of Telingaṇa, Tulu, Tirhut, Gauḍa and others) to pay off the tax levied by the Turuṣkas (Moslem kings).[1293]

The digests quote certain verses of the Brahmapurāṇa about the rites to be performed when a person decides to start on a pilgrimage. The Brahmapurāṇa provides that the intending pilgrim should restrain his senses the previous day, should observe a fast and on the next day he should offer worship to Gaṇeśa, the gods, the pitṛs and honour good brāhmaṇas according to his ability and when he returns from the pilgrimage he should offer similar worship and honour.[1294] The digests

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1291. Vide I. A. vol. 41 (1912) p. 7 at p. 11 for an account by the late M. M. Haraprasad Shastri of the abolition of the pilgrim tax by Shah Jehan.

1292. येन श्रीसाहिजाहाँ नरपतितिलकः स्वस्य वश्यः कृतोऽभूत्किं चायं प्रपञ्चः पुनरपि विहितः काशिवाराणसीशः । काशीतीर्थप्रयागगतिजनितकरग्राहमोक्षैकहेतुः सोऽयं श्रीमान्कवीन्द्रो जयति कविकुलस्तीर्थराजाधिराजः ॥ कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय p. 23 No. 169. There is possibly a veiled allusion to गजेन्द्रमोक्ष in the words 'ग्राहमोक्ष'.

1293. Vide Epigraphia Carnatica, vol. 15 No. 298 pp. 71-73 (containing transliterated text) and p. 12 of the dynastic list; the important words in Kannada are 'Ellā-kṣetravāsi-galu *Turaḥkarige* ... Kula karṇāṭigaru Telugaru...Tulū-Maleyaru...Tirabhukti-garu...Gavuḍigaru' &c. This inscription indicates that the expression 'Turuṣkadaṇḍa' occurring in certain Gāhaḍvāla Inscriptions such as those in E. I. IX at p. 305, E. I. XIII. p. 295, E. I. XIV. p. 195 meant a levy imposed by Moslem raiders and rulers.

1294. यो यः कश्चित्तीर्थयात्रां तु गच्छेत्सुसंयतः स च पूर्वं गृहे स्वे । कृतोपवासः शुचिरप्रमत्तः सम्पूजयेद्भक्तिनम्रो गणेशम् ॥ देवान् पितॄन् ब्राह्मणांश्चैव साधून् धीमान् पितॄन् ब्राह्मणान् पूजयेच्च । प्रत्यागतश्चापि पुनस्तथैव देवान् पितॄन् ब्राह्मणान् पूजयेच्च । ब्रह्मपुराण q. by तीर्थकल्प० p. 9, तीर्थचि. p. 6 (explains सुसंयत इति पूर्वदिने कृतैकभक्तादिनियमः), तीर्थप्र.

(*Continued on next page*)

explain that on return there is no fast and no worship of Gaṇeśa. He should perform śrāddha in which there is plenty of ghee, honour three brāhmaṇas (at least) with the offer of sandalwood paste &c. and then make a resolve (*saṅkalpa*) to go on pilgrimage. The Vāyupurāṇa [1295] and the digests lay down that (after the worship of Gaṇeśa, the planets and the deities) he should put on the dress of a *kārpaṭī* viz. wear a copper-ring, a copper bracelet and reddish garments. Bhaṭṭoji (p. 5) states that according to some the apparel of kārpaṭika is to be put on by a pilgrim going to Gayā. The Padma (IV. 19. 22) prescribes the pilgrim's dress for other tīrthas also. The Tīr. C. adds that this dress is to be worn only on the journey to a tīrtha, when the pilgrim is in a tīrtha, but not at the time of performing his daily duties such as taking meals (p. 9).

There is a difference of opinion among the digests as to whether tonsure of the head is obligatory when starting on a pilgrimage. The Padmapurāṇa [1296] and Skandapurāṇa appear to make it obligatory. The Tīrtha-Kalpataru does not [1297] refer to tonsure at all, while a fast at a tīrtha is declared by it to be optional. The tendency of later digest-writers is generally to make every religious act more elaborate and harder. The tonsure of the head and beard was prescribed for a sacrificer

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(Continued from the last page)

p. 23 (which states 'सुसंयतः पूर्वेद्युरेव कृतैकभक्तादिनियम इति केचित्, ब्रह्मचर्यादियुक्त इति तु युक्तम्।'). In *Dinanath* v. *Hrishikesh* 18 C. W. N. 1303 this passage of the Brahmapurāṇa is quoted and relied upon. These verses occur in नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 24-25). The स्कन्दपु. (काशीखण्ड 6. 56-57) and पद्म have similar verses: तीर्थयात्रां चिकीर्षुः प्राग्विधायोपोषणं गृहे। गणेशं च पितॄन् विप्रान् साधून् शक्त्या प्रपूज्य च। कृतपारणको हृष्टो गच्छेन्नियमधृक् पुनः। आगत्याभ्यर्च्य च पितॄन् यथोक्तफलभाग्भवेत्॥ पद्म, उत्तरखण्ड 237. 36-38. ब्रह्म 76. 18-19 provide नान्दीमुखश्राद्ध, देहशुद्धि, ब्राह्मणभोजन, remaining celebate and not talking with *patita* people, when one is on a pilgrimage to गोदावरी.

1295. उद्यतश्चेद्गयां गन्तुं श्राद्धं कृत्वा विधानतः। विधाय कार्पटीवेषं कृत्वा ग्रामं प्रदक्षिणम्। ततो ग्रामान्तरं गत्वा श्राद्धशेषस्य भोजनम्। वायुपु. 110. 2-3, q. by तीर्थचि. p. 7, तीर्थप्र. p. 29 (which explains 'कार्पटीवेषः ताम्रमुद्राताम्रकङ्कणकाषायवस्त्रधारणम्।'). The तीर्थचि. remarks that although these requirements are mentioned in connection with Gayā, these hold good as to pilgrimages to all holy places. Besides, this kārpaṭika apparel is to be worn only when actually travelling and not when the pilgrim performs his daily duties or takes his meals or offers śrāddha.

1296. तीर्थोपवासः कर्तव्यः शिरसो मुण्डनं तथा। शिरोगतानि पापानि यान्ति मुण्डनतो यतः। पद्म (उत्तरखण्ड 237. 45), स्कन्द (काशीखण्ड 6. 65).

1297. तीर्थोपवासस्य फलविशेषार्थः। तीर्थमभिगम्य ह्यतोपवासानियमयुक्तस्त्र्यहमेकाहमामभिरात्रमुषित्वा सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते स्वस्तिमांश्च भवतीति देवलवचनात्। तीर्थकल्प० p. 11.

when undertaking such solemn Vedic sacrifices as Cāturmāsyas and Agniṣṭoma.[1298] The termination of the stage of Vedic studenthood (*samāvartana*) was also marked by tonsure.[1299] Further, tonsure was prescribed when undergoing prāyaścitta for sins (vide p. 122 above). The Tīr. C. and Tīr. Pr. both quote a verse of Viṣṇu [1300] from the Smṛtisamuccaya, viz. 'at Prayāga, on a pilgrimage, on the death of one's father or mother one should cut one's hair; but one should not cut one's hair without cause.' The Mit. on Yāj. III. 17 quotes a verse as follows: 'On the Ganges, in Bhāskarakṣetra, on the death of one's father, mother and *guru*, at the time of consecrating Vedic fires and at a *soma* sacrifice—tonsure is prescribed in these seven cases. Some read 'ṣaṭsu' and therefore they take the first two words as meaning 'on the Ganges only at Prayāga.' Both Tīr. C. and Tīr. Pr. quote a verse [1301] which says that tonsure and fast are acts that must be done at all tīrthas except at Kurukṣetra, Viśālā (Ujjayinī or Badarikā), Virajā (river in Orissa) and Gayā.' In the case of a snātaka, all the hair except the top-knot is cut and

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1298. Vide Sat. Br II. 6. 3. 14 ff. (S. B. E. vol. 12 pp. 448).

1299. Pāraskara gṛ. II. 6. 17, Khādira gṛ. III. 1. 2. 23, Śāṅ. gṛ. III. 1. 1–2 (S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 314, p. 408, p. 91 respectively). The Khādira gṛ. is 'prāśya vāpayet śikhāvarjam keśaśmaśrulomanakhāni.'

1300. मनुष्याणां तु पापानि तीर्थानि प्रतिगच्छताम्। केशानाश्रित्य तिष्ठन्ति तस्मात्तद्वपनं चरेत्॥ पद्म, पातालखण्ड 19. 21; उपवासदिने मुण्डनमपि। प्रयागे तीर्थयात्रायां पितृमातृवियोगतः। कचानां वपनं कुर्याद्वृथा न विकचो भवेत्॥ इति स्मृतिसमुच्चयधृतविष्णुलिखितवचनात्। तीर्थचि. p. 7. तीर्थप्र. p. 28. This verse is नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 28. The मिता. on या. III. 17 quotes the following verse: गङ्गायां भास्करक्षेत्रे मातापित्रोर्गुरोर्मृतौ। आधानकाले सोमे च वपनं सप्तसु स्मृतम्॥'. भास्करक्षेत्र is प्रयाग acc. to some and कोणार्क acc. to others. It is not correct to translate 'ādhāne' as 'in the Garbhādhāna ceremony' (as Dr. Chaudhuri does on p. 55 of his English Intro. to गङ्गावाक्या०). आधान by itself in धर्मशास्त्र works generally means अग्न्याधान. गर्भाधान is referred to by the word निषेक or गर्भाधान itself. भास्करक्षेत्र is really कोणार्क and not प्रयाग, which latter is called प्रजापतिक्षेत्र in मत्स्य 104.5 and 111. 14.

1301. मुण्डनं चोपवासश्च सर्वतीर्थेष्वयं विधिः। वर्जयित्वा कुरुक्षेत्रं विशालां विरजां गयाम्॥ वायुपु. 105. 25 q. by तीर्थचि. p. 14 (ascribes to स्कन्दपुराण). तीर्थप्र. p. 50 (ascribes to देवल and स्कन्द). The तीर्थप्र. (p. 50) refers to the view of तीर्थकल्प० 'यद्यपि कल्पतरुकारेण तीर्थे मुण्डनं नोक्तं न वा तत्र प्रमाणं दर्शितं तथापि मुण्डनं चोपवासश्चेत्यादिवाक्यस्य सकलशिष्टपरिगृहीतत्वात्तत्कर्तव्यमेव'. The तीर्थचि. p. 32 also does the same. In the गंगावाक्या० second half is read as वर्जयित्वा गयां गङ्गां विशालां विरजां तथा॥ and is said to be from स्कन्दपुराण. The बालम्भट्टी on या. III. 17 explains विरजं as दक्षिणदेशस्थं लोणारक्षेत्रमपि विरजमित्यादित्यपुराणे.' The first half is अत्रि 115. 7 and the whole verse is ascribed to अग्निपुराण by the पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय folio 141a and occurs also in नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 45.

in the case of women whose husbands are living only two finger-breadths of hair are cut. Vṛddha-Hārīta (IX. 386–387) lays down that in the case of women whose husbands are living tonsure of the head should not be carried out, but that holding up all their hair only three finger-breadths should be cut off. Other smṛtis like Āpastamba in verse (I. 33–34), Aṅgiras verse 163, Yama 54–55, Parāśara q. by the Mitākṣarā on Yāj. III. 263–264 lay down that tonsure is limited to the cutting of two finger-breadths of hair in the case of woman (*nārī*). Par. M.[1302] II. 1. p. 291 reads 'evam nārīkumārīṇām' and holds that nārī means here 'a woman whose husband is alive'. Although the smṛti passages occur in the section on prāyaścitta still by analogy they are to be applied to the tonsure in holy places. As regards widows, ascetics[1303] and śūdras all hair are to be cut. The Tīrthaprakāśa finds fault with Vācaspatimiśra for saying that there is no tonsure on the Ganges. When there is such a conflict of views, the final decision rests with the usage of each country or the individual's choice. The Tīr. K. (p. 10) appears to hold that honouring the pitṛs at the time of starting on a pilgrimage is specially obligatory on a man with means. The texts make a difference between *kṣaura* and *muṇḍana*. The latter means 'shaving the hair on the head as well as the moustache and beard,' while kṣaura means only shaving the head. Therefore the Nāradīya says that all sages did not prohibit kṣaura even at Gayā but only muṇḍana is forbidden there[1303a] and there is no muṇḍana on the Ganges anywhere except at Prayāga. The Tīrthenduśekhara (p. 7) gives it as its opinion that tonsure and fast are not obligatory but are only kāmya (i. e. to be done if certain rewards are desired) and points out that śiṣṭas do not resort to these two at many tīrthas.

1302. स्त्रीणां पराशरेण विशेषोऽभिहितः। वपनं नैव नारीणां... सर्वान्केशान्समुद्धृत्य छेदयेदङ्गुलिद्वयम्। सर्वत्रैवं हि नारीणां शिरसो मुण्डनं स्मृतम्॥ मिता. on या. III. 263–264; सर्वान् केशान्... मुण्डनं भवेत्॥ इत्यस्य प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणे श्रुतस्याकांक्षातौल्येनात्राप्यन्वयात्। प्रयागादावपि तासां द्व्यङ्गुलकेशाग्रकर्तनमात्रं वपनम्। तीर्थप्र. pp. 50–51.

1303. यतिः शूद्रश्च विधवा सशिखं वपनं चरेत्। इति दाक्षिणात्याः। वाचस्पतिमिश्रास्तु–वर्जयित्वा गयां गङ्गां विशालां विरजां तथा–इति पठित्वा गङ्गायां न मुण्डनमिति प्रलपन्ति। तच्च साधीयः। अस्य पाठस्य शिष्टैरपरिग्रहात्। तीर्थप्र. p. 51.

1303 a. गयादावपि देवेशि श्मश्रूणां वपनं विना। न क्षौरं मुनिभिः सर्वैर्निषिद्धं चेति कीर्तितम्॥ सश्मश्रुकेशवपनं मुण्डनं तद्विदुर्बुधाः। न क्षौरं मुण्डनं शुभ्रु कीर्तितं वेदवेदिभिः॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 54–55. प्रयागव्यतिरेके तु गङ्गायां मुण्डनं नहि। *ibid* chap. 62.52.

The Purāṇas and digests devote some attention to the mode of travel. The Matsya (106. 4-6) states that [1304] if a pilgrim goes to Prayāga in a conveyance drawn by bulls he falls into hell and his pitṛs do not accept the water offered by him at the holy place and if a pilgrim because of riches or avarice or foolishness goes in a conveyance (not drawn by bulls) all his effort (as a pilgrim) becomes fruitless and therefore a pilgrim should avoid journey in a conveyance. According to the Kalpataru (on Tīrtha p. 11) using a conveyance is forbidden only in the case of pilgrimage to Prayāga (and not in the case of other tīrthas), while the Tīr. C. (p. 8) and Tīr. Pr. (p. 45) quote a verse [1305] which provides that if a pilgrim uses a cart drawn by bulls he is guilty of *govadha* (killing a cow), if he travels on horse-back (or in a horse-drawn carriage) his pilgrimage yields no fruit, if he is carried by men (in a palanquin or the like) he secures only half the merit but if he travels bare-footed then he wins the full merit. The Padma-purāṇa (IV. 19. 27) has a similar verse. The Tīr. Pr. p. 34 quotes a verse from the Kūrmapurāṇa that those who are unable to perform a pilgrimage otherwise do not incur blame (or loss) by making use of a conveyance drawn by men or a chariot which is drawn by mules or horses. Similarly, a verse of the Viṣṇupurāṇa [1306] quoted by both Tīr. C. and Tīr. Pr. (pp. 34-35) provides that one should always go on a journey wearing shoes and holding an umbrella in the rains or in summer and armed with a staff at night or in a forest. The Viṣṇudharmottara takes a more practical view when it says that to make a pil-

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1304. प्रयागतीर्थयात्रार्थी यः प्रयाति नरः क्वचित्। बलीवर्दसमारूढः शृणु तस्यापि यत्फलम्॥ नरके वसते घोरे गवां क्रोधो हि दारुणः। सलिलं न च गृह्णन्ति पितरस्तस्य देहिनः॥ ऐश्वर्यलाभमोहाद्वा गच्छेद्यानेन यो नरः। निष्फलं तस्य तत्सर्वं तस्माद्यानं विवर्जयेत्॥ मत्स्य. 106. 4-5 and 7. These verses are quoted by तीर्थचि. p. 8 (its reading ऐश्वर्यलाभमाहात्म्यात् is better) and तीर्थप्र. pp. 33-34. The verse ऐश्वर्यलाभमाहात्म्यात्° is q. by प्राय. तत्त्व p. 492. The कूर्म (I. 37. 4-5) has the verse ऐश्वर्याल्लोभमोहाद्वा।... वर्जयेत्. The [illegible]° p. 13 reads ऐश्वर्यमदमोहेन and remarks 'मत्स्यपुराणीयवचनस्य प्रयागयात्राप्रकरणस्थत्वात् ऐश्वर्यमदशून्यस्यैव प्रयागगमनेपि दोषाभावः।.'

1305. गोयाने गोवधः प्रोक्तो हययाने तु निष्फलम्। नरयाने तदर्धं स्यात् पद्भ्यां तच्च चतुर्गुणम्॥ q. by [illegible]° p. 13, तीर्थचि. and तीर्थप्र.; 'उपानद्भ्यां चतुर्थांशं गोयाने गोवधादिकम्' पद्म° IV. 19.27.

1306. वर्षातपादिके छत्री दण्डी रात्र्यटवीषु च। शरीरत्राणकामो वै सोपानत्कः सदा व्रजेत्॥ इति विष्णुपुराणीयवचनेन निष्प्रतिपक्षसदाशब्दस्वरसात् तीर्थयात्रायामपि उपानत्परिधानमावश्यकमिति। तीर्थचि. pp. 8-9. This verse is विष्णुपु. III. 12. 38; नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 35 is almost the same; तीर्थानुसरणं पद्भ्यां तपः परमिहोच्यते। तदेव कृत्वा यानेन स्नानमात्रफलं लभेत्॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 273. 11-12.

grimage on foot is the highest *tapas* (austerity) and that if a pilgrimage be made in a conveyance the pilgrim will reap only the reward of the bath. The Tīr. Pr. (p. 35) allows the use of a vessel to reach holy places like Gaṅgāsāgara which cannot be reached otherwise.

The Tristhalī-setu (pp. 1–3) has a long discussion about the *saṅkalpa*[1307] (declaration) to be made at the time of starting on a pilgrimage. The conclusions reached are that the declaration should not include the names of all the holy places intended to be visited, but should expressly state the last one up to which one desires to go, that persons from southern or western India should make a *saṅkalpa* about Gayā (and pilgrimage to Prayāga and Kāśī will be implied) and that a person from East India should make a saṅkalpa about Prayāga (and pilgrimage to Gayā and Kāśī will be included as a matter of course) and that (as an alternative method) a man from south or west India should at first make a saṅkalpa about pilgrimage to Prayāga, then while in Prayāga he should make a saṅkalpa about visiting Kāśī and then in Kāśī he should make a saṅkalpa about visiting Gayā.. A pilgrim from Eastern India should first make a saṅkalpa about Gayā, then, while in Gayā, he should make one about Kāśī and so on. The Tīrthaprakāśa (p. 326) appears to criticize the first method proposed by the Tristhalīsetu and states its own view to be that those who intend to visit many sacred places should make a saṅkalpa in the form 'I shall perform pilgrimage' (Tīrtha-yātrāmahaṁ kariṣye). The Tīrthaprakāśa, however, approves of the second method proposed as an alternative.

That the merit of a pilgrimage could be collected in a vicarious manner is laid down by the Smṛtis and Purāṇas. Atri (50–51) provides [1308] 'He for whom an effigy made with kuśa grass intending it as a representative is dipped in the waters of a holy place secures one-eighth part of the merit (that he would have secured by himself bathing in the waters). If a man takes a bath (in a holy place) having in view (the benefit

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1307. The saṅkalpa may take the form ओं अद्य प्रतिपदमश्वमेधयज्ञजन्यफलसमफलप्राप्तिकामोऽमुकतीर्थयात्रामहं करिष्ये।

1308. प्रतिकृतिं कुशमयीं तीर्थवारिषु मज्जयेत्। यमुद्दिश्य निमज्जेत अष्टभागं लभेत सः॥ मातरं पितरं वापि भ्रातरं सुहृदं गुरुम्। यमुद्दिश्य निमज्जेत द्वादशांशफलं लभेत् । अत्रि 50–51. The first verse is quoted as पैठीनसि's by तीर्थकल्प० p. 11 and by तीर्थचि. pp. 13–14 and occurs in स्कन्द (काशी० 6. 64); the 2nd is q. by प्राय. तत्त्व. 492, as from अत्रि. The गङ्गावाक्यावली (p. 59) reads लभेत्तु सः and attributes it to गरुडपुराण

of his mother, father, brother, friend or guru, these latter receive one-twelfth of the fruit (of the pilgrimage). Another verse of Paiṭhīnasi says that he who visits a holy place for money (wages) from another gets only a 16th part of the merit, but he who goes to a tīrtha while bent on another purpose or errand (such as study, business, waiting on a guru)[1309] reaps only half the merit. The Viṣṇudharmottara has a similar verse. It was owing to this idea of collecting merit and God's Grace that wealthy men built *Dharmaśālās*, *tanks*, and *annasattras* and wells for the conveniences of pilgrims and the planting of trees by the sides of roads had in view the comfort of pilgrims as well as of the general public. The Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa remarks 'A wealthy man who enables another to perform pilgrimage by providing his own money or conveyances gets one-fourth of the merit of the pilgrimage.'[1310]

The Prāyaścittatattva of Raghunandana quotes from the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa some verses which enumerate fourteen acts that a pilgrim has to give up after reaching the Ganges viz. *śauca* (punctilious performance of bodily purification), ācamana (sipping water on various occasions in the day), hair (dressing), wearing *nirmālya* (flowers taken away after being offered in worship), repeating the Aghamarṣaṇa hymn (Ṛg. 190. 1–3), shampooing the body, sports, acceptance of gifts, sexual dalliance, devotion to another tīrtha, praising another tīrtha, the gift to others of clothes (worn by oneself), striking any one and swimming across the water of the *tīrtha*.

One noticeable rule is that, though Manu III. 149 requires strict examination of the ancestry and learning of brāhmaṇas to be invited at a śrāddha, some of the Purāṇas provide[1311] that

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1309. पैठीनसिः। षोडशांशं स लभते यः परार्थेन गच्छति। अर्धं तीर्थफलं तस्य यः प्रसङ्गेन गच्छति। तीर्थकल्प. p. 11, प्राय. तत्त्व. p. 492 (explains परार्थेन वेतनादिना प्रसङ्गेन उद्देश्यान्तरप्रसङ्गेन), तीर्थप्र. p. 36 (प्रसङ्गोत्र गुरुसेवाध्ययनवाणिज्यादिरेव विहिताविहितरूपः). This is found in स्कन्द (काशी० chap. 6.63). The first half is पद्म VI. 237. 43.

1310. यश्चान्यं कारयेत् शक्त्या तीर्थयात्रां तथेश्वरः। स्वकीयद्रव्ययानाभ्यां तस्य पुण्यं चतुर्गुणम्॥ प्रभासखण्ड q. by तीर्थप्र. p. 36; तीर्थं प्राप्यानुषङ्गेण स्नानं तीर्थे समाचरेत्। स्नानजं फलमाप्नोति तीर्थयात्राफलं न तु॥ शङ्ख 8.12 q. by स्मृतिच. I. p. 132 and कल्पतरु (तीर्थ) p. 11. Almost the same verse occurs in पद्मपु. VI. 237. 41–42; vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 273.10 for a similar verse.

1311. तीर्थेषु ब्राह्मणं नैव परीक्षेत कथंचन। अन्नार्थिनमनुप्राप्तं भोज्यं तं मनुरब्रवीत्॥ पद्म V. 29.212 and देवीपुराण q. by तीर्थकल्प० p. 10; ब्राह्मणान्न परीक्षेत श्राद्धे क्षेत्रनिवासिनः। सुमहान्परिवादोऽस्य ब्राह्मणानां परीक्षणे॥ स्कन्द० (प्रभासखण्ड) quoted by पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय folio 130 b; न परीक्ष्यो द्विजस्तीर्थेऽन्नार्थी भोज्य एव च। सक्तुभिः पिण्डदानं च चरुणा पायसेन वा। स्कन्द० (काशी० 6. 56–57).

one should not enter upon an examination of the worth of brāhmaṇas at holy places and this view is endorsed by several digests such as the Kalpataru on tīrtha (p. 10), the Tīr. C. (p. 10) and the Tīr. Pr. (p. 73). The last work remarks that brāhmaṇas who are known for certain to possess defects deserving condemnation should be avoided. The Varāhapurāṇa goes[1312] so far as to say that at Mathurā a pilgrim should prefer to honour a brāhmaṇa born and bred up in Mathurā rather than a brāhmaṇa who has studied the four Vedas (but is a stranger to Mathurā). Similar passages from the Vāyu and Skandapurāṇa have been quoted above in note 910 and there is another similar passage in Skanda. It is provided by the Vāyupurāṇa[1313] that when a son goes to Gayā, he should invite only those brāhmaṇas that have been settled in Gayā by Brahmā and that such brāhmaṇas are above ordinary mortals, that when they are gratified the gods together with one's *pitṛs* become pleased, that one should not enter upon a consideration of their family, their character, their learning or their austerities and that when the Gayā brāhmaṇas are honoured the man doing so secures release (from saṁsāra). In Vāyu 106. 73–84 and Agni 114. 33–39 and Garuḍa it is narrated that, after Gayāsura fell down and asked for boons which were granted by Viṣṇu, Brahmā bestowed upon the Gayā brāhmaṇas 55 villages and Gayātīrtha extending over five *krośas*, gave them well-appointed houses, desire-yielding cows and trees, but he enjoined on them not to beg or accept a gift from others. The brāhmaṇas, however, greedy as they were, officiated at a sacrifice performed by Dharma (Yama) and begged him for fees and accepted them. Then Brahmā cursed them that they would always be in debt and took away the Kāmadhenu and Kalpavṛkṣa and other gifts. The Agnipurāṇa [1314] (114. 37) adds that Brahmā cursed them to be bereft of all learning and to be full of greed. The brāhmaṇas then begged Brahmā to favour them with some means of livelihood (as they had been deprived by the curse of Brahmā of all that had been bestowed on them). Brahmā pitied them and told them that they would maintain themselves at Gayā-tīrtha

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1312. चतुर्वेदं परित्यज्य माथुरं पूजयेत्सदा। मथुरायां ये वसन्ति विष्णुरूपा हि ते नराः। ज्ञानिनस्तान् हि पश्यन्ति अज्ञाः पश्यन्ति तान्न हि। वराह 165. 57–58.

1313. यदि पुत्रो गयां गच्छेत्कदाचित्कालपर्ययात्। तानेव भोजयेद्विप्रान् ब्रह्मणा ये प्रकल्पिताः। अमानुषतया विप्रा ब्राह्मणा (ब्रह्मणा?) ये प्रकल्पिताः। वायु 82. 25–27.

1314 शपिता यदि गयायां ते शप्तास्ते ब्रह्मणा तदा। विद्याविवर्जिता यूयं तृष्णायुक्ता भविष्यथ॥ अग्नि 114. 36–37.

till the end of the world and that those who would perform śrāddha at Gayā and worship them (by engaging them as officiating priests and pay them) would secure the merit of having worshipped Brahmā. From this it is clear that the Gayā brāhmaṇas at the time of the composition of the section on Gayā at the end of the Vāyupurāṇa possessed the same characteristics as the modern Gayā brāhmaṇas (Gayāls or Gayāwals as they are called) and made the Gayā pilgrimage their business even then (as now). One of the early historic references to Gayāl brāhmaṇas occurs in the Śaktipur copper-plate of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal in his 6th year (i. e. about 1183 A. D.)[1315].

The result of this teaching of the Purāṇas was that the brāhmaṇas at Gayā became a guild or a close corporation and the Gayāwals resent the intrusion of an outsider. Disputes between Gayāwals and outside priests and cases of Gayāwals have come before the courts and have gone up even to the Privy Council in England. It has been a usage for orthodox Hindu pilgrims going to Gayā to shave themselves at the river called Punpun,[1315a] then on arrival at Gayā to worship the feet of one of the Gayāwal brāhmaṇas. The Gayāwal himself or his agent takes the pilgrim to the sacred spots (Vedīs) in and around Gayā. The priest is paid a fat fee near the Akṣaya-vaṭa and the Gayāwal puts a garland of flowers on the folded hands of the pilgrim and pronounces the word 'suphala' and utters a blessing that the pilgrim's ancestors would go to heaven on account of the pilgrim's visit to Gayā. In order to keep this business in their own families the Gayāwals have adopted loose and peculiar customs. If a Gayāwal is sonless he makes a gift of his office (called *gādi* or *gaddi*) to another Gayāwal, who describes himself as the adopted son of the Gayāwal making the gift. There is no real adoption in the strict sense. Therefore, the so called adopted son retains his rights in the family of birth, he is not severed from his natural family and it is not rare to find that one Gayāwal claims to have succeeded to four *gādis* (i. e. claims to be the son adopted by several persons simultaneously). The Gayāwals have got books in which they enter the names and addresses of

1315. Vide E. I. vol. XXI. p. 211 at p. 219 'श्रीबल्लालसेनदेवप्रदत्त-गयाल-ब्राह्मणहरिदासेन प्रतिगृहीतपञ्चशतोत्पत्तिकक्षेत्रपाटकाभिधानशासनानीनेमयेन.'

1315 a. The गरुडपुराण says: वाराणस्यां कृतश्राद्धस्तीर्थे शोणनदे तथा। पुनःपुनर्महानद्यां श्राद्धं स्वर्गं पितॄन्नयेत्॥ q. in पृथ्वीच. folio 141 a.

their clients, who sign such entries and enjoin upon their descendants to make members of that particular Gayāwal family their *gurus* whenever they might visit Gayā. Thus large incomes and properties come to the hands of the Gayāwals. They send their agents throughout India, who bring as many pilgrims as possible. In *Lachman Lal* v. *Kanhaya Lal* the Privy [1316] Council had to deal with the case of a Gayāwal who claimed to be an adopted son without loss of his interest in the property of the natural family on the ground of these peculiar practices of the Gayāwals and that claim was upheld. In *Lachman Lal* v. *Baldeo Lal* [1317] the Patna High Court gives a brief summary of the origin, history and customs of the Gayāwals, remarks that though in former times there were several hundred families of Gayāwals their number is now reduced to about 150, that the Gayāwals so-called *gaddi* is not a hereditary office, but only a business to which a goodwill is attached. The Calcutta High Court decided in *Dwarkanath Misser* [1318] v. *Rampertab Misser* that persons who require religious ceremonies to be performed for their benefit are at liberty to choose the priest by whom they shall be performed, that plaintiffs are not entitled to a declaration that they along with defendants are exclusively entitled to officiate as priests when pilgrims, on their way to the holy city of Gaya, perform the śrāddha ceremony of their ancestors on the bank of the sacred river Punpun, and that the plaintiffs could be given a declaration that they are entitled to officiate as priests for such pilgrims as may choose to employ them for the purpose of religious ceremonies and that the defendants are not entitled to prevent the plaintiffs from the exercise of their calling. In *Narayan Lal* [1319] v. *Chulhan Lal* the Calcutta High Court decided how the books containing the names and addresses of pilgrims kept by a joint family of Gayāwals were to be divided at the time of the partition of all the properties of the family.

The literature on tīrthas is probably far more extensive than on any other single topic of Dharmaśāstra. Not to mention the Vedic Literature, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas

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1316. 22 Cal. 609 at pp. 615–618 (P. C.) = 22 I. A. 51.

1317. 2 Patna Law Journal 705.

1318. 13 C. L. J. p. 449.

1319. 15 C. L. J. p. 376.

contain on a very modest calculation at least 40000 verses on tīrthas, sub-tīrthas and legends connected with them. In the Vanaparva (chap. 82–156) and Śalyaparva (chap. 35–54) alone there are about 3900 verses on *tīrthayātrā*. To mention only a few of the Purāṇas, the Brahmapurāṇa devotes about 6700 verses (i. e. nearly half of its total extent of 13783 verses) to tīrthas, the Padma about 4000 verses out of the 31000 verses of the first five khaṇḍas, the Varāhapurāṇa devotes about 3182 verses to tīrthas (out of which about 1400 refer to Mathurā) out of about 9614 verses, the Matsya about 1200 verses out of 14002. Besides these, the following well-known digests and works on tīrthas deserve mention. The Tīrthavivecana-kāṇḍa of the Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara (G. O. S. series); the Caturvarga-[1320] cintāmaṇi of Hemādri (1260–1270 A. D.) contained a section on tīrthas (no Ms. has yet been discovered); the Tīrthacintāmaṇi of Vācaspati (1450–1480 A. D.) published in B. I. series; the Tīrthasāra, part of Nṛsiṁhaprasāda about 1500 A. D. (published in the Sarasvatī-bhavana series); the Tristhalīsetu of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (about 1550–1580 A. D.) printed by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona; Tīrthasaukhya, a part of Ṭodarānanda (1565-1589 A. D.); Tīrthatattva or Tīrthayātrāvidhitattva of Raghunandana whose literary activity lies between 1520–1570 A. D. (printed in Bengali characters and over and above the 28 *tattvas* of his Smṛtitattva); Tīrthaprakāśa by Mitramiśra about 1610–1640 (published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series); the Tristhalīsetusāra-saṅgraha of Bhaṭṭoji (about 1625); Tristhalīsetusāra-saṅgraha of Nāgeśa; the Tīrthenduśekhara of Nāgeśa or Nāgoji (published in the Sarasvatībhavana series, Benares, 1936). There are several works on tīrthas (not yet printed) mentioned in H. of Dh. vol. 1. p. 554, of which the Tīrtharatnākara of Anantabhaṭṭa composed at the order of Anūpasiṁha is probably the largest work on tīrthas (ms. no. 1822 in the Anup Library at Bikaner). Besides these there are special works on indivi-

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1320. Vide H. of Dh. vol. 1 p. 354 n. 838 which shows that Hemādrī had completed his section on tīrtha when he commenced the Pariśeṣa-khaṇḍa. It may be noted that the त्रिस्थलीसेतु and the तीर्थप्रकाश had the work of Hemādri on tīrtha before them. For examples, the त्रिस्थलीसेतु p. 53 'तथा च हेमाद्र्यादिध्यादिपुराणवाक्यानि ब्राह्मणस्यापि मरणविधायकानि', p. 55 'विशेषस्तु हेमाद्रीयशरीरोत्सर्गविधेरवगन्तव्यः', the तीर्थप्रकाश pp. 122, 123, 136, 377 refer to हेमाद्रि's quotations from the स्कन्दपुराण, भविष्यपुराण, जाबालोपनिषद् and कूर्मपुराण respectively, which unmistakably refer to *tīrthas* and p. 478 speaks of तीर्थहेमाद्रि.

dual tīrthas such as the Gaṅgā-vākyāvali[1321] (on the Ganges) of Vidyāpati (1400-1450 A. D.) published by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri; Kāśīmṛtimokṣa-vicāra of Sureśvarācārya (published in the Sarasvatībhavana Texts series, Benares 1936); the Gayāśrāddha-paddhati of Raghunandana, the Puruṣottama-kṣetratattva of Raghunandana (published by Jivananda). Only printed works have been drawn upon in this work (except where expressly stated otherwise).

The preliminaries before starting on a pilgrimage to any tīrtha prescribed by the purāṇas and digests may be brought together. On a certain day (when a person has decided on tīrtha-yātrā) he should take only one meal, then the next day he should shave himself (according to most digests) and observe a fast; then on the day after the fast he should perform his daily duties, should make a *saṅkalpa* (declaration of intention) in the form 'I shall perform a pilgrimage to such and such a place and I shall worship Gaṇeśa and my favourite deities for the accomplishment of the pilgrimage without obstacles'; offer worship to Gaṇeśa, to the planets (nine) and his favourite deities with five or sixteen upacāras,[1322] then perform a pārvaṇa-śrāddha with plenty of ghee according to his own gṛhyasūtra, honour three brāhmaṇas at least and donate some money to them. Then he should put on a pilgrim's dress as described above (p. 573), go round the village in which his house is located (or at least round his own house), reach another village not more distant than one *krośa* (two or two and half miles) and break his fast by eating the remainder of the food cooked and ghee used for the śrāddha (this applies to pilgrimage to Gayā). He may break his fast

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1321. The last verse of the Gaṅgāvākyāvalī is क्रियानिबन्धमालोक्य श्रीविद्यापतिसूरिणा । गङ्गावाक्यावली देव्याः प्रमाणैर्विमलीकृता ॥. This verse shows that the famous Maithila scholar Vidyāpati at least provides the authorities on which the work is based. Some scholars hold that it is really Vidyāpati who wrote the work for commemorating the queen who had honoured and patronized him. The 2nd Introductory verse claims the work as Viśvāsa-devī's own. In the दानवाक्यावली of धीरमति the last verse is निबन्धान् सम्यगालोक्य...सूरिणा। दानवाक्यावली देव्याः...कृता॥ (D. C. ms. No. 216 of 1881-82.

1322. For the sixteen and five *upacāras*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 729-730. The ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराण (Ānandāśrama ed.), ब्रह्मखण्ड, chap. 26.90-92 mention 16, 12 or five upacāras as follows: आसनं वसनं पाद्यमर्घ्यमाचमनीयकम्। पुष्पं चन्दनधूपं च दीपं नैवेद्यमुत्तमम्॥ गन्धं माल्यं च शय्यां च ललितां सुविलक्षणाम्। जलमन्नं च ताम्बूलं साधारं देयमेव च। गन्धान्नतल्पताम्बूलं विना द्रव्याणि द्वादश। पाद्यार्घ्यजलनैवेद्यपुष्पाण्येतानि पञ्च च॥.

in his own house (in the case of other tīrthas) and then start. Then the next day he should bathe with pure clothes on and then put on his pilgrim dress and start on his pilgrimage in the forenoon with his face to the east, preferably bare-footed. There are two views here. Some say that on the day on which a man reaches a tīrtha he should observe a fast, while the other view is that the pilgrim should fast on the day previous to his reaching the *tīrtha.* In the first case he will have to perform a śrāddha on the day of the fast and in that case he cannot actually taste the remnants of śrāddha food but should only smell the cooked food. The Kalpataru (on tīrtha p. 11) and the Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi (p. 14) quote Devala for the proposition that a fast on reaching a tīrtha is not obligatory, but if observed yields special merit.

CHAPTER XII

THE GANGES

Since the Ganges is the holiest of rivers and since such highly esteemed tīrthas as Kanakhala, Haridvāra, Prayāga and Kāśī are situated on it, it would be most proper to begin the treatment of individual tīrthas with the Ganges.

It has been already seen (p. 556) how the Ganges is the first among the many rivers invoked in the famous *Nadīstuti* hymn (Ṛg. X. 75.5–6). In Ṛg.[1323] VI. 45.31 we have the word 'Gāṅgyaḥ' which most probably means 'growing on the Ganges'. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XIII. 5. 4. 11 and 13 and Ait. Br. 39. 9 the victories and sacrifices of Bharata Dauṣṣanti on the Gaṅgā and Yamunā are mentioned. In Śat. Br. XIII. 5.4.11 and 13 an ancient *gāthā* is quoted 'At Nāḍapit the Apsaras Śakuntalā conceived Bharata who after conquering the whole earth brought to Indra more than 1000 horses meet for sacrifice.' The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 26. 26–103) and the Purāṇas (such as Nāradīya, Uttarārdha, chap. 38–45 and 51. 1–48, Padma V. 60. 1–127, Agni chap. 110, Matsya chap. 180–185, Padma, Ādikhaṇḍa, chap. 33–37) contain hundreds of verses eulogising the greatness and the sanctifying activity of the Ganges. The Skandapurāṇa, Kāśīkhaṇḍa, chap. 29 (verses 17–168) contains one thousand names of the Ganges. It is not possible to reproduce here even a small fraction of what is said in these works about the Ganges. To most men in India great rivers like the Ganges, great mountains like the Himālaya present a double aspect, viz. the physical aspect and the spiritual aspect. A great river apart from its volume of water is deemed to have a spiritual or divine life which animates it. Tylor (in 'Primitive Culture', 2nd ed. p 477) observes 'What we call inanimate objects-rivers, stones, trees, weapons and so forth–are treated as living intelligent beings, talked to, propitiated, punished for the harm they do.' There are separate treatises devoted to the glorification of the Ganges and the pilgrimage to it such as the

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1323. अधि बृबुः पणीनां वर्षिष्ठे मूर्धन्नस्थात्। उरुः कक्षो न गाङ्ग्यः॥ ऋ. VI. 45. 31. The last pāda means 'like a broad patch of grass or bush growing on the banks of the Ganges'.

Gaṅgāpattalaka of Gaṇeśvara (1350 A. D.), Gaṅgāvākyāvalī of Viśvāsadevī, queen of king Padmasiṁha of Mithilā, the Gaṅgābhakti-taraṅgiṇī of Gaṇapati, the Gaṅgākṛtyaviveka of Vardhamāna. Vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 538 for the dates of some of these works.

The Vanaparva, chap. 85, has a grand eulogy of Gaṅgā in verses 88–97, some of which may be translated here[1324]. "The Ganges is equal to Kurukṣetra wherever one may take a bath in it, but there is a speciality about Kanakhala and in Prayāga there is the greatest and highest (holiness). If a person, after committing a hundred bad deeds, sprinkles himself with Ganges (water), the waters of the Ganges burn all of them as fire burns fuel. In the Kṛta age all (places) were holy, in Tretā age Puṣkara was (the holiest place), in Dvāpara Kurukṣetra and in the Kali age the Ganges. The Ganges, when its name is uttered, purifies a sinner, when seen it yields good fortune, when a bath is taken in it or its water is drunk, it sanctifies the family up to the seventh ancestor. As long as (a particle of) the bones of a man touches Ganges water (i. e. lies inside it), so long does the man remain happy (or honoured) in heaven. There is no holy place equal to the Ganges, there is no god higher than Keśava. That country and that penance-grove where the Ganges flows should be known as the sacred spot of success (or perfection) since it attaches itself to the Ganges." The Anuśāsana (26.26, 30–31) asserts 'those districts and countries, those hermitages and mountains, in the midst of which the Ganges flows are pre-eminent in *puṇya* (religious merit). Even those men who, after committing sinful acts in the first part of their lives, resort afterwards to the Ganges reach the highest world (or goal). That increase (in merit) which comes to men that bathe in the holy waters of the Ganges and that then become pure in spirit, cannot be secured

1324. कुरुक्षेत्रसमा गङ्गा यत्र तत्रावगाहिता। विशेषो वै कनखले प्रयागे परमं महत्॥ यद्यकार्यशतं कृत्वा कृतं गङ्गावसेचनम्। सर्वं तत्तस्य गङ्गापो दहत्यग्निरिवेन्धनम्॥ 88; सर्वं कृतयुगे पुण्यं त्रेतायां पुष्करं स्मृतम्। द्वापरेपि कुरुक्षेत्रं गङ्गा कलियुगे स्मृता॥...पुनाति कीर्तिता पापं दृष्टा भद्रं प्रयच्छति। अवगाढा च पीता च पुनात्यासप्तमं कुलम्॥ यावदस्थि मनुष्यस्य गङ्गायाः स्पृशते जलम्। तावत्स पुरुषो राजन् स्वर्गलोके महीयते॥ 94... न गङ्गासदृशं तीर्थं न देवः केशवात्परः।... यत्र गङ्गा महाराज स देशस्तत्तपोवनम्। सिद्धिक्षेत्रं च तज्ज्ञेयं गङ्गातीरसमाश्रितम्॥ वनपर्व 85.88–97 = पद्म I. 39.81--90. नारदीय. (उत्तर) 39. 46 is कुरुक्षेत्र... गाहिता। हरिद्वारे प्रयागे च सिन्धुसङ्गे फलाधिका॥. The नारदीयपु. (उत्तर) 38. 20 is कृते तु सर्वतीर्थानि त्रेतायां...कलौ गङ्गा विशिष्यते॥. The कूर्म. I. 27. 37 has कृते तु नैमिषं तीर्थं. The same verse is quoted from भविष्य by तीर्थचि. p. 191.

even by the performance of hundreds of solemn Vedic sacrifices.' [1325]

In the Bhagavadgītā (X. 31) Lord Kṛṣṇa says that among streams he is the Ganges (srotasāmasmi Jāhnavī). The Manusmṛti setting out an exordium to a witness to tell the truth indicates that the Ganges and Kurukṣetra were the most sacred spots in the age of the Manusmṛti.[1326] Some of the Purāṇas describe the Ganges as flowing in Heaven (as Mandākinī), on the earth (as Gaṅgā) and in the nether regions or Pātāla (as Bhogavatī). Vide Padma VI. 267. 47. The Viṣṇupurāṇa[1327] and other Purāṇas state that the Ganges springs from the toe-nail of the left foot of Viṣṇu. In some Purāṇas it is said that Śiva let off from his matted hair the Ganges in seven streams, three flowing towards the east (Nalinī, Hlādinī, Pāvanī), three to the west (Sītā, Cakṣus and Sindhu) and Bhāgīrathī (vide Matsya 121. 38-41, Brahmāṇḍa II. 18. 39-41, Padma I. 3. 65-66). The Kūrmapurāṇa (I.46.30-31) and Varāha (chap. 82 in prose) state that the Ganges flows first in four different streams, Sītā, Alakanandā, Sucakṣu and Bhadrā and that the Alakanandā flows towards the south, comes to Bhāratavarṣa and falls into the sea with seven mouths.[1328] In the Brahmapurāṇa (73. 68-69) the Ganges is described as sprung from the foot of Viṣṇu and as established in the matted hair of Maheśvara (Śiva).

The Viṣṇupurāṇa eulogises[1329] the Ganges as follows: The Ganges purifies all beings from day to day when its name is

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1325. स्नातानां शुचिभिस्तोयैः गाङ्गेयैः प्रयतात्मनाम्। व्युष्टिर्भवति या पुंसां न सा क्रतुशतैरपि॥ अनुशासन 26 31, नारद (उत्तर) 39. 30-31 and also 40. 64.

1326. यमो वैवस्वतो देवो यस्तवैष हृदि स्थितः। तेन चेदविवादस्ते मा गङ्गां मा कुरून्गमः॥ मनु 8. 92.

1327. वामपादाम्बुजाङ्गुष्ठनखस्रोतोविनिर्गताम्। विष्णोर्बिभर्ति यां भक्त्या शिरसाहर्निशं ध्रुवः॥ विष्णुपु. II. 8. 109, q. by कल्पतरु (तीर्थ) p. 161 (reads शिवः); नदी सा वैष्णवी प्रोक्ता विष्णुपादसमुद्भवा। पद्म V. 25. 188.

1328. तथैवालकनन्दा च दक्षिणादेत्य भारतम्। प्रयाति सागरं भित्त्वा सप्तभेदा द्विजोत्तमाः॥ कूर्म I. 46.31.

1329. श्रुताभिलषिता दृष्टा स्पृष्टा पीतावगाहिता। या पावयति भूतानि कीर्तिता च दिने दिने॥ गङ्गा गङ्गेति यैर्नाम योजनानां शतेष्वपि। स्थितैरुच्चारितं हन्ति पापं जन्मत्रयार्जितम्॥ विष्णुपु. II. 8. 120-121 q. by गङ्गावा. p. 110, तीर्थचि. p. 202, गङ्गाभक्ति० p. 9. The 2nd verse is variously read in पद्म VI. 21.8 and 23.12, ब्रह्म 175. 82 as गङ्गा...यो ब्रूयाद्योजनानां शतैरपि। मुच्यते सर्वपापेभ्यो विष्णुलोकं स गच्छति, while पद्म I. 31.77 reads ०शतैरपि। नरो न नरकं याति किं तया सदृशं भवेत्.

heard, when one desires to see (it), when it is seen or touched or when its waters are drunk or when one plunges into it or when one takes (or sings) its name; when people utter the name 'Ganges' even though living at a distance of hundreds of yojanas, their sins accumulated in three births are destroyed.' The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa[1330] has a similar verse 'one becomes free from sins at once by seeing the Ganges or touching it or drinking its water and by uttering the name Gaṅgā and also by remembering it.'[1331] The Matsya, Kūrma, Garuḍa and Padma remark that the Ganges is easy of access everywhere but is difficult to reach at three places viz. at Gaṅgādvāra (Haridvāra), at Prayāga and where it joins the sea and that those who bathe therein reach heaven and that those who die there are not born again. The Nāradīyapurāṇa, on the other hand, says that the Ganges is difficult of access everywhere, but much more so at three places. The man, whether desiring it or not, who draws near the Ganges and dies (near it) secures heaven and does not see hell (Matsya 107.4).[1332] The Kūrmapurāṇa represents that the Ganges[1333] is equal to all the 35 millions of holy places declared by Vāyu in the heaven, in mid region and on the earth and that all of them are represented by the Ganges. The Padmapurāṇa asks 'what is the use of sacrifices rich in large wealth, what is the use of very difficult austerities when there is the Ganges honoured easily and gracefully that yields Heaven and *mokṣa*'? A similar verse occurs in the Nāradīya-purāṇa 'what is the use of Yoga with its eight *aṅgas*, of austerities, of solemn (Vedic) sacrifices? Residence

1330. दर्शनात्स्पर्शनात्पानात् तथा गङ्गेति कीर्तनात्। स्मरणादेव गङ्गायाः सद्यः पापैः प्रमुच्यते॥ भविष्यपु. q. by तीर्थचि. p. 198, गङ्गावा. p. 12, गङ्गाभ० p. 9. The first half is अनुशासन 26.64, अग्निपु. 110.6; गच्छंस्तिष्ठञ् जपन्ध्यायन् भुञ्जन् जाग्रत् स्वपन् वदन्। यः स्मरेत् सततं गङ्गां सोऽपि मुच्येत बन्धनात्॥ स्कन्द (काशीखण्ड) पूर्वार्ध 27.37, नारद (उत्तर) 39. 16-17.

1331. सर्वत्र सुलभा गङ्गा त्रिषु स्थानेषु दुर्लभा। गङ्गाद्वारे प्रयागे च गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे॥ तत्र स्नात्वा दिवं यान्ति ये मृतास्तेऽपुनर्भवाः॥ मत्स्य. 106.54, कूर्म. I.37.34, गरुड (पूर्व०) 81. 1-2, पद्म V. 60.120. The नारदीय (उत्तर 40. 26-27) reads: सर्वत्र दुर्लभा गङ्गा त्रिषु स्थानेषु चाधिका। गङ्गाद्वारे...सङ्गमे॥ एषु स्नाता दिवं...र्भवाः॥.

1332. अकामो वा सकामो वा गङ्गायां योऽभिपद्यते। मृतस्तु लभते स्वर्गं नरकं च न पश्यति॥ मत्स्य. 107.4, q. by कल्पतरु (on तीर्थ) p. 145 (reads यो विपद्यते). कूर्म. I. 37.39 has the same verse with slight variations; compare पद्म I. 44.4.

1333. तिस्रः कोट्योऽर्धकोटी च तीर्थानां वायुरब्रवीत्। दिवि भुव्यन्तरिक्षे च तत्सर्वं जाह्नवी स्मृता॥ कूर्म I. 39.8, पद्म I. 47.7, V. 60. 59, मत्स्य. 102. 5 (reads तानि ते सन्ति जाह्नवि).

on the Ganges alone is superior to all these'[1334]. Two verses of the Matsya-purāṇa[1335] deserve mention here 'even a man of sinful deeds, on remembering the Ganges even at a distance of thousands of yojanas, attains the highest goal. A person is delivered from sin by uttering the name (of the Ganges), on seeing it a person sees happiness; by bathing in the Ganges and drinking its water he purifies his family up to the seventh ancestor'. It is stated in the Kāśīkhaṇḍa that on the banks of the glorious Ganges all times are auspicious as well as all countries, and all men are fit for receiving gifts.

In the Varāhapurāṇa (chap. 82) the name 'Gaṅgā' is derived as 'gām gatā' (that has gone to the earth). The Padmapurāṇa (Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 60. 64–65) specifies the *mūlamantra* about the Ganges as follows: 'Om namo Gaṅgāyai, viśvarūpiṇyai nārāyaṇyai namo namaḥ'.

The Padmapurāṇa (sṛṣṭi 60.35) holds that Viṣṇu represents all the gods and the Ganges represents Viṣṇu. It eulogises the Ganges as follows: Sons abandon their fathers, wives their husbands, friends and relatives abandon a friend or a relative if any one of these is adulterous, or *patita*, or wicked or becomes a cāṇḍāla or kills his *guru*, or is full of all kinds of sins and hatreds; but the Ganges does not forsake such persons[1336].

The extent of the holy region of the Ganges is laid down in some purāṇas. The Nāradīya[1337] states: the region

1334. किं यज्ञैर्बहुवित्ताढ्यैः किं तपोभिः सुदुष्करैः। स्वर्गमोक्षप्रदा गङ्गा सुखसौभाग्यपूजिता॥ पद्म V. 60.39; किमष्टाङ्गेन योगेन किं तपोभिः किमध्वरैः। वास एव हि गङ्गायां सर्वतोपि विशिष्यते॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 38.38, q. in तीर्थचि. p. 194 (reads गङ्गायां ब्रह्मज्ञानस्य कारणम्) and प्राय. तत्त्व. p. 498. The first verse किं यज्ञैः is quoted as from ब्रह्माण्ड by तीर्थचि. p. 195 (last pāda is सुखसेव्या यतः स्थिता).

1335. योजनानां सहस्रेषु गङ्गायाः स्मरणान्नरः। अपि दुष्कृतकर्मा तु लभते परमां गतिम्॥ कीर्तनान्मुच्यते पापाद् दृष्ट्वा भद्राणि पश्यति। अवगाह्य च पीत्वा तु पुनात्यासप्तमं कुलम्॥ मत्स्य. 104. 14–15 q. by कल्पतरु (तीर्थ) p. 160; vide also मत्स्य. 108.25–26. Compare वनपर्व 87. 93 (पुनाति कीर्तिता॰) quoted in n. 1324; सर्व एव शुभः कालः सर्वो देशस्तथा शुभः। सर्वो जनो दानपात्रं श्रीमतीजाह्नवीतटे॥ काशीखण्ड 27. 69.

1336. जारजं पतितं दुष्टमन्त्यजं गुरुघातिनम्। सर्वद्रोहेण संयुक्तं सर्वपातकसंयुतम्॥ त्यजन्ति पितरं पुत्राः प्रियं पत्न्यः सुहृद्गणाः। अन्ये च बान्धवाः सर्वे गङ्गा तान्न परित्यजेत्॥ पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड 60. 25–26).

1337. तीराद्गव्यूतिमात्रं तु परितः क्षेत्रमुच्यते। तीरं त्यक्त्वा वसेत्क्षेत्रे तीरे वासो न चेष्यते॥ एकयोजनविस्तीर्णा क्षेत्रसीमा तटद्वयात्। नारदीय (उत्तर) 43. 119–120. The first is quoted from स्कन्द by तीर्थचि. p. 266, which remarks 'उभयतटे प्रत्येकं क्रोशद्वयं क्षेत्रम्'. The half verse एक॰ is quoted from भविष्य by तीर्थचि. p. 267,

(*Continued on the next page*)

within one *gavyūti* from the banks of the Ganges is called *kṣetra*; one should reside within the kṣetra limits, but not on the bank itself; residence on the bank (of the Ganges) is not desired. The limits of the kṣetra are of the extent of one yojana between both the banks' i. e. the kṣetra extends for two krośas from each bank. The general rule is stated by Yama that forests, mountains, holy rivers and tīrthas are without an owner; these cannot be possessed (by a person as owner). The Brahmapurāṇa [1338] says that measuring from the flowing waters for a distance of four hastas, God Nārāyaṇa is the Lord (or owner) and no one should accept a gift in that strip even if he be on the point of death. A difference is made between the garbha (the inner circle) of the Gaṅgākṣetra, the tīra and the kṣetra. '*Garbha*' extends up to that portion of the river stream which is reached on the 14th of the dark half of Bhādrapada; beyond that is the *tīra* (bank), which extends upto *150 hastas* from garbha and kṣetra extends up to two krośas from each bank.

Let us suppose that the pilgrim has come to the Ganges. Then the question is, how is he to proceed about a bath in the Ganges. Many of the digests contain several alternate forms of the *saṅkalpa* to be made at the time of Gaṅgā-snāna. For example, the Prāyaścittatattva (pp. 497–498) contains a very elaborate saṅkalpa. A simple one is quoted below from the Gaṅgāvākyāvali.[1339] The mode of bathing prescribed in the

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(Continued from the last page)

गङ्गावा. p. 136. गव्यूति is a measure of length or distance generally taken as equal to two krośas. There was some difference about the measures of length. According to the Amarakośa a *gavyūti* is equal to two krośas 'गव्यूतिः स्त्री क्रोशयुगम्'. According to the वायु 8. 105–107 and 101. 122–126 and ब्रह्माण्ड II. 7. 96-101 the measures are 24 अङ्गुलs = one हस्त, 96 अङ्गुलs = धनुः (which is same as दण्ड, युग and नाली); 2000 धनुः = गव्यूति and 8000 धनुः = योजनः; acc. to the मार्कण्डेय 46. 37–40, 4 हस्तs = धनुः or दण्ड, or युग or नालिका); 2000 धनुः = क्रोश, 4 क्रोशs = गव्यूति which is the same as योजन. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 145 n. 185.

1338. प्रवाहमवधिं कृत्वा यावद्धस्तचतुष्टयम्। अत्र नारायणः स्वामी नान्यः स्वामी कदाचन॥ न तत्र प्रतिगृह्णीयात्प्राणैः कण्ठगतैरपि॥ भाद्रशुक्लचतुर्दश्यां यावदाक्रमते जलम्। तावद्गर्भं विजानीयात्तदूर्ध्वं तीरमुच्यते। नारद (उत्तर) 43. 116–118 q. by तीर्थचि. p. 266 and प्राय. तत्त्व. p. 499 (from ब्रह्मपुराण and the verse भाद्र० from दानधर्म) and by गंगावा. p. 136 (the first verse from ब्रह्माण्ड); नारद (उत्तर) 43. 118 (last half) is सार्धहस्तशतं यावद्गर्भतस्तीरं ततः परम्॥. The digests read भाद्रकृष्ण० for भाद्रशुक्ल०.

1339. अद्यामुके मासि अमुकपक्षे अमुकतिथौ सद्यःपापप्रणाशपूर्वकं सर्वपुण्यप्राप्तिकामो गङ्गायां स्नानमहं करिष्ये। गङ्गावा. p. 141. Vide तीर्थचि. pp. 206–207 for several alternative सङ्कल्पs before गङ्गास्नान.

Matsyapurāṇa 102 is common to people of all varṇas and students of all the different recensions of the Veda. The Matsyapurāṇa, chap. 102, which contains one of the earliest procedure of a religious bath, and which has been taken over by several digests such as the Gaṅgāvākyāvalī (pp. 148–152) is summarised here. Cleanliness (of the body) and clean thoughts do not exist without a bath; therefore bathing is first prescribed for making the mind pure. One may bathe with water drawn (in a vessel from a well or stream) or with water not so drawn. A wise man should fix upon a holy spot after repeating the fundamental mantra 'namo Nārāyaṇāya' (reverent bow to Nārāyaṇa). A man holding darbha grass in his hand and being clean and pure should perform *ācamana* (ceremonial sipping of water). He should select a spot four *hastas* square on all sides and invoke the Ganges (to come or be present there) with the following mantras 'you are sprung from the foot of Viṣṇu, you are a devotee of Viṣṇu, you worship Viṣṇu; therefore save us from sins committed from birth to death. Vāyu declared that there are three and a half crores (35 millions) of holy places in heaven, on the earth and in mid air; all these, O Ganges (daughter of Jahnu), belong to you. Your name among the gods is Nandinī (the joy-giving) and also Nalinī and there are other names of yours viz. Dakṣā, Pṛthvī, Vihagā, Viśvakāyā, Amṛtā, Śivā, Vidyādharī, Supraśāntā, Viśva-prasādinī, Kṣemā, Jāhnavī, Śāntā, Śāntipradāyinī.[1339a] One should utter these holy names at the time of bathing; then the Ganges flowing in the three worlds would be near (even if a man bathed at home). He should, after folding his hands, cast on his head thrice, four times, five times or seven times water on which he has muttered the mantras seven times. After having invoked the clay (in the river bed) with the mantras 'O earth! Oh clay! you are crossed over by horses and chariots, by Viṣṇu, remove my sin which I may have committed by my evil deeds; you were brought up (from the depths of the sea) by the Boar incarnation of Kṛṣṇa with his hundred hands. O clay! you are given (to the world) by Brahmā and you had mantras repeated over you by Kāśyapa. Occupying my limbs may you drive away all my sin! Oh clay! Give us

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1339 a. Verses 1–8 of मत्स्य० chap. 102 are q. by the स्मृतिच. I. p. 182. The स्मृतिच. I. p. 183 also gives the twelve names of गङ्गा differently. पद्म (IV. 89. 17–19) has the same holy names of the Gangas that the Matsya (102. 6–8) mentions. For the thousand names of the Ganges, vide above p. 585.

prosperity; everything is centered in you; a bow to you, that are virtuous and the source of all worlds'. Having thus bathed and having sipped water (*ācamana*) according to the procedure prescribed, he should get out of the Ganges and should put on two white and pure garments. Then he should perform *tarpaṇa*[1340] for the satisfaction of the three worlds. (He should say) 'This water is being offered by me for satiating gods, yakṣas, nāgas, gandharvas, apsarases, asuras, cruel snakes, eagles, trees, jackals, birds, creatures that sustain themselves on air and water or that move in the sky, all beings that are without support and those that are devoted to the dictates of *dharma*'. The person (performing tarpaṇa) should wear the sacred thread in the *upavīta* form (when satiating gods) and then wear it in the

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1340. *Tarpaṇa* (satiating with the offering of water) is of two kinds viz. principal (*pradhāna*) and subsidiary (*aṅga*). The first has to be performed every day by a twice-born person (who has finished his studies) for the gods, sages and pitṛs in that order. The 2nd is performed as an *aṅga* of snāna. नित्यं नैमित्तिकं काम्यं त्रिविधं स्नानमुच्यते। तर्पणं तु भवेत्तस्याङ्गत्वेन प्रकीर्तितम्॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by गंगाभक्ति॰ p 162. तर्पण is an aṅga of bath as well as of *brahma-yajña*. Tarpaṇa has been described at great length in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 668–669 and pp. 689–695. Therefore it is not necessary to make any lengthy remarks on tarpaṇa here. A few matters that deserve attention are mentioned. One rule is that one has to perform tarpaṇa according to the provisions of his own recension of the Veda. The persons to whom water is to be offered and the manner in which it is to be offered are set out on p. 692 of vol. II of H. of Dh. Another rule is that tarpaṇa has to be done (even if the day is not auspicious) at a tīrtha, in Gayā, in pitṛpakṣa (i. e. the dark half of Bhādrapada) with water mixed with sesame 'तीर्थे तिथिप्रवेशे (तिथिविशेषे?) च गयायां प्रेतपक्षके। निषिद्धेपि दिने कुर्यात्तर्पणं तिलमिश्रितम्॥'. A widow also has to perform tarpaṇa for her husband and his relatives at a sacred place. An ascetic (*sannyāsin*) has not to do it. A person whose father is living has not to perform tarpaṇa, but acc. to Viṣṇupurāṇa he offers three handfuls to gods, three to the sages and one to *Prajāpati* (in the *form* 'devās-tṛpyantām'). Another *rule is the one* makes an offering in śrāddha or into fire with one hand only (the right hand) but in tarpaṇa water is poured into the stream in which one is bathing or on land with both hands. 'श्राद्धे हवनकाले च पाणिनैकेन दीयते। तर्पणे तूभयं कुर्यादेष एव विधिः स्मृतः॥' नारदीयपुराण (उत्तर) 57.62–63. If a man is not able to perform the elaborate tarpaṇa described in vol. II. he should repeat the mantras from वायुपुराण 110. 21–22 set out here and offer three añjalis *of water mixed with sesame and kuśas;* आब्रह्मस्तम्बपर्यन्तं देवर्षिपितृमानवाः। तृप्यन्तु पितरः सर्वे मातृमातामहादयः॥ अतीतकुलकोटीनां सप्तद्वीपनिवासिनाम्। आ ब्रह्मभुवनाल्लोकादिदमस्तु तिलोदकम्॥.

nivīta [1341] form (when satiating men). He should devotedly satiate men, the sages who were sons of Brahmā; he should say "May Sanaka, Sananda and Sanātana, Kapila, Āsuri, Vodhu, Pañcaśikha—may all these reach satiety by the water offered by me." Then he should satiate with water and *akṣata* grains (the sages) Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Pracetas, Vasiṣṭha, Bhṛgu, Nārada; he should satiate all these *devarṣis*, and *brahmarṣis*, [1342] and *ṛṣis* with water and *akṣatas*. Then wearing the sacred thread in the *apasavya* mode, bending his left knee on the ground, he satiates with water mixed with sesame and sandal-wood paste pitṛs called Agniṣvātta [1343], Saumya, Haviṣmat, Ūṣmapa, Sukālin, Barhiṣad and others called Ājyapa. He should make a bow to Yama, Dharmarāja, Mṛtyu, Antaka, Vaivasvata, Kāla, destroyer of all beings, Audumbara, Dadhna, Nīla, Parameṣṭhin, Vṛkodara, Citra and Citragupta. With darbhas in his hand a wise man should satiate his pitṛs. He should satiate with devotion his father and the rest by uttering their names and gotra and his maternal grandfather and others in the same way and should recite the following *mantra* 'May those who are my bandhus or not my bandhus or were my bandhus in some previous life reach satisfaction and also whoever desires satisfaction from me.' Then he should sip water (perform *ācamana*) in the prescribed way and draw the figure of a lotus in front of himself and offer thereon to the Sun *arghya* (respectful offering of water) with water mixed with red sandal-wood paste, flowers and akṣatas (grains of rice) and repeat the names of Sūrya (the Sun) 'Bow to thee! that are Viṣṇu in another form, that art the face of Viṣṇu, that hast thousand rays and that art all refulgence. Bow to thee that art beneficent, the lord of the world. Bow to thee that art adorned with divine sandalwood, that art seated on a lotus, adorned with ear-rings and armlets, the lord of people; that awakenest (or enlightenest) the whole world, that goest everywhere and markest the good and evil

1341. निवीतं मनुष्याणां प्राचीनावीतं पितॄणामुपवीतं देवानाम्। तै. सं. II. 5. 11. 1. For explanation of these three modes of wearing the sacred thread, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 287–288 and *apasavya* has been explained in this volume in note 1095.

1342. Vide Vāyu 61.80–90 for definitions and enumeration of ब्रह्मर्षि, देवर्षि, राजर्षि and also Baud. Gr. I. 7 and Devala q. by अपरार्क pp. 442–443 for ऋषि and other terms.

1343. For Agniṣvātta and other names of classes of pitṛs, vide above pp. 343–344 and Brahmāṇḍa III. 10. 53, 75, 93, 96.

deeds; a bow to thee who art a god to all. O Bhāskara (Sun)! be well disposed to me. A bow to thee, Divākara (maker of day). A bow to thee, Prabhākara (source of refulgence)'. Having thus bowed to the Sun and having circumambulated thrice (the lotus drawn for representing the sun) and touching a brāhmaṇa, gold and a cow, the person (bather) should go to a temple of Viṣṇu (or to his own house, according to another reading).[1344]

It may be noted that the verses of the Matsyapurāṇa (102. 2-31) summarised above occur (with slight variations of a word here and there) in Padma (Pātāla-khaṇḍa 89. 12-42) and Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, chap. 20. 145-176.

The Sm. C. and Raghunandana in his Prāyaścittatattva (p. 502) lay down two mantras to be recited at the time of taking a bath in the Ganges[1345] 'O Ganges, daughter of Jahnu! That flowest in three worlds, that art sprung from the lotus-like feet of Viṣṇu, that are far-famed as devoted to (the spread of) dharma, remove my sin; O divine mother, O Bhāgīrathī! purify with your immortal waters me who am full of faith and devotion'. The mantra to be repeated at the time of the bath at the place where the Ganges falls into the ocean according to the same two works is "O god that art the lord of rivers! O goddess that art the best among rivers! Having bathed at the confluence of both I shall cast off my sins".

On pp. 243-244 above it has been stated that the Viṣṇu Dh. S. and other works recommend the casting of the ashes or charred bones of a cremated body in the Ganges at Prayāga, Kāśī or other holy place and the rites accompanying the casting of ashes have been there set out. A few words are added here. The same verse[1346] (with slight variations) about casting

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1344. धर्मराज to चित्र are the names of यम and for चित्रगुप्त vide p. 160 above and वराहपुराण chap. 203-205.

1345. विष्णुपादाब्जसम्भूते गङ्गे त्रिपथगामिनि । धर्मद्रवेति विख्याते पापं मे हर जाह्नवि ॥ श्रद्धया भक्तिसम्पन्ने (न्नं ?) श्रीमातर्देवि जाह्नवि । अमृतेनाम्बुना देवि भागीरथि पुनीहि माम् ॥ स्मृतिच. I. 131; प्राय. तत्त्व p. 502; त्वं देव सरितां नाथ त्वं देवि सरितां वरे । उभयोः सङ्गमे स्नात्वा मुञ्चामि दुरितानि वै ॥ *ibid.* पद्म, सृष्टिखण्ड 60, 60 is the same as the first verse and 60, 62 offers some variant readings for the second.

1346. यावदस्थि मनुष्यस्य गङ्गायाः स्पृशते जलम् । तावत्स पुरुषो राजन् स्वर्गलोके महीयते ॥ वनपर्व 85.94 = पद्म I. 39 87; अनुशासन 26 32 is यावदस्थीनि गङ्गायां तिष्ठन्ति हि शरीरिणः । तावद्वर्षसहस्राणि...महीयते ॥ = मत्स्य.106.52, कूर्म I. 37.32 (reads पुरुषस्य तु ।); नारद (उत्तर) 43.109 यावन्त्यस्थीनि गङ्गायां तिष्ठन्ति पुरुषस्य वै । तावद्वर्ष...महीयते । and नारद (उत्तर) 62.51 is यावन्ति नखलोमानि गङ्गातोये पतन्ति वै ॥ तावद्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गलोके महीयते ॥. नारदीय (पूर्वार्ध) 15.163 'केशास्थिनखदन्ताश्च भस्मापि नृपसत्तम । नयन्ति विष्णुसदनं स्पृष्टा गाङ्गेन वारिणा ॥'.

ashes in the Ganges occurs in several works. The Agnipurāṇa observes 'the deceased man benefits if his bones are thrown into the Ganges; a man stays in heaven as long as (even a particle of) his bone remains in the waters of the Ganges. No rites for the dead are performed for those who commit suicide or who are *patita*; but even in their case the fall of their bones in Ganges water is beneficial to them.' The Tīr. C. and Tīr. Pr. quote two verses and a half from the Brahmapurāṇa [1347] which set out a briefer rite of throwing ashes than the one in the Nirṇayasindhu. The verses mean: "The man carrying the ashes should take a bath, sprinkle *pañcagavya* over the ashes, should place on them a piece of gold, honey, ghee and sesame; then he should deposit them in an earthen vessel; he should then look in the southern direction, say 'salutation to Dharma,' enter the waters (of the Ganges), utter, 'may he (Dharma or Viṣṇu?) be pleased with me' and then cast the ashes in the water; then he should bathe in the river, come out of it, cast a look at the Sun and then give a present (dakṣiṇā) to a brāhmaṇa; if he does so, then the state of the deceased person will be like Indra.' Vide Skanda, Kāśī-khaṇḍa 30. 42–46 where a little more elaborate procedure is prescribed. The importance of casting ashes in the Ganges probably owes its origin to the story of king Sagara's sons who were reduced to ashes by the wrath of the sage Kapila and who were saved by the ashes being washed in the waters of the Ganges brought down from heaven by Bhagīratha. Vide Vanaparva chap. 107–109, Viṣṇupurāṇa II. 8–10 for the story. The Nāradīya makes not only the throwing of calcined bones a source of benefit to the departed but even his nails and hair when cast in the Ganges confer the same benefit. It is stated in the Kāśīkhaṇḍa that those who, while standing on the banks of the Ganges, praise another tīrtha or do not think very highly of the Ganges go to hell.[1347a] The Kāśikhaṇḍa further provides that there is special and

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1347. स्नात्वा ततः पञ्चगव्येन सिक्त्वा हिरण्यमध्वाज्यतिलेन योज्यम्। ततस्तु मृत्पिण्डपुटे निधाय पश्यन् दिशं प्रेतगणोपगूढाम्॥ नमोऽस्तु धर्माय वदन् प्रविश्य जलं स मे प्रीत इति क्षिपेच्च। स्नात्वा तथोत्तीर्य च भास्करं च दृष्ट्वा प्रदद्यादथ दक्षिणां तु॥ एवं कृते प्रेतपुरस्थितस्य स्वर्गे गतिः स्यात्तु महेन्द्रतुल्या। ब्रह्मपुराण q. by तीर्थचि. pp. 265–266 and तीर्थप्र. p. 374. The गङ्गावा. p. 272 quotes these as from ब्रह्माण्ड (with slight variations, one of which is यस्तु सर्वहितो विष्णुः स मे प्रीत इति क्षिपेत्।). These verses are नारद (उत्तर chap. 43. 113–115) with slight variations.

1347 a. तीर्थमन्यत्प्रशंसन्ति गङ्गातीरे स्थिताश्च ये। गङ्गां न बहु मन्यन्ते ते स्युर्निरयगामिनः॥ स्कन्द, काशी° 27. 80.

excessive merit in Gaṅgāsnāna on special days e. g. the merit of bath on New Moon has one hundred times as much merit as on an ordinary day, a thousand times on a saṅkrānti, one hundred thousand on the eclipse of the sun or moon and unlimited times when a bath is taken on moon eclipse on a Monday and on sun eclipse on Sunday.[1348]

TRISTHALĪ

The three great tīrthas of Prayāga, Kāśī and Gayā are referred to as Tristhalī and the great scholar, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (born in 1513 A. D.), wrote (about 1580 A. D.) in Benares a famous work called Tristhalīsetu (a bridge to the Tristhalī) wherein he gives a thorough and exhaustive treatment of the pilgrimage to these three holy places [1348a] alone. Prayāga is assigned pp. 1-72, Kāśī pp. 72-316 and Gayā pp. 316-379 (of the Ānandāśrama edition). Following with all humility the footsteps of such an illustrious and venerable scholar I shall deal with the three tīrthas in the same order.

PRAYĀGA

One of the most ancient reference to the greatness of the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā occurs in a khila [1349] verse which is usually placed in Ṛg. X. 75 and may be rendered as follows: "Those who take a bath at the place where the

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1348. दर्शे शतगुणं पुण्यं संक्रान्तौ च सहस्रकम्। चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे लक्षं व्यतीपाते त्वनन्तकम्। ... सोमग्रहः सोमदिने रविवारे रवेर्ग्रहः। तच्चूडामणिपर्वाख्यं तत्र स्नानमसंख्यकम्॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 27. 129-131.

1348 a. त्रयाणां स्थलानां समाहारः त्रिस्थली।.

1349. सितासिते सरिते यत्र सङ्गते तत्राप्लुतासो दिवमुत्पतन्ति। ये वै तन्वं विसृजन्ति धीरास्ते जनासो अमृतत्वं भजन्ते॥. The त्रिस्थली० p. 3 says it is a supplementary śruti text of the Āśvalāyana school, while the Tīr. C. p. 47 quotes it as a verse of the Ṛgveda. It is quite possible to hold that the verse does not encourage religious suicide but only makes this distinction that by a bath only once a man goes to heaven and that if he dies at Prayāga he attains mokṣa even without correct metaphysical knowledge. Vide रघुवंश 13.58 'तत्त्वावबोधेन विनापि भूयस्तनुत्यजां नास्ति शरीरबन्धः' q. by तीर्थप्र. p. 313. The स्कन्द says: श्रुतिभिः परिपठ्यते सितासिते सरिद्वरे। तत्राप्लुताङ्गा ह्यमृतं भवन्तीति विनिश्चितम्। काशी. 7. 54 q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 11. Vide also काशीखण्ड 7.46 for a similar verse. The verse no doubt has a vedic ring about it. The त्रिस्थली० p. 4 notices another reading. The waters of the Ganges are whitish while those of the Jumnā are dark. Classical Sanskrit poets very often harp on these colours of the waters of the two rivers. Vide रघुवंश *13. 54-57.*

two rivers, white and dark, meet together, rise up (fly up) to heaven; those determined men who abandon their body there (i. e. commit suicide by drowning themselves) secure immortality (or *mokṣa*)". This must have been a comparatively early verse. The Skandapurāṇa referes to it as śruti. The greatness of Prayāga is dwelt upon in the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 85. 69–97, 87. 18–20, Anuśāsana 25. 36–38)[1350] and in many purāṇas such as the Matsya (chapters 103–112, in all 260 verses), Kūrma I. 36–39 (verses 121), Padma (I. chap. 40–49), Skanda, Kāśi-Khaṇḍa, chap. 7. 45–65). Only a few out of the hundreds of verses on Prayāga can be cited here by way of sample. One remarkable fact is that the Rāmāyaṇa does not say much about Prayāga. The confluence of the two rivers is no doubt referred to (Rām. II. 54.6) but from the description it appears that there was a forest at what is now Prayāga. Prayāga is called Tīrtharāja (the prince among tīrthas) in the Matsya 109. 15, Skanda (Kāśī 7. 45), Padma VI. 23. 27–35 (where the refrain at the end of each verse is 'sa tīrtharājo jayati prayāgaḥ) and elsewhere. The legend runs that Prajāpati or Pitāmaha (Brahmā) performed a sacrifice here and Prayāga is the middle one of the vedis of Brahmā, the others being Kurukṣetra in the north (uttaravedī) and Gayā in the east. It is believed that three rivers meet at Prayāga viz. Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī (underground between the two). It is said in the Matsya[1351], Kūrma and other Purāṇas that at the very sight of Prayāga, even by taking its name or by applying its clay to one's body a man becomes free from sin. The Kūrmapurāṇa[1352] proclaims "it is the sacred spot of Prajāpati; those who bathe here go to heaven and those who die here are not born again." That sacred spot is known as tīrtharāja; it is dear to Keśava. The same is known as Triveṇī.

1350. दशतीर्थसहस्राणि तिस्रः कोट्यस्तथापराः। समागच्छन्ति माघ्यां तु प्रयागे भरतर्षभ॥ माघमासं प्रयागे तु नियतः संशितव्रतः। स्नात्वा तु भरतश्रेष्ठ निर्मलः स्वर्गमाप्नुयात्। अनुशासन 25. 36–38.

1351. दर्शनात्तस्य तीर्थस्य नामसंकीर्तनादपि। मृत्तिकालम्भनाद्वापि नरः पापात् प्रमुच्यते॥ मत्स्य. 104. 12, कूर्म. I. 36. 27. The अग्नि (111. 6–7) reads स्तवनादस्य तीर्थस्य°, वनपर्व 85.80 reads 'गमनात्तस्य...दपि। मृत्युकालभयाच्चापि नरः...च्यते.'

1352. एतत् प्रजापतेः क्षेत्रं त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतम्। अत्र स्नात्वा दिवं यान्ति ये मृतास्तेऽपुनर्भवाः॥ कूर्म. I. 36.20. मत्स्य. (104.5 and 111, 14) and नारद (उत्तर 63.127–128) also calls it प्रजापतिक्षेत्र.

The word Prayāga is employed in the neuter when connected with such words as tīrtha or kṣetra, as in Matsya (111. 14 prajāpater-idam kṣetram prayāgam-iti viśrutam), but when employed along with words (in the masculine gender) such as tīrtharāja, it takes the masculine gender.

The word Prayāga is derived in various ways. The Vanaparva[1353] appears to suggest that the word Prayāga is derived from the root 'yaj' when it says 'Brahmā who is the soul of all beings performed formerly a sacrifice here; therefore it became known as Prayāga'. In the Skanda[1354] purāṇa also it appears to be explained by taking the two parts *pra* and *yāga* separately. "It is mentioned as Prayāga because it is superior to all sacrifices; Prayāga was the name given to it by the gods Hari, Hara and others seeing that it is superior to all sacrifices though the latter be enriched with fees and the like." The Matsyapurāṇa[1355] appears to lay emphasis on the part 'pra' when it says 'on account of its efficacy (or power) as compared with all other tīrthas it prevails (or is useful) far more'. The Brahmapurāṇa[1356] affirms "It is called prayāga on account of its eminence and it has the word 'rāja' (in Tīrtharāja) applied to it on account of its being the chief".

We must distinguish between Prayāga-maṇḍala, Prayāga and Veṇī or Triveṇī, each subsequent one being smaller and holier than each preceding one. The Matsya[1357] states that the sphere of Prayāga is five *yojanas* in circumference and that the moment a man enters inside this strip of land, there is an Aśvamedha at every step. This has been explained by the Tristhalīsetu (p. 15) as follows: Regarding Brahmayūpa (the sacrificial post of Brahmā) as the spike or peg, if one measures with a rope one and one half yojana long all round, that would be the

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1353. गङ्गायमुनयोर्वीर सङ्गमं लोकविश्रुतम् ॥ यत्रायजत भूतात्मा पूर्वमेव पितामहः। प्रयागमिति विख्यातं तस्माद्भरतसत्तम ॥ वनपर्व 87. 18-19; तथा सर्वेषु लोकेषु प्रयागं पूजयेद् बुधः। पूज्यते तीर्थराजस्तु सत्यमेव युधिष्ठिर॥ मत्स्य. 109. 15.

1354. प्रकृष्टं सर्वयागेभ्यः प्रयागमिति गीयते। दृष्ट्वा प्रकृष्टयागेभ्यः पुष्टेभ्यो दक्षिणादिभिः। प्रयागमिति तन्नाम कृतं हरिहरादिभिः॥ q. in त्रिस्थली॰ p. 13. The first half is स्कन्द, काशी॰ 7. 49; so प्रयाग means प्रकृष्टो यागो यत्र.

1355. प्रभावात्सर्वतीर्थेभ्यः प्रभवत्यधिकं विभो। मत्स्य. 110. 11.

1356. प्रकृष्टत्वात्प्रयागोसौ प्राधान्याद्राजशब्दवान्। ब्रह्मपुराण q. in त्रिस्थली॰ p. 13.

1357. पञ्चयोजनविस्तीर्णं प्रयागस्य तु मण्डलम्। प्रविष्टमात्रे तद्भूमावश्वमेधः पदे पदे॥ मत्स्य. 108. 9-10, 111. 8, पद्म I. 45.8. The कूर्मपुराण has पञ्चयोजनविस्तीर्णं ब्रह्मणः परमेष्ठिनः। प्रयागं प्रथितं तीर्थं यस्य माहात्म्यमीरितम्॥ II. 35.4.

Prayāgamaṇḍala of five *yojanas* in circumference. The boundaries of **Prayāga** itself are defined by Vanaparva,[1358] the **Matsyapurāṇa (104. 5 and 106. 30)** and others. 'Prayāga extends from **Pratiṣṭhāna** up to the pool of Vāsuki and upto the two *nāgas* Kambala and Aśvatara and the nāga Bahumūlaka; this is known in the three worlds as the sacred spot of Prajāpati' (**Matsya 104. 5**), while Matsya 106. 30 provides that to the east of the Ganges is the Sāmudrakupa, which is the same as Pratiṣṭhāna. This is explained by the Tristhalīsetu as follows: the eastern boundary is the kūpa called Pratiṣṭhāna[1359]; the northern one is the Vāsuki pool, the western limit is formed by Kambala and Aśvatara; the southern boundary is Bahumūlaka. This would be a four-cornered space which is included within Prayāga-maṇḍala. According to the Matsyapurāṇa as quoted by the Kalpataru on tīrtha p. 143 the two Nāgas are on the south bank of Yamunā while the printed text has 'vipule Yamunātaṭe' (106. 27)[1360]. The printed text of Padma I. 43. 27 supports the Kalpataru reading ('Yamunā-dakṣiṇe taṭe). Veṇī-kṣetra is within the limits of Prayāga itself and is twenty bow lengths in extent, as stated in the Padma. There are three *kūpas* viz. Prayāga, Pratiṣṭhāna and Alarkapura. The Matsya and Agni say 'there are three fire kuṇḍas and the Ganges flows in their midst'. It should be noted that except where special reference is made in the Purāṇas to the sub-tīrthas, the reference to a bath at Prayāga in general means bath in the Veṇī i. e. the confluence of the two rivers, as e. g. in Vanaparva 85.81 and 85 and Matsya 104. 16-17.[1361]

1358. आ प्रयागं प्रतिष्ठानात्पुरा वासुकेर्ह्रदात्। कम्बलाश्वतरौ नागौ नागश्च बहुमूलकः॥ एतत् प्रजापतेः क्षेत्रं त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतम्। मत्स्य. 104. 5; पद्म I. 39. 69-70, 41. 4-5 are similar. वनपर्व 85. 76-77 are: प्रयागं सप्रतिष्ठानं कम्बलाश्वतरावुभौ। तीर्थं भोगवती चैव वेदिरेषा प्रजापतेः। तत्र वेदाश्च यज्ञाश्च मूर्तिमन्तो युधिष्ठिर।. अग्नि 111. 5. has the verse प्रयागं...प्रजापतेः (reads वेदी प्रोक्ता).

1359. पूर्वपार्श्वे तु गङ्गायास्त्रिषु लोकेषु भारत। कूपं चैव तु सामुद्रं प्रतिष्ठानं च विश्रुतम्॥ मत्स्य. 106. 3.

1360. माघः सितासिते विप्र राजसूयैः समो भवेत्। धनुर्विंशतिविस्तीर्णे सितनीलाम्बुसङ्गमे॥ इति पाद्मोमोक्ते। त्रिस्थली० p. 75. सितासित (white and dark) means Veṇi. Vide n. 1337 above for धनुः being equal to four hastas and 96 aṅgulas.

1361. तत्र त्रीण्यग्निकुण्डानि येषां मध्येन जाह्नवी। वनपर्व 85. 73; त्रीणि चाप्यग्निकुण्डानि येषां मध्ये तु जाह्नवी। मत्स्य 110.4 and अग्नि 111.12, पद्म I. 39. 67, I. 49. 4; while मत्स्य. 104.13, कूर्म. (I. 36. 28-29) read पञ्च कुण्डानि.

The Vanaparva[1362] and some of the Purāṇas represent that the country between the Ganges and the Yamunā is (like) the hips and loins of the earth (i. e. it is the most prosperous and plentiful part of the earth) and that Prayāga is like the inmost part of the hips.

The Narasiṁha-purāṇa says that Viṣṇu is in the form of Yogamūrti in Prayāga (65. 17). It is said in the Matsya-purāṇa[1363] (111. 4–10) that when Rudra dissolves the world at the end of the Kalpa, the holy place of Prayāga is not destroyed, that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara (Śiva) stay in Prayāga, that to the north of Pratiṣṭhāna Brahmā stays in it under guise, that Viṣṇu stays there as Veṇī-Mādhava, that Śiva stays there as the Vaṭa (banyan tree) and that therefore the gods with the Gandharvas, the Siddhas and great sages always protect the sphere (*maṇḍala*) of Prayāga by guarding it against evil actions. The Matsyapurāṇa, therefore, recommends that a pilgrim should go to Prayāga which is protected by all the gods, stay there for a month, avoid sexual intercourse, worship gods and pitṛs and thereby secure his desired objects (104. 18). The same Purāṇa highly eulogises the gift at Prayāga of a *kapilā* cow properly decked (105. 16–22) with clothes, ornaments and jewels. The Padmapurāṇa (Ādi. 42.17–24) has the same verses as the Matsya on this subject. Similarly, the marriage of a daughter in the *ārṣa* form at Prayāga is highly spoken of in Matsya (106. 8–9). The Matsya (105. 13–14 and 106. 10) says generally that if a man makes a gift of a cow, of gold, of precious stones, of pearls and of other things that he owns his pilgrimage becomes fruitful (*saphala*) and he collects religious merit (*puṇya*) and that when a man makes gifts according to his ability and wealth, the fruit of his pilgrimage increases and he remains in heaven till the end of the world. The Brahmāṇḍa[1364] assures pilgrims that whatever gifts are made according to one's ability at

1362. गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्यं पृथिव्या जघनं स्मृतम् । प्रयागं जघनस्यान्तमुपस्थमृषयो विदुः ॥ वनपर्व 85. 75 = पद्म I. 39. 69 and I. 43. 19, अग्नि 111. 4, कूर्म. I. 37. 12, मत्स्य. 106. 19. Tbe idea appears to be that holy places are like the children of the cartb.

1363. प्रयागे निवसन्त्येते ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वराः ।...उत्तरेण प्रतिष्ठानाच्छद्मना ब्रह्म तिष्ठति । वेणीमाधवरूपी तु भगवांस्तत्र तिष्ठति ॥ माहेश्वरो वटो भूत्वा तिष्ठते परमेश्वरः । ततो देवाः सगन्धर्वाः सिद्धाश्च परमर्षयः । रक्षन्ति मण्डलं नित्यं पापकर्मनिवारणात् । मत्स्य. 111. 4–10. Vide कूर्म. I. 36. 23–26, पद्म, आदिखण्ड 41. 6–10 for similar verses.

1364. कुरुक्षेत्रे प्रयागे च गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे । गङ्गायां पुष्करे सेतौ गङ्गाद्वारे च नैमिषे । यद्दानं दीयते शक्त्या तदानन्त्याय कल्पते ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड q. in. त्रिस्थली° p. 24.

Kurukṣetra, Prayāga, at the mouth of the Ganges where it falls into the sea, on the Ganges, at Puṣkara, at Setubandha, at Gaṅgādvāra and in Naimiṣa tends to confer inexhaustible rewards. In the Vanaparva [1365] it is stated that this sacrificial ground (of Brahmā) is honoured even by the gods, that even a small thing donated here assumes greatness (i. e. produces the rewards of large gifts).

The confluence of the three rivers came to be associated with *omkāra*, [1366] the mystic syllable that stands for *Brahma*. It is said in a purāṇa passage (probably Brahmapurāṇa) that the three parts of *om* (a u m) respectively are Sarasvatī, Yamunā and Gaṅgā and that the waters of three rivers represent Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Saṅkarṣaṇa Hari.

It may be noted that, in spite of the fact that the Matsya, Kūrma (I. 36-39), Padma (Ādi. chapters 41-49), Agni 111 and other Purāṇas contain several hundred verses on Prayāga, the Kalpataru (on tīrtha), the earliest extant digest on tīrthas, quotes only the Matsya (104. 1-13 and 16-20, 105. 1-22, 106. 1-48, 107. 2-21, 108. 3-5, 8-17 and 23-34, 109. 10-12, 110. 1-11, 111. 8-11, in all about 151 verses) and Vanaparva chap. 85. 79-87 and 97 and does not add a single word of explanation or discussion. But the other digests profusely quoting mostly from Purāṇas discuss at some length several topics and a few words must be devoted to some of those topics.

One such topic is tonsure at Prayāga. It is stated by the Gaṅgāvākyāvalī (p. 298) and the Tīr. Pr. (p. 335) that, though the author of the Kalpataru says nothing about tonsure at Prayāga, yet as śiṣṭas (respectable and learned people) and the writers of digests accept it as necessary, certain authorities would be set out. The two verses quoted by most [1366a] writers are 'one should tonsure the head at Prayāga, offer piṇḍas at Gayā, make gifts in Kurukṣetra and should commit

1365. एषा यजनभूमिर्हि देवानामपि सत्कृता। तत्र दत्तं स्वल्पमपि महद्भवति भारत॥ वनपर्व 85. 82 = 83. 77 of the cr. ed. which reads तत्र दत्तं सूक्ष्ममपि.

1366. ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म परब्रह्माभिधायकम्। तदेव वेणी विज्ञेया सर्वसौख्यप्रदायिनी॥ अकारः शारदा प्रोक्ता प्रद्युम्नस्तत्र जायते। उकारो यमुना प्रोक्तानिरुद्धस्तज्जलात्मकः। मकारो जाह्नवी गङ्गा तत्र सङ्कर्षणो हरिः। एवं त्रिवेणी विख्याता वेदबीजं प्रकीर्तिता॥ q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 8.

1366 a. प्रयागे वपनं कुर्याद्गयायां पिण्डपातनम्। दानं दद्यात् कुरुक्षेत्रे वाराणस्यां तनुं त्यजेत्॥ किं गयापिण्डदानेन काश्यां वा मरणेन किम्। किं कुरुक्षेत्रदानेन प्रयागे वपनं यदि॥ q. by गङ्गावा. p. 298, तीर्थचि. p. 32, त्रिस्थली० p. 17, तीर्थप्र. p. 335. These two verses occur in नारदीय (उत्तर) 63. 103-104.

(religious) suicide at Benares. What is the use (or necessity) of piṇḍa offerings at Gayā or death in Kāśi, or gifts at Kurukṣetra, if one has tonsured one's head at Prayāga? ". Elaborate discussions are held by all these works about the exact intention of the verses, about the application of the maxim of *rātrisattra* [1367] to them and about the results derived from tonsure. They have to be passed over here from considerations of space. The Tristhalī-setu (p. 17) holds that the verse only praises the rite of tonsure at Prayāga and the fruit thereof is simply the removal of sin. The Tri. S. refutes (p. 17) the application of *rātrisattra-nyāya* to these verses, while Tīr. C. (p. 32) applies it. Some of the conclusions drawn by the Tri. S. are that in one and the same yātrā at Prayāga (even if a man stays there for some days) ceremonial tonsure takes place only once, that widows have to tonsure their heads, that in the case of women whose husbands are living only two or three finger-breadths of tresses are to be cut and offered at the *Triveṇī*, that even [1367a] boys whose *upanayana* has not been performed have to undergo tonsure provided the *cūḍā* rite has already been performed. The Tristhalīsetu (p. 22) notes that certain traditionalists,[1368]

1367. रात्रिसत्रन्याय occurs in जै. IV. 3. 17-19. There is a passage in the पञ्चविंशब्राह्मण 23. 2. 4 'प्रतितिष्ठन्ति ह वा य एता रात्रीरुपयन्ति.' Here in the पञ्चविंश रात्रिसत्र is enjoined but no fruit thereof is expressly promised. The question arises whether in the absence of an express reward, heaven should be understood as the reward (because as explained in Jai. IV. 3. 15-16 *svarga* is the reward of all sacrifices for which no express reward is mentioned) or whether प्रतिष्ठा (stable position) which occurs in the above arthavāda passage should be held to be the reward of रात्रिसत्र. The reply is that here the reward is प्रतिष्ठा and not स्वर्ग i. e. though there is no express mention of the reward in the passage about rātrisattra, the *arthavāda* passage should be construed as laying down the reward. In the two verses, there is a vidhi in the words प्रयागे वपनं कुर्यात् and the second verse is an अर्थवाद. The question is what reward is promised in it. If रात्रिसत्रन्याय applies, then मुण्डन secures all the fruits of गयापिण्डदान, कुरुक्षेत्रदान and काशीमृत्युमरण. If it does not apply then the only fruit is पापाभाव.

1367a. अनुपनीतानामपि प्रयागे वपनं कार्यम्। यस्तु पुत्रांस्तथा बालान्स्नापयेत्पाययेत्तथा। यथात्मना तथा सर्वं दानं विप्रेषु दापयेत्॥ इति मत्स्यपुराणवचने तृतीयपादस्य... मुण्डनादिविधायकत्वात्। त्रिस्थली॰ pp. 23-24. यस्तु पुत्रांस्तथा॰ is मत्स्य. 106.6.

1368. सांप्रदायिकास्तु...तस्मात्समूलमेव केशवपनमिह स्त्रीणामिति। अत्रापि सौभाग्यवतीनां केशवपनं किंतु वेणीं कृत्वा कुङ्कुमादिमङ्गलद्रव्यालङ्कृता भर्तारं नमस्कृत्य तदनुज्ञाता वापयेत्। तां च वेणीमञ्जलौ निधाय यथाशक्तिकृतां स्वर्णमयीं रूप्यमयीं वा वेणीं मुक्ताप्रवालादि च निधाय-वेण्या वेणीप्रदानेन सर्वं पापं प्रणश्यतु। जन्मान्तरेष्वपि सदा सौभाग्यं मम वर्धताम्। इति पठित्वा वेण्यां क्षिपेत्॥ त्रिस्थली॰ p. 22; प्रयागे स्त्रीणामपि मुण्डनं न तु सधवानां वचनाभ्यां केशानां द्व्यङ्गुलच्छेदमात्रम्॥ प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व p. 493.

relying on passages that aver that all sins cling to the roots of a person's hair, say that cutting two or three tresses would be merely *kartana* and not *vapana* (tonsure), that even women whose husbands are alive must shave themselves at Prayāga, that such women should make a braid of all their hair, should deck the braid with saffron and other auspicious materials, bow to their husbands and with the husband's permission have the head tonsured, that then they should place the cut hair in their joined hands, place thereon a golden or silver veṇī and pearls and coral and should cast all these into the confluence (Veṇī) of the Ganges and Jumnā after repeating the mantra 'May all my sins be destroyed by this offering of my braided hair into the Veṇī! may my blessedness (the auspicious state of wifehood) always increase in the lives to come.' The Tri. S. states that women do not tonsure their head at any tīrtha except at Prayāga and the only reason for this is that it is the practice of śiṣṭas. Vide above pp. 122–124 for tonsure as expiation for sins. The Nāradīya (Uttara) 63. 106 provides the same rule as Parāśara (in note 278 above) for women. The Prāyaścittatattva of Raghunandana prescribes the complete tonsure of the head for women at Prayāga.

It appears probable that the provision for the casting of *veṇī* (braided hair) on the part of women whose husbands were alive was suggested by the word *Veṇī* applied to the confluence of the two rivers, where the river Ganges appears to make a bend or curve for some distance.[1369]

One important question that very much exercised the minds of ancient and medieval Indian writers was whether and when suicide, particularly at sacred spots like the confluence of the Ganges and Jumnā or at the foot of the Akṣaya Vaṭa at Prayāga, would involve no sin.[1370] This matter has already been

1369. ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म परब्रह्माभिधायकम्। तदेव वेणी विज्ञेया सर्वसौख्यप्रदायिनी॥ स एव तीर्थराजोयं त्रिवेण्या यत्र सङ्गमः। त्रिस्थली° p. 8.

1370. प्रयागः...विभो॥ श्रवणात्तस्य...प्रमुच्यते॥ तत्राभिषेकं यः कुर्यात्सङ्गमे संशितव्रतः। पुण्यं सकलमाप्नोति राजसूयाश्वमेधयोः॥ एषा यजन...महन्नयति भारत॥ न वेद...प्रयागमरणं मतिः॥ दशतीर्थसहस्राणि षष्टिकोट्यस्तथापराः। येषां सांनिध्यमत्रैव कीर्तितं कुरुनन्दन। चातुर्वेद्ये च यत्पुण्यं सत्यवादिषु चैव यत्। स्नात एव तदाप्नोति गङ्गायमुनसङ्गमे॥ वनपर्व 85. 79–85. After quoting the last verse and several other verses the त्रिस्थलीसेतु observes (p. 30) 'एतेषु सर्वेषु वचनेषु यद्यपि प्रयागशब्दस्याविशेषत उपादानं तथापि तदन्तर्गततत्तत्तीर्थस्नानफलस्य वाक्यान्तरैकत्वात् स्थलमात्रे च जलाभावेन स्नानासम्भवाद्वेण्युपलक्षकः प्रयागशब्दः'. The same verses occur in पद्म (आदि 39. 72–78). स्कन्द (काशी° chap. 7, 63 and 65) says 'तद्विष्णोः परमं पदं सदा पश्यन्ति सूरयः। एतत्समस्पठ्यते वेदे तत्प्रयागं पुनः पुनः॥ इयं वेणी हि निःश्रेणी ब्रह्मणो वर्त्म यास्यतः।'. तद्विष्णोः...... सूरयः।—is ऋ. I. 22.20.

dealt with at length in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 924–928 and vol. III. pp. 939, 948–949. Only a brief treatment by way of a summary of the pages and a few notes will be added here. The general sentiment of Dharmaśāstra works is to condemn suicide or an attempt to commit suicide as a great sin (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. page 924 for texts). The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 10. 28. 15–17) mentions the view of Hārīta which condemns suicide even as prāyaścitta for committing a mahāpātaka (like incest) and puts killing another or killing oneself on the same footing. Manu V. 89 and Yāj. III. 154 condemn suicide by denying after-death rites to those who commit it, but Manu allowed suicide in various ways as prāyaścitta for mahāpātakas (vide Manu XI. 73, 90–91, 103–104). But exceptions to the condemnation of suicide are found in the smṛtis, epics and purāṇas. They may be grouped under several heads. (1) Suicide as an exception in various ways by those guilty of mahāpātakas (viz. brāhmaṇa murder, drinking of *surā*, theft of brāhmaṇa's gold and incest); vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 924–925 for smṛti and other texts. (2) Starting on the Great Journey (*mahāprasthāna-gamana* or *mahāpathayātrā*) by a forest hermit (Manu VI. 31, Yāj. III. 55) suffering from incurable diseases and unable to perform the duties of his order. (3) An old man or one who cannot observe the rules of bodily purification or who is so ill as to be beyond medical skill may kill himself by throwing himself from a precipice or by fire or by drowning or fasting or start on the Great Journey into the Himālaya or by jumping from the branches of the Vaṭa tree at Prayāga (Aparārka p. 877 quoting Ādi-purāṇa and Atri-smṛti verses 218–219 q. by Medhātithi on Manu V. 88 and Mit. on Yāj. III. 6). (4) Even a householder, otherwise all right, may resort to suicide by the means stated (in No. 3) if his life's work is done, if he has no desire for the pleasures of the world and does not desire to live, or if he is a Vedāntin[1371] and convinced of the ephemeral nature of life and may kill himself by fast in Himālaya. (5) Religious suicide was allowed at the confluence of the two great rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, at the Vaṭa there and at some other tīrthas. (6) A wife dying by *sahagamana* or *anumaraṇa*. As to *Satī*, the Nāradīya (pūrvārdha 7. 52–53) provides that a woman should not burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband if she has a

1371. शरीरमुत्सृजेत्तत्र विधिपूर्वमनाशके। अध्रुवं जीवितं ज्ञात्वा यो वै वेदान्तगो द्विजः॥ अभ्यर्च्य देवतास्तत्र नमस्कृत्य मुनींस्तथा। ततः सिद्धो दिवं गच्छेद् ब्रह्मलोकं सनातनम्॥ अनुशासन 25. 63–64, तत्र refers to हिमालय as the context shows.

young child or young children, if she is pregnant or if she has not attained puberty, or if she is in her monthly illness at the time. Not only did common men believe in the promise of the Purāṇas that those who killed themselves at Prayāga (at the *saṅgama* or near Vaṭa) secured mokṣa (freedom from the everlasting cycle of births and deaths) which was the highest of the four *puruṣārathas* (goals of human existence), but even great poets like Kālidāsa held the view that, though *mokṣa* or *kaivalya* or *apavarga* requires correct knowledge and realisation of the Supreme Spirit according to the Vedānta, Sāṅkhya and Nyāya systems, death at the sacred saṅgama led to mokṣa even without 'tattvajñāna.' In H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 925–927, historical examples of kings such as Yaśaḥ-karṇadeva, Candella Dhaṅgadev and Cālukya Someśvara committing suicide at Prayāga or the Tuṅgabhadrā have been given. The king Kumāragupta of Magadha is said to have entered the fire of dry cow-dung cakes. This is in accordance with the prescriptions in the Matsya-purāṇa 107. 9–10 (=Padma, Ādi-khaṇḍa 44.3) which states [1372] 'the man who, suffering from no diseases, having no deficiency as to his limbs and being in full possession of his five senses, encompasses (his death) in cowdung fire remains honoured in heaven for as many years as there are pores on the whole of his body.' [1373] The Rājataraṅgiṇī VI. 14 refers to officers entrusted with the duty of supervising suicide by fast (prāyopaveśa).

1372. गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्ये कर्षाग्निं यस्तु साधयेत्। अहीनाङ्गो ह्यरोगश्च पञ्चेन्द्रियसमन्वितः। यावन्ति रोमकूपाणि तस्य गात्रेषु देहिनः॥ तावद्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गलोके महीयते॥ मत्स्य 107.9, कूर्म I. 38. 3–4, नारदीय, उत्तर, 63.154 (reads करीषाग्निं तु धारयेत्), पद्म I. 44. 9 (reads पञ्चाग्निं यस्तु). कर्षाग्निं is short for करीषाग्निं for metrical reasons. कूर्म I. 38.3 reads 'करीषाग्निं च साधयेत्.' Vide Gupta Inscriptions No. 42 p. 200, the Ahsaid Stone Inscription of आदित्यसेन of मगध, which states that his fifth ancestor Kumāragupta plunged himself in the slow-burning fire of dried cowdung cakes as if in water at Prayāga. शौर्यसत्यव्रतधरो यः प्रयागगतो घने। अम्भसीव करीषाग्नौ मग्नः स पुष्पपूजितः॥ p. 203 (of the text). घने means घने सत्यपि. The learned editor was probably unaware of the provisions about suicide at Prayāga by being burnt with dry cowdung cakes in the Matsya and other purāṇas.

1373. The Ain-i-Akbari (tr. by Gladwin and published in 1800) speaks of the following as the meritorious kinds of suicide (vol. I. p. 531 and p. 802 of the Popular edition, edited by J. Mukhopadhyaya). These are five in number viz. (1) starving; (2) covering himself with cowdung and setting it on fire and consuming himself therein; (3) burying himself in snow; (4) to plunge into water at the *Gaṅgāsāgara-saṅgama*, enumerate one's sins and pray till alligators come and devour the man; (5) cut his throat at Allahabad at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumnā.

The important verse on which reliance is placed for sanctioning religious suicide at Prayāga may be translated[1374] as follows: 'You should not set aside (pass over) your wish about dying at Prayāga on account of the words of the Veda or the words of the people.' The words of the Veda[1375] are Vāj. S. 40. 3 (=Īśāvāsyopaniṣad 3) which literally translated means 'there are worlds of Asuras enveloped in blinding darkness; those who have killed themselves repair after death to those worlds.' This verse does not in the context appear to refer to a person committing suicide, but rather to a person who kills his soul by remaining in ignorance of the true Self. But even learned writers and poets took it to refer to suicide (vide Uttararāmacarita, Act IV after verse 3). Another passage of the Veda on which reliance may be placed is the one in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa X. 2. 6. 7 'one ought not to yield to his own desire and pass away before the full extent of life, for it (such shortening of full life) does not make for the (heavenly) world'. By 'the words of the people' are meant smṛti passages condemning suicide such as Gaut. 14. 12, Vas.[1375a] 23. 14–15, Manu V. 88 (which says that no water is to be offered to those who kill themselves), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 56 (ātmatyāginaḥ patitāś-ca naśaucodakabhājaḥ).

1374. न वेदवचनात्तात न लोकवचनादपि । मतिरुत्क्रमणीया ते प्रयागमरणं प्रति ॥ वनपर्व 85.83, नारदीय (उत्तर) 63.129, पद्म (आदि 39.76 reads न वेद०), अग्नि 111.8 (reads मतिरुत्क्रमणीयास्ते प्रयागे मरणं प्रति). मत्स्य. 106.22 reads न देववचना... प्रयागगमनं प्रति) and पद्म, आदि 43.22 reads प्रयागगमनं प्रति. The कूर्मपुराण I. 37.14 is न मातृवचनात्तात न...दपि । मति...प्रयागगमनं प्रति ॥; पद्म, आदिखण्ड 33.64 reads न लोकवचनात् पित्रोर्न चैव गुरुवादतः । मतिर्न क्रमणीया स्यादविमुक्तगतिं प्रति ॥. This entirely changes the meaning and avers that if one has a desire to go to Kāśī, one should not heed the words of one's parents or elders or of the people (dissuading him from going).

1375. असुर्या नाम ते लोका अन्धेन तमसावृताः । तांस्ते प्रेत्याभिगच्छन्ति ये के चात्महनो जनाः ॥ वाज. सं. 40.3; The ईशावास्योप. reads असूर्या (sunless). Vide for आत्महन् the sūtra of वसिष्ठ quoted below. यो वा शतं वर्षाणि जीवति स हैवैतदमृतमाप्नोति...तस्मादु ह न पुरायुषः स्वकामी प्रेयादलोक्यं हैतदु वा लोका०। शतपथब्रा. X. 2. 6, 7 q. by मेधातिथि on मनु V. 88 (आत्मनस्त्यागिनां चैव निवर्तेतोदकक्रिया) and VI. 32. The printed text of मेधातिथि and कुल्लूक reads स्वःकामी (desiring heaven).

1375 a. य आत्मत्यागिन्यभिशस्तो भवति सपिण्डानां प्रेतकर्मच्छेदः । काष्ठजललोष्टपाषाणशस्त्रविषरज्जुभिर्य आत्मानमवसादयति स आत्महा भवति ॥ वसिष्ठ 23. 14–15.

There is no doubt that some of the smṛtis, the Mahābhārata[1376] itself and some purāṇas do recommend (or at least do not condemn) suicide in certain circumstances. A few purāṇa passages may be quoted here. Two verses of the Kūrma state 'That goal (or state), which a wise man that is devoted to Yoga and that has become an ascetic (or has forsaken all actions) reaches, is secured by him who gives up life at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā. Whoever dies in the Gaṅgā whether wilfully or unintentionally is born after death in heaven and does not see hell'.[1377] The Kūrma is quite clear 'Mokṣa may be secured or not after a thousand births elsewhere but in Benares mokṣa can be secured in a single birth' (I. 32. 22). The Padma[1378] is quite emphatic 'a man who, knowingly or unknowingly, wilfully or unintentionally, dies in the Ganges secures on death heaven and *mokṣa*'. A verse of the Skanda asserts 'He who abandons his life in this sacred place in some way or other does not incur the sin of suicide but secures his desired objects.' The Kūrma (I. 38. 3–12) refers to four modes of suicide and promises residence in heaven and various other rewards for thousands of years, viz. by (1) burning oneself in the slow fire of dry cowdung cakes, (2) by entering the water at the confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, (3) by hanging with head down in the stream and feet up and drinking

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1376. Vide the references given under No. 2 and 3 of the five classes of excusable or permitted suicides on p. 604 above. The Mahābhārata has a *parva* called Mahāprāsthānika in which it is narrated (chap. 1. 24) that Yudhiṣṭhira with his four brothers, queen Draupadī and a faithful dog started on the Great Journey towards the Himālaya and that they fell down dead one after another, Draupadī being the first and Bhīma the last.

1377. या गतिर्योगयुक्तस्य संन्यस्तस्य मनीषिणः । सा गतिस्त्यजतः प्राणान् गङ्गायमुनसङ्गमे ॥ अकामो वा सकामो वा गङ्गायां यो विपद्यते । स मृतो जायते स्वर्गे नरकं च न पश्यति ॥ कूर्म. I. 37. 16, 39. The first verse is read in पद्म, सृष्टिखण्ड 60,56 as या गति...सत्त्वस्थस्य मनीषिणः । सा...गङ्गायां तु शरीरिणः ॥'. नारद (उत्तर) 43.97 is the same as पद्म.

1378. ज्ञानतोऽज्ञानतो वापि कामतोऽकामतोऽपि वा । गङ्गायां च मृतो मर्त्यः स्वर्गं मोक्षं च विन्दति ॥ पद्म, सृष्टि. 60.65 q. by त्रिस्थली° p. 47. यथा कथंचित्तीर्थेऽस्मिन् प्राणत्यागं करोति यः । तस्यात्मघातदोषो न प्राप्नुयादीप्सितान्यपि ॥ स्कन्द, काशी° 22.76. The कल्पतरु on तीर्थ p. 258 quotes from वायुपुराण 'यो वाहिताग्निप्रवरो वीराध्वानं (°ध्वानं?) गतोऽपि वा । समाधाय मनः पूर्वं मन्त्रमुच्चारयेच्छनैः ॥ त्वमग्ने रुद्रस्त्वं सुधामहोदधिस्त्वं सर्वे मारुताः शिवमर्तिपिरे । त्वं वातैर्यासिसमगी यस्त्वं प्रस्थमायीरूपः पातयन् माम् ॥. The mantra as printed makes no sense. The editor should have separated the words properly even if the mss. were unsatisfactory. It appears to be Ṛg. II. 1. 6 (= Tai. S. I. 3. 14. 1) त्वमग्ने रुद्रो असुरो महो दिवस्त्वं शर्धो मारुतं पृक्ष ईशिषे । त्वं वातैररुणैर्यासि शंगयस्त्वं पूषा विधतः पासि नु त्मना ॥.

the waters of the Ganges, (4) by cutting off his own flesh and giving it as food to birds. The famous Chinese traveller Hiouen Thsang (about 629–645 A. D.) clearly refers to this practice of religious suicide (vide Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western world,' vol. I. pp. 232–234). The Kalpataru on Tīrtha (composed about 1110–1120 A. D.) devotes a special section to Mahāpathayātrā (pp. 258–265). Gradually, the idea of securing heaven and *mokṣa* by committing suicide at Prayāga or Benares appears to have spread to other tīrthas. Vanaparva[1379] speaks of suicide at Pṛthūdaka (Pehova in the Karnal district of Punjab, 14 miles from Thanesar). The Brahmapurāṇa[1380] calls upon *dvijas* who are intent on securing *mokṣa* to commit suicide at Puruṣottama-kṣetra. The Liṅgapurāṇa[1381] says 'if a brāhmaṇa kills himself on Śrīśaila he destroys his sins and attains *mokṣa* as at Avimukta (Benares); there is no doubt about this'. The Padma promises[1382] a similar reward for suicide by fire or by fast at the confluence of Narmadā and Kāverī (a small river, not the great South Indian river).

Gradually there was a revulsion of feeling against suicide at Prayāga or Kāśī or starting on the Great Journey. Among the actions forbidden in the Kali age are included 'starting on the Great Journey' and 'suicide of old people jumping from a precipice or by fire' (vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 939, 958–59). Some of the later medieval writers try very hard to combat the view that religious suicide is permitted[1383]. Nīlakaṇṭha, the commentator of the Mahābhārata, holds that Vanaparva 85. 83 (na vedavacanāt &c.) refers to natural death at Prayāga and not to wilful death and that the Khila verse ('Sitāsite' quoted above on p. 596) has the same meaning. Then he propounds two alternative interpretations of Vanaparva 85.

1379. उत्तमं सर्वतीर्थानां यस्त्यजेदात्मनस्तनुम्। पृथूदके जप्यपरो नैव श्वो मरणं तपेत्॥ गीतं सनत्कुमारेण व्यासेन च महात्मना॥ वनपर्व 83. 146, 147 q. by तीर्थकल्प. p. 190 (reads श्रुतं मे सर्वं).

1380. तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन तस्मिन् क्षेत्रे द्विजोत्तमाः। देहत्यागो नरैः कार्यः सम्यङ्मोक्षाभिकाङ्क्षिभिः॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 177. 25; vide also ब्रह्मपुराण 68. 75 and 177. 16–17.

1381. श्रीशैले सन्त्यजेद् देहं ब्राह्मणो दग्धकिल्बिषः। मुच्यते नात्र सन्देहो ह्यविमुक्ते यथा शुभम्॥ लिङ्ग (पूर्वार्ध 92. 168–169).

1382. अग्निप्रवेशं यः कुर्याद्यश्च कुर्यादनाशनम्। अनिवर्तिका गतिस्तस्य यथा मे शङ्करोऽब्रवीत्॥ पद्म., आदि. 16. 14–15.

1383. Vide a learned paper on 'suicide at Prayāga' by Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya in Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, vol, X, pp. 65 ff.

83, viz. that this passage allows those who are suffering from an incurable disease to commit suicide at Prayāga instead of dying by falling from a precipice and the like or that this verse does not apply to brāhmaṇas but only to the other three varṇas.[1384]

Both the Gaṅgāvākyāvalī (pp. 304–310) and the Tīr. C. (pp. 47–52) hold that all varṇas have the authority to resort to suicide at Prayāga. The Tīr. Pr. holds a long, learned and highly polemic discussion on the subject of religious suicide at Prayāga (pp. 346–355). Its own view appears to be that a brāhmaṇa should not commit this suicide at Prayāga on account of the prohibition contained in Kalivarjya verses and that members of the other varṇas may do so. The Tristhalīsetu also enters upon a long discussion (pp. 47–55) and its conclusions are that in suicide at Prayāga for the attainment of *mokṣa* or other rewards (such as heaven) there is no sin, that this suicide at Prayāga is not forbidden[1384a] to brāhmaṇas as some think (since Agni 111. 8 reads 'na vedavacanād *vipra*'), that persons whether seriously ill or in good health[1385] may resort to suicide at Prayāga, that no one has authority to commit suicide at Prayāga after abandoning to their fate one's old parents, young wife and children that require support, nor should a woman who is pregnant or who has young children or who has no permission from her husband, commit suicide at Prayāga.[1386] It is refreshing to find Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, perhaps

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1384. शूद्राश्च क्षत्रिया वैश्या अन्त्यजाश्च तथाधमाः । एते त्यजेयुः प्राणान्वै वर्जयित्वा द्विजं नृप । पतित्वा ब्राह्मणस्तत्र ब्रह्महा चात्महा भवेत् । q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 52, which remarks that these verses are not found in any authoritative source and they involve a contradiction, in as much as क्षत्रियs and वैश्यs are allowed to kill themselves though they are *dvijas*. This is q. also by भट्टोजि in त्रि. से. सा. स. p 33.

1384 a. तथा च हेमाद्र्यादिधृतादिपुराणवाक्यानि ब्राह्मणस्यापि मरणविधायकानि । वृद्धः शौचस्मृतेर्लुप्तः—इत्याद्युपक्रम्य गच्छेन्महापथं वापि तुषारगिरिमादरात्। प्रयागवटशाखायां देहत्यागं करोति वा॥ स्वयं देहविनाशस्य काले प्राप्ते महामतिः । उत्तमान्प्राप्नुयाल्लोकान्नात्मघाती भवेत्क्वचित्॥ एतेषामधिकारस्तु सर्वेषां सर्वजन्तुषु । नराणामथ नारीणां सर्ववर्णेषु सर्वदा॥ त्रिस्थली० p. 53.

1385. तस्मादातुरादेरनातुरादेश्च सर्वस्याधिकारः । किं तु वृद्धौ पितरौ तरुणीं भार्यां पोष्यमपत्यं च विहाय नाधिकारः। एवं स्त्रिया अपि गर्भिण्या बालापत्यायाः भर्त्राननुज्ञातायाः वा नाधिकार इत्यादि ज्ञेयम्। त्रिस्थली० p. 55.

1386. काश्यादिमरणान्मुक्तिरित्यत्र प्रयोजकत्वे पञ्चमी। तज्जन्यादात्मज्ञानादेव मोक्षोत्पत्तेः। ज्ञानेन विना मिथ्याज्ञाननिवृत्तेरसम्भवात् । 'अत्र हि जन्तोः...रुद्रस्तारकं ब्रह्म व्याचष्टे' इति श्रुतेश्च। परन्तु काश्यां देहावसाने रुद्रोपदेशश्रुतेरस्तु ज्ञानापेक्षा न तु सर्वत्र । प्रयागमरणादौ विनैवात्मसाक्षात्कारमपवर्गोक्तेः ।...तदसत् विना ज्ञानं मिथ्याज्ञाननिवृत्तेरसम्भवात् । तीर्थप्र.

(*Continued on the next page*)

the most learned and renowned Pandit of his age steeped in all the lore of ancient India, make, in spite of the overwhelming weight of śāstric authority in favour of suicide at Prayāga, exceptions that surely appeal to reason, sentiment and common sense.[1387] Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa probably followed traditions several hundred years older than his times. Alberuni in his work on India composed about 1030 A. D. says about religious suicide that 'it was resorted to by those who are tired of life, who are distressed over some incurable disease, some irremovable bodily defect or old age or infirmity. This however no man of distinction does, but only vaiśyas and śūdras. Burning oneself is forbidden to brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas by a special law. Therefore these if they want to kill themselves do so at the time of an eclipse in some other manner or they hire somebody to drown them in the Ganges.' (tr. by Sachau, vol. II. p. 170). The Tri. S. S. provides that a man desirous of committing religious suicide at Prayāga should first perform a prāyaścitta,

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(*Continued from the last page*)

p. 313; the passage of the जाबालोपनिषद् is: अविमुक्तं वै कुरुक्षेत्रं देवानां देवयजनं सर्वेषां भूतानां ब्रह्मसदनम्। तस्माद्यत्र क्वचन गच्छति तदेव मन्येत तदविमुक्तमेव। इदं वै कुरुक्षेत्रं देवानां...सदनम्। अत्र हि जन्तोः प्राणेषूत्क्रममाणेषु रुद्रस्तारकं ब्रह्म व्याचष्टे येनासावमृतीभूत्वा मोक्षीभवति।'. In the Bhau Daji collection of mss. at the Bombay Asiatic Society there is a ms. called अविमुक्तनिरुक्तिसार (cat. No. 1047) which contains 15 verses and comments thereon intended to explain the purport of the Jābālopaniṣad passage quoted and also some other passages from the same. In this work कुरुक्षेत्र occurring in जाबालोपनिषद् is explained as 'कुत्सितं रावयतीति कुरु पापं तस्य क्षेपणात् इति कुरुक्षेत्रं पापनाशनमित्यर्थः' and देवयजनं as ब्रह्मोपास्तिस्थानम्.

1387. काम्यमप्येव मरणम्। अत्र तु सर्ववर्णानामधिकारः। गङ्गावा. p. 305 and तीर्थचि. p. 47. It is a most remarkable thing that the treatment of प्रयागमरण in both these works is word for word the same, except that the तीर्थचि. quotes the verses न वेदवचनात्॰ from the पद्मपुराण while the गङ्गावा. quotes them from the मत्स्य. It appears probable that the तीर्थचि॰ borrows from the गङ्गावा. since वाचस्पति appears to have been a younger contemporary of Vidyāpati who helped विश्वासदेवी in composing गङ्गावा. Both were closely connected with the several kings and queens of the कामेश्वर dynasty of Mithilā and it is difficult to assert with confidence who borrows from whom. In New I. A. vol. VII. at p. 53 Prof. G. C. Basu while describing a newly found ms. of a work called व्याडिभक्तितरङ्गिणी ascribed in the colophon to विद्यापति states that that work mentions the द्वैतनिर्णय of वाचस्पति. So it is not unlikely that विद्यापति helped विश्वासदेवी by taking a part from the तीर्थचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति. Vide H. of Dh. vol. I. pp. 739-740, Journal of Dept. of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. XVI, New I. A. vol. VII pp. 49 ff, I. H. Q. vol. XX. (1944) pp. 211 ff for the date and works of विद्यापति and H. of Dh. vol. I. pp. 404-405 for the date of वाचस्पति.

should perform his own śrāddha upto the offering of piṇḍa if he has no relative entitled to perform it, should fast that day, should make a saṅkalpa next day preceded by a writing (to inform people of his desire to die in that way) and enter the holy waters contemplating on Viṣṇu. On his death, his relatives have to observe āśauca only for three days (and not for ten) and on the 4th day the śrāddhas of the 11th day are to be performed for him.[1388]

The psychological background behind the religious suicide at Prayāga and other places is not difficult to realise. Centuries of philosophical thought had made a very deep impression on the minds of all people that the soul has to submit to a never-ending cycle of births and deaths. Ancient scriptures had offered a release in two ways viz. by *tattvajñāna* and by suicide at a tīrtha. Death had no great terror for the pilgrim who submitted to various inconveniences and privations ungrudgingly. If one is determined to put an end to *saṁsāra* by taking one's life, what nobler environment could have been imagined or indicated than at Prayāga, where two mighty rivers flowing from the sacred Himālaya unite and carry on unceasingly their work of fertilizing the land and bringing prosperity and solace to millions of needy and anxious people?

While on this topic of religious suicide, it would not be out of place to briefly refer to the discussion in the digests about the meaning of the statement in the purāṇas that those who die at Prayāga are not born again (e.g. Matsya 180. 71 and 74). The answer is foreshadowed in the Matsyapurāṇa itself (182. 22–25) which [1389] says: At the time of death, when the vital

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1388. वृद्धः शौचस्मृतेर्लुप्तः प्रत्याख्यातभिषक्क्रियः। आत्मानं घातयेद्यस्तु भृग्वग्न्यनशनाम्बुभिः। तस्य त्रिरात्रमाशौचं द्वितीये त्वस्थिसञ्चयम्। तृतीये तूदकं कृत्वा चतुर्थे श्राद्धमाचरेत्॥ अत्रि 218–219 q. by मेधा० on मनु V. 89. कल्प० (on आशौच p. 87) quotes these slightly differently and remarks वैधे तु देहत्यागे वृद्धः...माशौचं कर्तव्या चोदकक्रिया इति वचनाद्भवत्येवोदकादिक्रिया.

1389. The स्कन्दपुराण, काशी० has the following verses which repeat what the Matsya (182. 22–25) says viz. Śiva whispers into the right ear of a man dying at Kāśī the knowledge of *brahma* that will save his soul. ब्रह्मज्ञानेन मुच्यन्ते नान्यथा जन्तवः क्वचित्। ब्रह्मज्ञानमये क्षेत्रे प्रयागे वा तनुत्यजः॥ ब्रह्मज्ञानं तदेवाहं काशीसंस्थितिभागिनाम्। दिशामि तारकं प्रान्ते मुच्यन्ते ते तु तत्क्षणात्॥ chap. 32, verses 115–116; साक्षान्मोक्षो न चैतासु पुरीषु प्रियभाषिणि। स्कन्द, काशी० 8.3 (अगस्त्य tells लोपामुद्रा). The मत्स्य० verses are: अन्तकाले मनुष्याणां छिद्यमानेषु मर्मसु। वायुना प्रेर्यमाणानां स्मृतिर्नैवोपजायते॥ अविमुक्ते ह्यन्तकाले भक्तानामीश्वरः स्वयम्। कर्मभिः प्रेर्यमाणानां कर्णजापं प्रयच्छति। मणिकर्ण्यां त्यजन्देहं गतिमिष्टां व्रजेन्नरः। ईश्वरप्रेरितो याति दुष्प्रापामकृतात्मभिः॥ 182. 22–25. The words अन्तकाले ... जायते refer to the general rule. The verses अविमुक्ते० state the special case of death in Avimukta. The त्रिस्थली० p. 297 quotes these verses and reads अविमुक्ते त्वन्तकाले.

parts of the human body are being shattered, memory must fail a human being that is about to be pushed on (to another body) by the vital breath (when it leaves the mortal coil). But at the time of death in Avimukta (Vārāṇasī) Lord (Śiva) himself whispers (higher knowledge) in the ears of his devotees that are about to be pushed (into new bodies) by (accumulations of their actions). A man dying near Maṇikarṇikā pool reaches the desired goal; he being guided by the Lord reaches the goal which is difficult of attainment by those whose minds are not pure.' In the Kāśīkhaṇḍa it is expressly stated that mokṣa does not directly result in these cities (viz. Kāśī &c.). But in spite of these warnings the popular belief fostered by the literal meaning of hundreds of Purāṇa passages is that mokṣa results from dying at Prayāga or in Kāśīkṣetra.

The practice of religious suicide has a very respectable antiquity. In the 4th century B. C. Kalanos, the Indian Gymnosophist from Taxila who had accompanied Alexander from India, burnt himself alive on a funeral pyre at Sousa, when being over 70 years old, he was afflicted with a malady that made life more and more burdensome. Vide J. W. McCrindle's 'Invasion of India by Alexander the Great' (New Edition 1896) pp. 46, 301, 386-392. Strabo informs us of a gymnosophist from India named Zarmanochegas of Broach who accompanied an embassy to Augustus Caesar at Athens and consigned himself to flames (vide 'Invasion of India by Alexander' p. 389). Hiouen Thsang (Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western World' vol. I. pp. 232-234) refers to suicide at Prayāga. The Jains, while on the one hand they laid the greatest emphasis on 'ahiṁsā' (non-injury), encouraged religious suicide (called 'Sallekhanā') in certain cases [1390].

Some of the works, viz. the Kāśīmṛti-mokṣa-vicāra of Sureśvara (pp. 2-9), the Tristhalīsetu (pp. 50-55) and the Tīrthaprakāśa (pp. 313-318) discuss at some length how mere death (either involuntary or voluntary) in Vārāṇasī or Prayāga would lead to mokṣa. Considerations of space prevent a complete statement of their views. Their arguments are briefly as follows :—Karma is of three kinds, viz. *sañcita* (collected in former births), *prārabdha* (that has begun to

1390. Vide I. A. vol. II. p. 322 'Jain Inscriptions at Sravaṇa Belgola', where some verses are quoted from the Ratnakaraṇḍa of which the following one may be noted: उपसर्गे दुर्भिक्षे जरसि रुजायां च निष्प्रतीकारे। धर्माय तनुविमोचनमाहुः सल्लेखनामार्याः ॥.

operate by giving the soul the present body) and *kriyamāṇa* (to be done in this body and in future). The Upaniṣads and the Gītā[1391] declare that, just as waters do not stick to a lotus leaf, so evil deeds do not cling to a man who knows this (knowledge of *brahma*), that the fire of knowledge reduces to ashes all *karma* and that *mokṣa* results from the realization of the Supreme Spirit (Vedānta-sūtra IV. 1. 13). From this it follows that a man who has realized the Highest Reality will not be affected by the acts done by him after realization and his accumulated actions (sañcita) will be destroyed by that realization. The present body in which the soul realizes *brahma* was due to that part of his *karma* which had begun to operate. When the present body perishes in the case of a man who has realized *brahma* he attains final release, since no actions remain for producing effects. To the man who dies a natural death in Benares is given at the time of death the Tāraka (saving) mantra. The Matsyapurāṇa says:[1392] those who enter fire according to the rules in Avimukta (i. e. Benares) enter the mouth of Śiva and so also those determined devotees of Śiva who die by fast in Benares do not return (to this world) even after millions of *kalpas*. Therefore all those who die in any way at[1393] Benares receive Grace from Śiva after their death. That leads to *tattvajñāna* (correct spiritual knowledge) which leads to mokṣa. In rare passages it is expressly stated that *mokṣa* cannot[1394] be immediately secured

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1391. यथा पुष्करपलाश आपो न श्लिष्यन्त एवमेवंविदि पापं कर्म न श्लिष्यत इति। छा. उप. IV. 14. 3; भिद्यते हृदयग्रन्थिश्छिद्यन्ते सर्वसंशयाः। क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि तस्मिन् दृष्टे परावरे॥ मुण्डकोपनिषद् II. 2. 8; यथैधांसि समिद्धोऽग्निर्भस्मसात्कुरुतेऽर्जुन। ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात्कुरुते तथा॥ भगवद्गीता॥ IV. 37.

1392. अग्निप्रवेशं ये कुर्युरविमुक्ते विधानतः। प्रविशन्ति मुखं ते मे निःसन्दिग्धं वरानने॥ कुर्वन्त्यनशनं ये तु मद्भक्ताः कृतनिश्चयाः। न तेषां पुनरावृत्तिः कल्पकोटिशतैरपि॥ मत्स्य. 183. 77-78 q. by कल्पतरु on तीर्थ p. 21.

1393. 'ज्ञानादेव तु कैवल्यम्' इत्यादि श्रुतिस्मृतिभ्यो ज्ञानाभावे मोक्षाभावाद्विश्वेश्वरानुग्रहरूपादिष्टतारकादेवात्मज्ञानोत्पत्तिः। तदुक्तं काशीखण्डे। ब्रह्मज्ञानेन मुच्यन्ते नान्यथा जन्तवः क्वचित्। ब्रह्मज्ञानं तदेवाहं काशीसंस्थितिभागिनाम्। दिशामि तारकं प्रान्ते मुच्यन्ते ते तु तत्क्षणात्। त्रिस्थली॰ p. 292 which quotes काशीखण्ड 32. 115-116. Similar statements occur in काशीखण्ड 21. 98 विपन्नानां च जन्तूनां यत्र विश्वेश्वरः स्वयम्। कर्णे जापं प्रकुरुते कर्मनिर्मूलनक्षमम्॥ and काशीखण्ड 61. 117-118, 64. 98. The गरुडपुराण (प्रेतखण्ड, 6. 60-61) says 'तीर्थराजस्ततः काशी महादेवो दयानिधिः। मृतानां यत्र जन्तूनां कर्णे जपति तारकम्॥'.

1394. साक्षान्मोक्षो न चैतासु पुरीषु प्रियभाषिणि। स्कन्द, काशी 8. 2 (अगस्त्य to लोपामुद्रा). तारकः प्रणवः तारयतीति तारः स्वार्थे कप्रत्ययः। संसारसागरादुत्तारकं तारकं च तद् ब्रह्म इति तारकं ब्रह्म उच्यते। काशीमृतिमोक्षविचार p. 3.

(by dying) in these cities. The Tāraka-mantra is variously explained. According to Sureśvara, Tāraka-mantra is the mystic syllable *om* which is a symbol of *brahma* as stated in the Tai. Up. (I. 1.8 *Om-iti* brahma) and the Gītā (8. 13 Om-ityekākṣaram brahma). The Tri. S. gives another explanation besides this. According to Rāmatāpanīya Upaniṣad and[1395] the Padmapurāṇa the mantra is 'śrī-Rāma-Rāma-Rāmeti.'

There are several sub-tīrthas that fall under Prayāga. The most important of them is the famous Vaṭa (banyan tree) called Akṣaya-Vaṭa (the imperishable Vaṭa). The Agni (111. 13) states 'if a man dies at the foot of the Vaṭa and in the Saṅgama he goes to the city of Viṣṇu'. Special reference is made to abandoning one's life at the foot of the Vaṭa. The Kūrma[1396] says 'He, who abandons life at the foot of the Vaṭa, passes beyond heavenly worlds and goes to the world of Rudra'. The following are the sub-tīrthas of Prayāga and only references are given to the works in which they are described: (1) the two Nāgas called Kambala and Aśvatara which according to some are on the spacious (vipula) bank of the Jumnā and according to others on the southern bank of the Jumnā (Vanaparva 85.77, Matsya 106. 27, Padma, Ādi 39. 69, Agni 111. 5, Kūrma I. 37. 19), (2) Pratiṣṭhāna on the eastern side of the Ganges, being the same as the Sāmudra-kūpa (Vanaparva 85. 77, Matsya 106. 30, Kūrma I. 37. 22, Padma, Ādi. 43, 30; Vanaparva 85. 114 appears to suggest that Pratiṣṭhāna is another name of Prayāga; (3) Sandhyāvaṭa (Matsya 106. 43, Kūrma I. 37. 28, Agni 111. 13); (4) Haṁsaprapatana to the north of Pratiṣṭhāna and to the east of the Ganges (Matsya 106. 32, Kūrma I. 37, 24, Agni 111. 10, Padma, Ādi 39. 80 and 43. 32; (5) Koṭitīrtha (Matsya 106. 44, Kūrma I. 37. 29, Agni 111. 14, Padma, Ādi 43. 44; (6) Bhogavatī, the Vedī of Prajāpati to the north of Vāsuki (Vanaparva 85. 77, Matsya 106.46, Agni 111. 5, Padma, Ādi 39. 79 and 43. 46; (7) Daśāśvamedhaka (Matsya 106. 46, Padma, Ādi 39. 80); (8) Urvaśīpulina, suicide at which

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1395. रामतापनीये तु श्रीराममन्त्र एव तारकशब्दार्थ उक्तः। मुमूर्षोर्दक्षिणे कर्णे यस्य कस्यापि वा स्वयम्। उपदेक्ष्यसि मन्मन्त्रं स मुक्तो भविता शिव॥ पद्मे तु श्रीशब्दपूर्वकत्रिरावृत्तो रामशब्द एव तारकत्वेनोक्तः। मुमूर्षोर्मणिकर्ण्यन्तरर्धोदकनिवासिनः। अहं दिशामि ते मन्त्रं तारकं ब्रह्मवाचकम्। श्रीरामरामरामेति एतत्तारकमुच्यते॥ त्रिस्थली० p. 291.

1396. वटमूलं समाश्रित्य यस्तु प्राणान् परित्यजेत्। स्वर्गलोकानतिक्रम्य रुद्रलोकं स गच्छति॥ कूर्म. I. 37.8–9 q. by तीर्थचि० p. 48. The same is पद्म, आदिखण्ड 43.11 (reads सर्वलोकान्).

led to [1397] **various** rewards quoted below (Matsya 106. 34-42,[1398] Padma, Ādi 43. 34-43, Agni 111. 13, Kūrma I. 37. 26-27); (9) Ṛṇapramocana, on the northern bank of Yamunā and to the south of Prayāga (Kūrma I. 38. 14, Padma, Ādi 44. 20); (10) Mānasa on the north bank of the Ganges (Matsya 107. 9, Padma, Ādi 44. 2, Agni 111. 14); (11) Agnitīrtha on the southern bank of the Jumnā (Matsya 108. 27, Kūrma I. 39.4, Padma, Ādi 45. 27); (12) Viraja on the north bank of Yamunā (Padma, Ādi 45. 29); (13) Anaraka [1399] to the west of Dharmarāja (Kūrma I. 39. 5).

The Purāṇas lay down that if a man starts on a pilgrimage, but dies on the way to Prayāga he reaps great benefits even without reaching it, provided he dies remembering Prayāga. The Matsyapurāṇa (105. 8-12) asserts: [1400] A man whether in his own country or house or after leaving his country dies in a forest, while remembering Prayāga, he still secures the world of Brahma; he reaches a world where the

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1397. उर्वशीपुलिने पुण्ये विपुले हंसपाण्डुरे। परित्यजति यः प्राणाञ् शृणु तस्यापि यत्फलम्॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि षष्टिवर्षशतानि च। सेव्यते पितृभिः सार्धं स्वर्गलोके नराधिप॥ उर्वशीं तु सदा पश्येत्स्वर्गलोके नरोत्तम। पूज्यते सततं पुत्र ऋषिगन्धर्वकिंनरैः॥ ततः स्वर्गात् परिभ्रष्टः क्षीणकर्मा दिवश्च्युतः। उर्वशीसदृशानां तु कन्यानां लभते शतम्॥ मध्ये नारीसहस्राणां बहूनां च पतिर्भवेत्। दशग्रामसहस्राणां भोक्ता भवति भूमिपः॥ काञ्चीनूपुरशब्देन सुप्तोऽसौ प्रतिबुध्यते। भुक्त्वा तु विपुलान्भोगांस्तत्तीर्थं लभते पुनः॥ शुक्लाम्बरधरो नित्यं नियतः संयतेन्द्रियः। एकं कालं तु भुञ्जानो मासं भूमिपतिर्भवेत्॥ सुवर्णालङ्कृतानां तु नारीणां लभते शतम्। पृथिव्यामासमुद्रायां महाभूमिपतिर्भवेत्॥ धनधान्यसमायुक्तो दाता भवति नित्यशः। भुक्त्वा तु विपुलान्भोगांस्तत्तीर्थं लभते पुनः॥ मत्स्य. 106. 34-42 = पद्म, आदिखण्ड 43. 34-42 with some variations. The first two verses are कूर्म I. 37, 26-27 and all occur नारदीय (उ.) 63. 140-149.

1398. It may be noted that the rewards promised for suicide at Urvaśīpulina are sex pleasures and secular benefits like becoming a king or governor. Even suicide at the Saṅgama is promised similar pleasures of the flesh and of kingly power and riches in Matsya 105. 1-12.

1399. In मत्स्य. 108. 29 we read तीर्थं निरञ्जनं नाम यत्र देवाः सवासवाः which appears to be a misreading. पश्चिमे धर्मराजस्य तीर्थं त्वनरकं स्मृतम्। कूर्म. I. 395.; the अग्नि 111.14 mentions a तीर्थं called वानरक (or वासरक acc. to some mss.) but that seems to be a misreading of त्वनरकं (तु + अनरकं). मत्स्य. 108. 27 तीर्थं तु नरकं स्मृतम् seems to be a misreading for त्वनरकं. Several tīrthas called अनरक are known. Vide पद्म, आदि 27.56 and list.

1400. देशस्थो यदि वारण्ये विदेशस्थोऽथवा गृहे। प्रयागं स्मरमाणोऽपि यस्तु प्राणान् परित्यजेत्॥ ब्रह्मलोकमवाप्नोति वदन्ति ऋषिपुङ्गवाः। सर्वकामफला वृक्षा मही यत्र हिरण्मयी। ऋषयो मुनयः सिद्धास्तत्र लोके स गच्छति॥ स्त्रीसहस्राकुले रम्ये मन्दाकिन्यास्तटे शुभे। मोदते ऋषिभिः सार्धं सुकृतेनेह कर्मणा।...ततः स्वर्गात्परिभ्रष्टो जम्बूद्वीपपतिर्भवेत्। मत्स्य. 105. 8-11 q. by तीर्थचि° p. 310; verses from स्त्रीसहस्रा° are quoted from कूर्म by त्रिस्थली° p. 25.

trees yield all desires, where the earth is full of gold and where there are sages and *munis* and *siddhas*; he dwells on the bank of the Ganges full of thousands of women and enjoys the company of sages; when he comes down from heaven he becomes the lord of Jambūdvīpa.

At most famous tīrthas the pilgrim has to perform śrāddha. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (chap. 85) mentions about fifty-five sacred places which are fittest for śrāddha. The Kalpataru (on tīrtha), the Gaṅgāvākyāvali, Tīr. C. and other digests quote several verses from the Devīpurāṇa, the gist of which is as follows: Śrāddha should be performed at tīrthas, but there is no offering of *arghya* and no *āvāhana* (since pitṛs are deemed to be always present at tīrthas, as the Kāśīkhaṇḍa says) nor is the entering of the thumb of the invited brāhmaṇa into the food served done, nor is there the question about the brāhmaṇas being satiated, nor *vikira*[1401] If one is unable to follow the complete procedure of śrāddha one should merely offer piṇḍas made from barley meal or may offer *saṁyāva* (cake of wheat flour fried with ghee and milk), rice boiled in milk, the cake of sesame (after the oil is extracted) or jaggery.[1402] It should not be allowed to be seen by dogs, crows and vultures, it may be offered at any time after the pilgrim reaches the holy place. A śrāddha performed at a holy place gives great satisfaction to pitṛs. Some of the works such as the Tristhalīsetusārasaṅgraha of Bhaṭṭoji provide that after performing a pārvaṇaśrāddha at a tīrtha and after making offerings of piṇḍas to one's ancestors one should offer a single piṇḍa to one's other relatives with the following mantra: 'Here I offer piṇḍa to deceased persons of my father's family, and of my mother's family and to the deceased relatives of my guru and of my father-in-law, to those men of my family

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1401. अर्घ्यमावाहनं चैव द्विजाङ्गुष्ठनिवेशनम्। तृप्तिप्रश्नं च विकिरं तीर्थश्राद्धे विवर्जयेत्॥ q. by त्रि. से. सा. स. p. 18; देवाश्च पितरो यस्माद्‍द्वतीर्थे सर्वदा स्थिताः। आवाहनं विसर्गं (°र्गश्च?) तेषां तत्र ततो न हि॥ काशीखण्ड 28.9; तीर्थे श्राद्धं प्रकुर्वीत पक्वान्नेन विशेषतः। आमान्नेन हिरण्येन कन्दमूलफलैरपि॥ सुमन्तु q. in त्रि. से. सा. स. p. 20.

1402. सक्तुभिः पिण्डदानं तु संयावैः पायसेन तु। कर्तव्यमृषिभिर्दृष्टं पिण्याकेन गुडेन च। श्राद्धं तत्र तु कर्तव्यमर्घ्यावाहनवर्जितम्। श्वध्वाङ्क्षगृध्रकाकानां नैव दृष्टिहतं च यत्। श्राद्धं तत्तैर्थिकं प्रोक्तं पितॄणां प्रीतिकारकम्।...कालेऽप्यथवाऽकाले तीर्थे श्राद्धं तथा नरैः। प्राप्तैरेव सदा कार्यं कर्तव्यं पितृतर्पणम्। पिण्डदानं च तच्छस्तं पितॄणामतिवल्लभम्। विलम्बो नैव कर्तव्यो न च विघ्नं समाचरेत्। पद्मपुराण V. 29. 212–218, q. by पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय folio 135b and 136a. The same verses are quoted from देवीपुराण by कल्प॰ on तीर्थ p. 10, तीर्थचि. pp. 10–11, गङ्गावा. p. 129. Vide स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 6. 58–60 for some of the verses and नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 41–42 for last two verses.

who were devoid of sons or wives and so who would lose the benefit of the piṇḍa (to be offered by the son or wife) and in the case of whom all rites after death have ceased, those who were blind from birth or were cripples, those who were malformed or died in the womb; to all these, whether known or unknown to me, may this (piṇḍa) reach inexhaustively'! (Vāyu 110. 51–52). After this he should offer another piṇḍa for his servants, slaves, friends, dependents, pupils, persons who conferred obligations on him, cattle, trees and those with whom he came in contact in other lives (Vāyu 110. 54–55). If a person is ill or has not the time to go through this elaborate procedure, then he should make a saṅkalpa that he would perform śrāddha and should offer a single piṇḍa with the mantra (in Vāyu 110. 23–24) 'I offer this piṇḍa to my father, grand-father, great-grand-father, to my mother, father's mother, grandfather's mother, to my maternal grandfather and to the latter's father and grandfather. May it reach them inexhaustively'!

The Anuśāsana-parva, the Kūrmapurāṇa, Nāradīya (uttara) 63. 19–20 and 36–38 and others highly praise bathing at the *saṅgama* in the month of Māgha [1403]. Men of all castes, women and those born of mixed unions can take this bath; śūdras, women and men of mixed castes should not repeat any mantra but should bathe silently or with the word 'namaḥ' (Tri. S. p. 39). Similarly, the Padma, Kūrma, Agni and other Purāṇas wax eloquent over a bath for three days in Māgha saying that it is equal to the gift of three crores of cows. [1404] There is great divergence as to exactly what three days are meant, as pointed out by the Tri. S. p. 33. The various views are: the three days are the passage of the sun into Capricornus, Rathasaptamī and the full moon day of Māgha; the three consecutive days including the 10th of the bright half of Māgha; the first three days of Māgha; the three consecutive days from the 13th day of the bright half of Māgha; any three days in Māgha.

1403. दशतीर्थसहस्राणि षष्टिकोट्यस्तथापरा: । समागच्छन्ति माघ्यां तु प्रयागे भरतर्षभ॥ अनुशासन 25. 36–37; षष्टिस्तीर्थसहस्राणि षष्टिस्तीर्थशतानि च । माघमासे गमिष्यन्ति गङ्गायमुनसङ्गमे॥ कूर्म I. 38. 1; मत्स्य 107.7 is very nearly the same.

1404. गवां कोटिप्रदानाद्यत् त्र्यहं स्नानस्य तत्फलम् । प्रयागे माघमासे तु एवमाहुर्मनीषिण:॥ अग्नि. 111.10–11; गवां शतसहस्रस्य सम्यग्दत्तस्य यत्फलम् । प्रयागे माघमासे तु त्र्यहं स्नातस्य तत्फलम्॥ पद्म, आदि 44. 8, कूर्म I. 38.2.

CHAPTER XIII

KĀŚĪ

There is hardly any city in the world that can claim greater antiquity, greater continuity and greater popular veneration than Banaras. Banaras has been a holy city for at least thirty centuries. No city in India arouses the religious emotions of Hindus as much as Kāśī does. To the Hindu mind it represents great and unbroken traditions of religious sanctity and learning. It is a miniature of Hindu life through the ages in all its great complexities and contradictions. Not only Hinduism with its numerous sects has flourished here for numberless centuries, but the principles of Buddhism, one of the great religions of the world, were first proclaimed here by Śākyamuni after he received Enlightenment at Bodh-Gayā under the Bodhi tree. Thousands of verses are found in the epics and purāṇas about Banaras. Several volumes have been written about Banares during the last hundred years.[1405] It would be impossible to do justice here to this vast mass of literature on Banaras. I shall briefly deal with the important topics relating to Banaras. In olden times the name was spelt as Benares, but recently as Banaras, which will be retained here (except in quotations).

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to dwell, however briefly, on the ancient history of Banaras. The Śatapatha Br. quotes [1406] a Gāthā which states that Śatānīka, son of Satrājit, carried away the sacred sacrificial horse of the Kāśis, as Bharata did in the case of the Satvats. In Śat. Br. XIV. 3. 1. 22 king Dhṛtarāṣṭra Vicitravīrya is called Kāśya. In the Gopatha Br. we have [1407] the combination Kāśī-Kośalāḥ. The

1405. Among modern works in English dealing with Banaras the following may be mentioned: 'Benares, a handbook for the visitors' by J. Eween (Calcutta, 1886), 'The sacred city of the Hindus' by M.A. Sherring with a learned Introduction by Dr. F. E. Hall (London, 1886) and 110 photographs; 'Benares, the sacred city' by E. B. Havell (1905) with many fine illustrations; 'History of Benares' by Prof. A. S. Altekar (1937) with a few diagrams and photographs.

1406. तदेतद्गाथयाभिगीतम्। शातानीकः समन्तासु मेध्यं सात्राजितो हयम्। आदत्त यज्ञं काशीनां भरतः सत्वतामिवेति। शतपथब्रा. XIII. 5.4.21.

1407. विचारी ह वै काबन्धिः कबन्धस्याथर्वणस्य पुत्रो मेधावी मीमांसकोऽनूचान आस। स ह स्वेनातिमानेन मानुषं वित्तं नेयाय। तं मातोवाच। त एवैतदन्नमवोचंस्त इमेषु कुरुपञ्चालेष्वङ्गमगधेषु काशीकौशल्येषु...उदीच्येष्वन्नमदन्ति। गोपथ, पूर्वभाग 2.9.

Cambridge History of India (vol. I. p. 117) remarks that in the Brāhmaṇa period Kāśī, the capital of the Kāśis, was situated on the Varaṇāvatī. In the Br. Up. (II. 1. 1) and the Kauṣītaki[1408] Up. (IV. 1.) there is the story of the proud Bālāki Gārgya going to Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī, with the assurance that the former would expound *brahma* to the latter. In Pāṇini IV. 2. 116 Kāśī heads a *gaṇa* (Kāśyādibhyas-than-iṭhau'). Under Pāṇini IV. 2. 113 we get the form 'Kāśīyaḥ.' It is remarkable that in the Sarvānukrama the ṛṣi of Ṛg. X. 179. 2 is stated to be Pratardana Kāśirāja. In *tarpaṇa*, the Hir. Gṛ. (II. 8. 19. 6) mentions Kāśīśvara along with Viṣṇu and Rudraskanda (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 244). Divodāsa figures frequently in the Ṛgveda. In Ṛg. I 130. 7 Indra is said to have conquered ninety cities for Divodāsa, while in Ṛg. IV. 30. 20 it is stated that Indra gave 100 cities of stone to Divodāsa. From these Vedic references it may be surmised that in later works like the Epics and the Purāṇas Divodāsa was naturally credited with the founding of the most sacred city in India. In the Mahābhāṣya on Vārtika 4 on Pāṇ. IV. 1. 54 (vol. II. p. 223) we find the illustration 'Kāśi-Kosalīyāḥ.' The Mahābhāṣya (vol. II. p. 413) furnishes the interesting information that there is a difference in the price of cloth manufactured at Kāśī and that manufactured at Mathurā, though the length and breadth of the piece of cloth be the same. This shows that even so early as the 2nd century B. C. Kāśī was famous for the fine qualities of its cloth, as now.[1409] From the above passages it is clear that Kāśī was the name of a country long before the Śatapatha Br. was composed and it remained so till the 2nd century B. C. (the date of Patañjali). We have a parallel example. Avanti is the name of a country as shown by Pāṇ. IV. 1. 176 (striyām-avanti-kunti-kurubhyaś-ca) and by the Meghadūta (Prāpyāvantīn-udayana—), but Avantī or Avantikā is also the name of Ujjayinī (as in the well-known verse 'Ayodhyā...Avantikā'). Fa Hien (399 to 413 A. D.) is said to have arrived at the city of Vārāṇasī in the kingdom of Kāśi (Legge's tr. p. 94). This shows that about 400 A. D. Kāśī was still the name of the district and Vārāṇasī was its capital. But from the reference in the Mahābhāṣya it appears that Kāśī had then become the name of the city (and was also

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1408. दृप्तबालाकिर्हानूचानो गार्ग्य आस स होवाचाजातशत्रुं काश्यं ब्रह्म ते ब्रवाणीति। बृह. उप. II. 1.1.

1409. इह समाने आयामे विस्तारे पटस्यान्योऽर्घो भवति काशिकस्यान्यो माथुरस्य। महाभाष्य, vol. II. p, 413 (on Pāṇ. V. 3.35).

the name of the country). In the Anuśāsana-parva (chap. 30) it is said that Haryaśva, the grand-father of Divodāsa, was king of the Kāśis [1409a] and was harassed and killed by the Vītahavyas in the *Doab* between the Ganges and Jumna. Haryaśva's son was Sudeva who was crowned king of Kāśi (verse 13, Kāśirājoऽ bhyaṣicyata) and he also met the same fate as his father did. Then Divodāsa, son of Sudeva, became king of the Kāśis and founded Vārāṇasī thickly populated with men of all varṇas on the northern bank of the Gomatī. This legend shows that Kāśī was the ancient name of a kingdom and the ancient belief was that Vārāṇasī was founded as the capital of the Kāśis by Divodāsa. In the Udyogaparva also Divodāsa is said to be the ruler of Kāśis.[1410]

The Harivaṁśa (I. chap. 29) has a long but rather confused story about Divodāsa and Vārāṇasī.[1411] It deals with the dynasty of Āyus, one of the sons of Aila. One of the descendants of Āyus was Śunahotra who had three sons, Kāśa, Śala and Gṛtsamada. From Kāśa arose a branch called Kāśayaḥ. Dhanvantari, a descendant of Kāśa, was king of the Kāśis (verse 22). Divodāsa was great-grandson of Dhanvantari. He killed 100 sons of Bhadraśreṇya, who first was Lord of Vārāṇasī. Then Śiva sent his *gaṇa* Nikumbha to destroy Vārāṇasī which had been occupied by Divodāsa. Nikumbha cursed it to be devastated for a thousand years. When it became devastated it came to be called Avimukta and Śiva resided there. It was again re-established (verse 68) by Durdama, a son of Bhadraśreṇya, whom, because he was a child, Divodāsa had not killed. Then Pratardana, son of Divodāsa, took it from Durdama. Alarka, grandson of Divodāsa and king of Kāśis, again established Vārāṇasī. This legend may contain some germs of truth, viz. that Vārāṇasī had become devastated several times and had often changed hands. The Vāyupurāṇa (chap. 92) and the Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 11) also contain the same legends of Dhanvantari, Divodāsa, and Alarka and the vicissitudes of Vārāṇasī.

1409 a. काशिष्वपि नृपो राजन् दिवोदासपितामहः । हर्यश्व इति विख्यातो बभूव जयतां वरः ॥ अनुशासन 30 10.

1410. महावीर्यो महीपालः काशीनामीश्वरः प्रभुः । दिवोदास इति ख्यातो भैमसेनिर्नराधिपः ॥ उद्योग 117.1.

1411. सौदेवस्त्वथ काशीशो दिवोदासोऽभ्यषिच्यत ।...वाराणसीं महातेजा निर्ममे शक्रशासनात् ॥ विप्रक्षत्रियसंबाधां वैश्यशूद्रसमाकुलाम् । नैकद्रव्योच्चयवतीं समृद्धविपणापणाम् । गङ्गाया उत्तरे कूले वप्रान्ते राजसत्तम । गोमत्या दक्षिणे कूले शक्रस्येवामरावतीम् । अनुशासन 30. 15-18.

In the Mahābhāṣya Patañjali states (vol. I. p. 380,) that Vārāṇasī is alongside of Gaṅgā and on Pāṇ. IV. 3. 84 (vol. II. p. 313) he informs us that traders call Vārāṇasī Jitvarī.

Ancient Buddhist works show that Banaras was, in the times of Buddha (5th Century B. C. at the latest), a great and famous city like Campā, Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī, Sāketa and Kauśāmbī (vide Mahāparinibbānasutta, S. B. E. vol. XI p. 99 and Mahāsudassanasutta, ibid. p. 247). The very fact that Buddha attained Enlightenment at Gayā (which was an out of the way place and on the borders, if at all, of Āryāvarta), thought it necessary to travel hundreds of miles from Gayā and preach his doctrines at Banaras in the Deer-park and set rolling the wheel of the kingdom of Dharma at that place, clearly indicates that Banaras had then become a very holy place and was in the centre of all Aryan activities and culture (vide S. B. E. vol. XI. p. 153 and vol. XIII p. 90, Mahāvagga, S. B. E. vol. 17 p. 21). King Brahmadatta of Banaras figures in many *jātaka* stories. Hardly any part of the *jātaka* tales can be placed earlier than the 3rd century B. C. But it may be admitted that Banaras was well-known as the capital of Brahmadatta kings several centuries before Christ. The Matsyapurāṇa 273, while enumerating hundreds of kings bearing the same surnames, states that there were 100 Brahmadattas and 100 Kāśis and Kuśas.[1412] But the very fact that Brahmadattas are separately mentioned from the Kāśis largely reduces the value of this piece of information. The ancient Jain works also speak of Banaras and Kāśī. In the Kalpasūtra it is said that Arhat Pārśva was born in Banaras in the month of Caitra on the 4th day of the dark fortnight (S. B. E. vol. XXII p. 271) and that when Mahāvīra died the 18 confederate kings of Kāśi and Kosala along with other kings of the Licchavis and Mallakis instituted an illumination on the day of the New Moon (ibid, p. 266). Aśvaghoṣa appears to identify Vārāṇasī with Kāśī when he says in his Buddhacarita 'Having entered Vārāṇasī, the Jina (Buddha) illumining the city with his light filled the minds of all the inhabitants of Kāśī with excessive interest.'[1413] The Buddhacarita further speaks of Buddha as having gone under the shadow of a tree near Vaṇārā (S. B. E. vol. 49 part 1 p.

1412. शतमेकं धार्तराष्ट्रा अशीतिर्जनमेजयाः। शतं वै ब्रह्मदत्तानां वीराणां कुरवः शतम्। ततः शतं च पञ्चालाः शतं काशिकुशादयः॥ मत्स्य. 273. 72–73.

1413. वाराणसीं प्रविश्याथ भासा सम्भासयञ्जिनः। चकार काशिदेशीयान् कौतुकाक्रान्तचेतसः॥ बुद्धचरित 15. 101.

169), which is probably the Varaṇā. It is thus clear that Vārāṇasī and Kāśī had become synonyms at least sometime about the first century A. D. In the Vāyupurāṇa 45. 110 *Kāśi-kośalāḥ* figure among the countries of Madhyadeśa.

In the Viṣṇupurāṇa we have the story of Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva who challenged Kṛṣṇa and asked the latter to surrender his *Cakra* and other symbols. He was helped by the king of Kāśī. The combined armies of Pauṇḍraka and Kāśirāja attacked Kṛṣṇa who killed Pauṇḍraka and cut off Kāśirāja's head (with his discus) which fell in the city of Kāśī. His son performed austerities, propitiated Śaṅkara and secured from him a Kṛtyā (ogress) which entered Vārāṇasī. Kṛṣṇa's discus in pursuit of her burnt the whole of Vārāṇasī together with its king, his servants and citizens. In this account from the Viṣṇupurāṇa (V. 34) the names Kāśī, Vārāṇasī and Avimukta are employed as synonyms (verses 14, 21, 25, 30, 39). The same legend occurs in the same words in Brahmapurāṇa, chap. 207 and is briefly referred to in Sabhāparva, chap. 14. 18–20 and chap. 34. 11.

From the above-mentioned accounts in the Epic and Purāṇas about Kāśī and Mahādeva, various conclusions[1414] have been drawn by writers, viz. that Mahādeva was a god of the non-Aryans, that Banaras was a centre of non-Aryan worship for a long time after the advent of the Aryans and that the people of Banaras, though they ultimately turned to the Aryan religion, were more interested in the philosophic speculations of the Upaniṣadic age. I dissent from most of these conclusions. We are on most unsafe ground as regards these conclusions. None of the extant Purāṇas can claim to be older than the 3rd or 4th century A. D. Most people in India lived and even now live a humdrum, placid and unattractive life in which there is nothing to satisfy the ordinary man's appetite for the mysterious, the unusual and the horrible. The purāṇas contain stories that may be divided into several classes and that satisfied the above-mentioned cravings of the common man. Many of the

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1414. Vide, for example, Prof. A. S. Altekar's 'History of Benares,' pp. 2–7. The Nāradīya (uttara, chap. 29) states that Banaras was at first the city of Mādhava, but later on became a Saiva-kṣetra; is there any real historical basis here? If any historical conclusion is to be drawn from this statement of the Nāradīyapurāṇa it would be exactly the opposite of what Prof. Altekar has drawn, viz. that the non-Aryans scored a cultural victory over the Aryans at Banaras.

legends contained in the purāṇas were meant for the entertainment of common people, just as even in these days millions in Western countries read with relish detective stories and crime club fiction. Some *paurāṇic* legends had a serious purpose in view viz emphasizing religious or philosophical dogma or moral values and standards and were clothed in a supernatural garb to make them striking and effective. Only a few legends have some historical basis, but the latter is evidently smothered in a mass of exaggerations and prejudices for or against a hero, or a caste, class, tribe or family. It is hardly fair to draw far-reaching historical conclusions from heterogeneous materials in the purāṇas about the conditions of things that prevailed several hundreds or thousands of years before they were compiled. The purāṇas often speak of the quarrels and bickerings among high gods and sages. For example, the Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 30. 65 speaks of a fight between Indra and Kṛṣṇa. Was Kṛṣṇa a non-Aryan god originally? Gaṇeśa's left tooth was shattered by the missile of Paraśurāma who comes to fight with Rāma, both being supposed to be *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. The sage Bhṛgu curses Viṣṇu, Gautama curses Indra, Māṇḍavya curses Dharma (vide for all these, Brahmāṇḍa III. 27. 21-25).

In several purāṇas Kāśī or Vārāṇasī has been lauded and described at great length. Vide Matsya 180-185 (411 verses), Kūrma I.31-35 (verses 226), Liṅgapurāṇa (pūrvabhāga, chap. 92, verses 190), Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 33-37, verses 170), Agni 112, Skanda, Kāśīkhaṇḍa, chap. 6 ff., Nāradīya (uttara, chap. 48-51). The Kāśīkhaṇḍa alone has about 15000 verses[1415] on Banaras and its sub-tīrthas. In the Padmapurāṇa the sages are said to have asked Bhṛgu five questions, viz. what is the greatness of Kāśī, how it is to be understood, who should resort to it, what is its extent (or boundaries) and by what means it (Kāśī) can be secured. In the Skandapurāṇa,

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1415. Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall (Introduction to Sherring's work p. XXXII n. 3) criticizes Dr. Wilson for holding that the greater part of the Kāśīkhaṇḍa is anterior to the first attack on Banaras by Mahmud of Gazni and holds that it is later than the Gaznivide invader. Dr. Hall advances hardly any convincing reasons. The work of Alberuni is definite that Sultan Mahmud of Gazni had not spread his depredations as far as Banaras (vide Sachau, vol. I p. 22): 'This is the reason why Hindu Sciences...have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares and other places.' The Kalpataru on Tīrtha quotes about one hundred verses on Vārāṇasī

(*Continued on the next page*)

Kāśīkhaṇḍa [1416] (chap. 26.2-5) the following questions are asked, viz. from what time this holy place Avimukta became highly famous, how it received the name Avimukta, how it became the way to *mokṣa*, how the pool of Maṇikarṇikā became an object of worship to the three worlds, what was there formerly (when) the Ganges was not there, how it came to be called Vārāṇasī, Kāśī, Rudrāvāsa, how it came to be Ānandakānana (the forest of bliss) and then Avimukta and Mahāśmaśāna (the great cemetery).

Banaras has been known for centuries under five different names viz. Vārāṇasī, Kāśī, Avimukta, Ānandakānana and Śmaśāna or Mahāśmaśāna. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa states that Śaṅkara first called it Ānandakānana and then Avimukta. [1417]

(Continued from the last page)

from the Skandapurāṇa and holds the latter work to be as authoritative as the Matsyapurāṇa, Liṅgapurāṇa and other Purāṇas. The Kalpataru of Lakshmīdhara was composed about 1110 A. D. (vide Prof. Aiyangar's Introduction to Tīrthakāṇḍa pp. XVIII-XIX). Therefore a century or two at least before 1100 A.D. there existed a Skandapurāṇa, part of which contained a eulogium of Banaras. Unfortunately the present printed Kāśīkhaṇḍa of the Skanda does not agree with the quotations from the Skanda given by the Kalpataru. A curious state of things is divulged as regards the quotations from Skanda in the Kalpataru. For example, on pp. 36-37 of the Kalpataru on Tīrtha, about 19 verses are quoted from Skanda which occur *verbatim* in the Liṅgapurāṇa, chap. 92. 120-142 (with the addition of some half verses). Similarly, on p. 44 of the Kalpataru three verses are quoted from Skanda, which are the same as Liṅga. 92. 87-89. On p. 42 Kalpataru quotes one verse about Gopreksesvara from Skanda which is quoted from the Liṅgapurāṇa by Tri S. p. 171. Some of the Purāṇas say that the Skanda has 81101 verses (Matsya 53. 42-43). But the Skanda printed at the Veṅkaṭeśvara press contains several thousand verses more. It appears that there were different recensions of the Skanda. The Tri. S. quotes verses from specific chapters of the Kāśīkhaṇḍa which are generally found in the printed work. Vide p. 193 (for chap. 30), 190 (for chap. 32), p. 144 (for chap. 34), p. 160 for chap. 45, p. 154 for chap. 49, pp. 157 and 200 for chap. 61 etc.

1416. किं माहात्म्यं कथं वेधं सेव्या कैश्च द्विजोत्तम। परिमाणं च तस्याः किं केनोपायेन लभ्यते॥ पद्म, पातालखण्ड q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 72; अविमुक्तमिदं क्षेत्रं कदारभ्य भुवस्तले। परां प्रथितिमापन्नं मोक्षदं चाभवत्कथम्॥ कथमेषा त्रिलोकीड्या गीयते मणिकर्णिका। तत्रासीत्किं पुरा स्वामिन् यदा नामरनिम्नगा॥ वाराणसीति काशीति रुद्रावास इति प्रभो। अवाप नामधेयानि कथमेतानि सा पुरी। आनन्दकाननं रम्यमविमुक्तमनन्तरम्। महाश्मशानमिति च कथं ख्यातं शिखिध्वज॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 26. 2-5.

1417. अस्यानन्दवनं नाम पुराकारि पिनाकिना। क्षेत्रस्यानन्दहेतुत्वादविमुक्तमनन्तरम् स्कन्द, काशी० 26.34 q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 89 (reads निरन्तरं).

A few words must be said about the derivation and significance of these words as gathered from the Purāṇas and other works. And first comes Kāśī. It is derived from the root *kāś* 'to shine.' The Skandapurāṇa [1418] says that the city of Kāśī became famous by that name because it sheds light on (the way to) nirvāṇa (final release) or because that indescribable refulgence, viz. God Śiva shines forth there. The name Vārāṇasī is derived in several Purāṇas from the names of two streams Varaṇā [1419] (modern Bārnā) and Asi, which are respectively the northern and southern boundaries of the modern city. From the passages quoted below from the Skandapurāṇa (Kāśī-khaṇḍa) it appears that Asi is the correct form of the name of the river. The names most frequently used in the Purāṇas are Vārāṇasī and Avimukta. In the Jābālopaniṣad [1420] the words Avimukta, Varaṇā and Nāsī are brought together in an esoteric sense. "Atri asked Yājñavalkya: how is one to know the unmanifested Self? Yājñavalkya explained that he was to be worshipped in Avimukta, since the self is centered in Avimukta. Then a question was asked: in what is Avimukta centered or established? The reply is that Avimukta is established in the midst of Varaṇā and Nāsī. Varaṇā is so called because it

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1418. काशतेऽत्र यतो ज्योतिस्तदनाख्येयमीश्वरः । अतो नामापरं चास्तु काशीति प्रथितं विभो॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 26.67 q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 88; प्रापयामास तां गङ्गां वैलीपिः पुरतश्चरन् । निर्वाणकाशनाद्यत्र काशीति प्रथिता पुरी। स्कन्द, काशी० 30.5; काशी ब्रह्मेति विख्यातं ताद्वितो जगद्भ्रमः । अविमुक्तं तदेवाहुः काशीति ब्रह्मवादिनः॥ q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 88.

1419. वरणायास्तथा चास्या मध्ये वाराणसी पुरी । पद्म, आदि 33.49, कूर्म I. 31.63 (reads ह्यस्या); वरणाऽसी नदी यावत्तावच्छुक्लनदी (शुष्कनदी?) तु वै। मत्स्य 183.62; असिश्च वरणा यत्र क्षेत्ररक्षाकृतौ कृते। वाराणसीति विख्याता तदारभ्य महामते। असेश्च वरणायाश्च सङ्गमं प्राप्य काशिका। स्कन्द, काशी० 30. 69-70; वरणा च नदी नासी मध्ये वाराणसी तयोः। अग्नि. 112.6. नासी appears to be a misreading for चासी. In काशीखण्ड 30.18 there is a pun on the word असि (a sword, the river) 'असिं महासिरूपां च प्राप्य सन्मतिखण्डनीम् ।'; दक्षिणोत्तरदिग्भागे कृत्वासिं वरणां सुराः । क्षेत्रस्य मोक्षनिक्षेपरक्षानिर्वृतिमाययुः॥ क्षेत्रस्य पश्चाद्दिग्भागे तं देहलिविनायकम्। काशीखण्ड 30. 20-21; वरुणा (वरणा?) च असी चापि द्वे नद्यौ सुरवल्लभे। अन्तरालं तयोः क्षेत्रं मध्ये (वध्या?) न विशते क्वचित्। पद्म V. 14.191. वध्या means हत्या. The वामनपुराण, after stating that काशीक्षेत्र is between वरणा and आसी (3.28 ff) contains a poetic description of वाराणसी with श्लेषs quite in the style of Bāṇa 'तारागणे कुलीनत्वं मेघे वृत्तच्युतिर्विभो' (v. 38).

1420. अथ हैनमत्रिः पप्रच्छ याज्ञवल्क्यम्। य एषोऽनन्तोऽव्यक्त आत्मा तं कथमहं विजानीयामिति। सहोवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः। सोऽविमुक्त उपास्यः। य एषोऽनन्तोऽव्यक्त आत्मा सोऽविमुक्ते प्रतिष्ठित इति। सोऽविमुक्तः कस्मिन् प्रतिष्ठित इति। वरणायां नास्यां च मध्ये प्रतिष्ठित इति। का वै वरणा का च नासीति। सर्वानिन्द्रियकृतान्दोषान्वारयतीति वरणा भवति। सर्वानिन्द्रियकृतान्पापान्नाशयतीति तेन नासी भवतीति। कतमच्चास्य स्थानं भवतीति। भ्रुवोर्घ्राणस्य च यः सन्धिः स एष द्योर्लोकस्य परस्य च सन्धिर्भवतीति। जाबालोप० 2nd para.

wards off all faults due to the senses and Nāsī destroys all sins due to the senses. Then a question is asked: what is its location (sthāna)? The reply is that it is the conjunction of the eyebrows and the nose i. e. the upāsanā (contemplation) of Avimukta is to be made as located in the span between the eyebrows and the root of the nose." Here it will be seen that Varaṇā and Nāsī are the names (and not Varaṇā and Asī). The Vāmanapurāṇa employs the form Asī (15.50–53). The same is the case with the Padma.

The name Avimukta has generally been explained as derived from the negative particle 'na' (for which 'a' is substituted) and vimukta (forsaken). Many Purāṇas say that the holy place is so called because it was never forsaken by Śiva (sometimes both Śiva and his consort).[1421] In the Liṅgapurāṇa another derivation is suggested:[1422] "avi means 'sin'; that holy place is devoid of sin". The Kāśīkhaṇḍa (39.74) states that originally the *kṣetra* was called Ānandakānana and then Avimukta because though Śiva went to stay on Mandara mountain he did not leave it entirely but left his *liṅga* there.

Vārāṇasī is very dear to Śiva, it gives him joy and therefore it is called Ānandavana or Ānandakānana.[1423] It is also styled Śmaśāna or Mahāśmaśāna for various reasons. As a belief was entertained by all people that death in Banaras freed a man from *saṁsāra*, and as the thoughts and aspirations of pious Hindus ran in the direction of dying on the sacred soil of Banaras, the old and decrepit crowded therein and persons seriously ill got themselves removed or were removed to the banks of the Ganges when about to die and were cremated there. Cremation of corpses is always seen on the Maṇikarṇikā *ghāt* near the Ganges. A śmaśāna (cemetery) is considered impure but Banaras with the sacred Ganges was purest in spite of being always the cremation ground for thousands in a year.

1421. मुने प्रलयकालेऽपि न तत्क्षेत्रं कदाचन । विमुक्तं हि शिवाभ्यां यदविमुक्तं ततो विदुः॥ स्कन्द, काशी॰ 26.27 q. by त्रिस्थली॰ p. 89; लिङ्गपुराण (पूर्वार्ध) 92. 45–46 विमुक्तं न मया यस्मान्मोक्ष्यते वा कदाचन । मम क्षेत्रमिदं तस्मादविमुक्तमिति स्मृतम्॥ ; almost the same verse is नारदीय (उत्तर) 48.24 : vide मत्स्य. 180.54 and 181.15, अग्नि. 112.2 and लिङ्ग I. 92. 104.

1422. अविशब्देन पापस्तु वेदोक्तः कथ्यते द्विजैः । तेन मुक्तं मया जुष्टमविमुक्तमतोच्यते॥ लिङ्ग (पूर्वार्ध) 92.143.

1423. यथा प्रियतमा देवि मम त्वं सर्वसुन्दरि। तथा प्रियतरं चैतन्मे सदानन्दकाननम्॥ काशीखण्ड 32.111 ; अविमुक्तं परं क्षेत्रं जन्तूनां मुक्तिदं सदा। सेवेत सततं धीमान् विशेषान्मरणान्तिके॥ लिङ्ग I. 91. 76.

The Skanda says: [1424] 'śma' means a corpse and 'śāna' means 'lying down'; when the end of the world comes, the great elements lie here as corpses and therefore this place is called Mahāśmaśāna." The Padmapurāṇa [1425] makes Śiva say: 'Avimukta is a famous cemetery: becoming the Destroyer (or the Time Spirit) I being here destroy the world'. Matsya very frequently speaks of Vārāṇasī as Śmaśāna. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa states: if a man after reaching the great cemetery dies there by fate he has never again to lie in the cemetery (i. e. he is not born again).

Although generally Kāśī, Vārāṇasī and Avimukta are used as synonyms in the Purāṇas, in some passages a distinction is made between these as to extent. The passages quoted above (in note 1419) show that Vārāṇasī is bounded by the Varaṇā and Asi on the north and south,[1426] the Ganges on the east and the shrine of Vināyaka in the west. Ain. A. (vol. II p. 158) remarks that Benares is a large city situated between the rivers Barnā and Asi and that it is built in the form of a bow of which the Ganges forms the string. The Matsyapurāṇa [1427] states: 'that kṣetra is two *yojanas* and a half east and west and half a *yojana* broad north and south; out of this Vārāṇasī extends up to the dry river (viz. Asi)'. The first part appears to deal with the entire Kāśīkṣetra which according to the Padmapurāṇa [1428] comprised the tract covered by a circle the radius of which was the line joining Madhyameśvara-liṅga

1424. श्मशब्देन शवः प्रोक्तः शानं शयनमुच्यते। निर्वचन्ति श्मशानार्थं मुने शब्दार्थकोविदाः। महान्त्यपि च भूतानि प्रलये समुपस्थिते। शेरतेऽत्र शवा भूत्वा श्मशानं तु ततो महत्। स्कन्द, काशी. 30. 103–4; वाराणसीति काशीति रुद्रावास इति द्विज। महाश्मशानमित्येवं प्रोक्तमानन्दकाननम्। ibid 30.111.

1425. श्मशानमेतद्विख्यातमविमुक्तमिति श्रुतम्। कालो भूत्वा जगदिदं संहराम्यत्र सुन्दरि॥ पद्म. I. 33.14; परं गुह्यं समाख्यातं श्मशानमिति संज्ञितम्। मत्स्य. 184.5; श्मशानमिति विख्यातमविमुक्तं शिवालयम्। मत्स्य. 184.19; क्षेत्राणामुत्तमं चैव श्मशानानां तथैव च। मत्स्य. 184.26; vide also मत्स्य. 182.6; महाश्मशानमासाद्य यदि दैवाद्विपद्यते। पुनः श्मशानशयनं न क्वापि लभते पुमान्। काशीखण्ड 31.130.

1426. दक्षिणोत्तरयोर्नद्यौ वरणासिश्च पूर्वतः। जाह्नवी पश्चिमे चापि पाशपाणिर्गणेश्वरः॥ पद्म, पातालखण्ड q. by त्रिस्थली° p. 100, तीर्थप्र. p. 175.

1427. द्वियोजनमथार्धं च तत्क्षेत्रं पूर्वपश्चिमम्। अर्धयोजनविस्तीर्णं दक्षिणोत्तरतः स्मृतम्। वाराणसी तदीया च यावच्छुष्कनदी (शुष्कनदी?) तु वै। एष क्षेत्रस्य विस्तारः प्रोक्तो देवेन धीमता॥ मत्स्य. 184. 50–52.

1428. मध्यमेश्वरमारभ्य यावद्देहलिविघ्नपम्। सूत्रं संस्थाप्य तद्विष्णु भ्रामयेन्मण्डलाकृति। तत्र या आयती रेखा तन्मध्ये क्षेत्रमुत्तमम्। काशीति यद्विदुर्वेदास्तत्र मुक्तिः प्रतिष्ठिता॥ काश्यां तु परमं क्षेत्रं विशेषफलसाधनम्। वाराणसीति विख्यातं तन्मानं निगदामि वः॥ पद्म, पातालखण्ड q. by त्रिस्थली° p. 100, तीर्थप्र. p. 175.

with the shrine of Dehali-Gaṇeśa. The Matsyapurāṇa (in chap. 183.61–62) makes it two yojanas in extent. Agni 112. 6 also does the same. But that is only approximate. The actual distance covered by a yojana varied. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 145–146 n. 185. Rhys Davids in 'Numismata Orientalia' (London, 1877) after examining 30 passages from Pāli texts comes to the conclusion that a yojana was equal to about 7 or 8 miles. Avimukta is said to be that part of the holy place which is represented by a radius of 200 *dhanus* (i. e. 800 *hastas* or about 1200 feet) in all four directions from the shrine of Viśveśvara.[1429] There was no unanimity on the extent of Avimukta. In Kāśīkhaṇḍa Avimukta[1429a] is said to be five *krośas* in extent. But there Avimukta appears to stand for Kāśī. The innermost[1430] circle in the holy Kāśīkṣetra is defined as that between Gokarṇeśvara to the west, the mid stream of the Ganges to the east, Bhārabhūta to the north and Brahmeśvara to the south. A few more passages on the extent of the sacred place of Banaras may be cited here in one place. The Liṅgapurāṇa[1431] says: 'this kṣetra is declared to be four *krośas* (in extent) in the four directions and also one yojana'. The Nāradīyapurāṇa[1432] puts the extent thus '(The kṣetra) extends over two *yojanas* and a half from east to west and is half a yojana wide from north to south; god Śambhu declared the extent of the kṣetra between the rivers Varuṇā and Asi (which latter is) a dried-up stream.' In the Padmapurāṇa[1433]

1429. विश्वेश्वराच्चतुर्दिक्षु धनुःशतद्वयोन्मितम्। अविमुक्ताभिधं क्षेत्रं मुक्तिस्तत्र न संशयः। पद्म, पातालखण्ड q. by त्रिस्थली॰ p. 101, तीर्थप्र. p. 175. A धनुः is equal to four हस्तs. Vide note 1337 above.

1429 a. अविमुक्तं महाक्षेत्रं पञ्चक्रोशपरीमितम्। ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं तदेकं हि ज्ञेयं विश्वेश्वराभिधम्॥ काशीखण्ड 26. 31.

1430. गोकर्णेशः पश्चिमे पूर्वतश्च गङ्गामध्यमुत्तरे भारभूतः। ब्रह्मेशानो दक्षिणे संप्रविष्टस्त्वेतु प्रोक्तं भवनं विश्वभर्तुः। पद्म, पातालखण्ड q. by त्रिस्थली॰ p. 101; काशीखण्ड (74. 45–46) is similar 'पूर्वतो मणिकर्णीशो ब्रह्मेशो दक्षिणे स्थितः। पश्चिमे चैव गोकर्णो भारभूतस्तथोत्तरे॥ इत्येतदुत्तमं क्षेत्रमविमुक्तं महाफलम्।'.

1431. चतुःक्रोशं चतुर्दिक्षु क्षेत्रमेतत्प्रकीर्तितम्। योजनं विद्धि चार्वङ्गि मृत्युकालेऽमृतप्रदम्॥ लिङ्गपुराण, पूर्वार्ध, 92. 99–100. तीर्थचि. p. 340 and त्रिस्थली॰ p. 103 quote this verse as from स्कन्द.

1432. द्वियोजनमथार्धं च पूर्वपश्चिमतः स्थितम्। अर्धयोजनविस्तीर्णं दक्षिणोत्तरतः स्थितम्॥ वरुणासी नदी यावदसिः शुष्कनदी शुभे। एष क्षेत्रस्य विस्तारः प्रोक्तो देवेन शम्भुना॥ नारदीय (उत्तर chap. 48. 18–19).

1433. पञ्चक्रोशप्रमाणेन क्षेत्रं दत्तं मया तव। क्षेत्रमध्ये यदा गङ्गा गमिष्यति सरिद्वरा। तेन सा महती पुण्या पुरी तव भविष्यति। पुण्या चोदङ्मुखी गङ्गा यत्र प्राची सरस्वती। उदङ्मुखी योजने द्वे गच्छन्ती जाह्नवी नदी॥ पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड 14. 194–196.

Brahmā is supposed to have said to Rudra 'I have given you a kṣetra of the extent of five krośas; when the best of rivers, Gaṅgā, will flow through this kṣetra, the city will be great and holy; the Ganges, as it flows northwards (in Banaras) for two yojanas, will be holy'. If in any texts there be any differences between the extents of Avimukta, it must be supposed that there is an option;[1434] (or, as the Tīr. C. suggests, the differences refer to different *kalpas* i. e. ages). It is clear that Vārāṇasī was that strip of land, the four boundaries of which were the Ganges to the east, Asi to the south, the shrine of Dehali-Vināyaka to the west and the river Varaṇā to the north. In the 7th century Hiouen Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim, notes that Banaras was 18 *lis* (about 3½ miles) in length and about 5 or 6 *lis* (a little more than a mile) in breadth. This makes it clear that the city was then bounded as now by the Varaṇā and Asi. Vide Beal's B. R. W. W. (vol. II p. 44).

Verses laudatory of the greatness and uniqueness of Vārāṇasī literally run into thousands. All that can be done here is to set out a few characteristic verses. The Vanaparva observes:[1435] a person coming to Avimukta and resorting to the sacred place becomes free from the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder by merely seeing the (image of the) Lord of gods (i. e. Viśveśvara) and if he dies there he secures *mokṣa*. The Matsyapurāṇa[1436] contains many striking passages about the unique greatness of Banaras: "Vārāṇasī is always my most secret place; it is always the cause of mokṣa for all beings. Mokṣa may be effected in Prayāga or in this city because I have taken it under my protection; this place is greater than even Prayāga, the foremost among tīrthas. All the sins[1437] that a man may have

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1434. अत्र लैङ्गस्कान्दालोचनया कृत्तिवाससमध्यमेश्वरयोश्चतुर्दिक्षु योजनामितम् अविमुक्तम्। पाद्मे तु विश्वेश्वरात्सर्वतो धनुःशतद्वयमितम्। तथा चात्र परिमाणविकल्पः। त्रिस्थली॰ p. 103.

1435. अविमुक्तं समासाद्य तीर्थसेवी कुरूद्वह। दर्शनाद्देवदेवस्य मुच्यते ब्रह्महत्यया॥ प्राणानुत्सृज्य तत्रैव मोक्षं प्राप्नोति मानवः॥ वनपर्व 84. 79–80.

1436. इदं गुह्यतमं क्षेत्रं सदा वाराणसी मम। सर्वेषामेव भूतानां हेतुर्मोक्षस्य सर्वदा॥ मत्स्य. 180. 47 q. by तीर्थकल्प॰ p. 12 (reads जन्तूनां for भूतानाम्). This is the same as लिङ्ग, पूर्वार्ध 92. 38; प्रयागे वा भवेन्मोक्ष इह वा मत्परिग्रहात्। प्रयागादपि तीर्थाग्र्यादिदमेव महत् स्मृतम्॥ मत्स्य 180. 56–57 quoted by तीर्थकल्प. p. 13 with some additions. It explains 'इदमेव महत्स्मृतमित्यल्पायासेनैवात्र मोक्षप्राप्तेः'. This is also लिङ्गपुराण, पूर्वार्ध 92.48.

1437. अन्यान्तरसहस्रेण यत्पापं पूर्वसञ्चितम्। अविमुक्तं प्रविष्टस्य तत्सर्वं व्रजति क्षयम्॥ ...ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्रा वै वर्णसङ्कराः। कृमिम्लेच्छाश्च ये चान्ये सङ्कीर्णाः पापयोनयः। कालेन निधनं प्राप्ता अविमुक्ते शृणु प्रिये। चन्द्रार्धमौलिनः सर्वे ललाटाक्षा वृषध्वजाः। शिवे मम पुरे देवि मोदन्ते तत्र मानवाः॥ मत्स्य. 181.17–21 = पद्म. I. 33.17–20, q. by तीर्थकल्प॰ p. 15. The verse ब्राह्मणाः॰ occurs in नारदीय (उत्तर 48. 51–52).

accumulated in thousands of past lives are destroyed the moment he enters Avimukta; brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas, śūdras, persons born of mixed marriages, worms, *mlecchas* and others born of low mixed unions, insects, ants, birds and beasts, when they succumb to death in course of time all find happiness in my auspicious city, all being endowed with a crescent of the moon on their heads, with a (third) eye on their forehead and have a bull as their conveyance." A person,[1438] even though his mind may be addicted to pleasures of sense and though he may have given up devotion to *dharma*, if he dies in this place (Banaras) he does not again enter upon the path of *saṁsāra* (the cycle of births and deaths); a man concentrating his mind for thousands of past lives may secure Yoga; but by dying (in Banaras) he secures the highest mokṣa in this very life. Even if a man be a sinner [1439] or a rogue or irreligious he becomes free from all sins if he goes to Avimukta. Other women,[1440] that act as they like and are intently devoted to enjoyments, when they die here by lapse of time secure the highest worlds. In this world mokṣa [1441] cannot be secured by men without the (practice of) Yoga; but in the case of those who reside in Avimukta Yoga and mokṣa are both secured. For planets,[1442] lunar mansions and stars there is the danger of falling (from the sky) in course of time but there is no fall for those who die in Avimukta. Whatever [1443] evil actions may have been committed by an evil-minded man or woman, knowingly or unknow-

1438. विषयासक्तचित्तोऽपि त्यक्तधर्मरतिर्नरः। इह क्षेत्रे मृतः सोऽपि संसारं न पुनर्विशेत्॥...जन्मान्तरसहस्रेषु युञ्जन् योगमवाप्नुयात्। तमिहैव परं मोक्षं मरणादधिगच्छति॥ मत्स्य. 180. 71 and 74. इह क्षेत्रे—refer to Banaras and इह means अस्मिन् जन्मनि. These two verses occur in लिङ्गपुराण, पूर्वार्ध 92. 63 and 66 and काशीखण्ड 86. 122 is similar to the first verse.

1439. यदि पापो यदि शठो यदि वाऽधार्मिको नरः। मुच्यते सर्वपापेभ्यो ह्यविमुक्तं व्रजेद्यदि॥ मत्स्य 183. 11, q. by तीर्थकल्प. p. 18. पद्म (I. 33. 38) has the first half and reads the second half as वाराणसीं समासाद्य पुनाति सकलं कुलम्।.

1440. अन्या याः कामचारिण्यः स्त्रियो भोगपरायणाः। कालेन निधनं प्राप्ता गच्छन्ति परमां गतिम्॥ मत्स्य 184. 36.

1441. न हि योगादृते मोक्षः प्राप्यते भुवि मानवैः। अविमुक्ते निवसतां योगो मोक्षश्च सिध्यति॥ मत्स्य 185. 15–16 q. by तीर्थकल्प० p. 17.

1442. ग्रहनक्षत्रताराणां कालेन पतनाद्भयम्। अविमुक्ते मृतानां तु पतनं नैव विद्यते॥ मत्स्य 185. 61 = काशीखण्ड 64.96 (reads कालेन पतनं ध्रुवम्).

1443. अज्ञानाज्ज्ञानतो वापि स्त्रिया वा पुरुषेण वा। यत्किंचिदशुभं कर्म कृतं चैव कुबुद्धिना॥ अविमुक्तं प्रविश्यैव तत्सर्वं भस्मसाद्भवेत्॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 48. 33–34; वरं काशीपुरीवासी म्लेच्छोऽपि हि शुभायतिः। नान्यत्रस्थो दीक्षितोऽपि स हि मुक्तेरभाजनम्॥ काशी० 85.15.

ingly—all those are reduced to ashes when he enters Avimukta. Even a *mleccha* resident in Kāśī is better, since his future will be blissful, but not one residing elsewhere, though he may be a dīkṣita, because he will not be a recipient of *mukti*."

In some passages a mystic flavour is imparted to Vārāṇasī and the rivers. For example, the Kāśīkhaṇḍa says that Asi is the Iḍā nāḍī, Varaṇā is the Piṅgalā nāḍī, Avimukta is suṣumṇā and Vārāṇasī is all the three.[1444] The Liṅgapurāṇa, however, puts the matter somewhat differently. It holds that Asi (the dried-up river), Varaṇā and Matsyodarī (i. e. Ganges) are respectively the Piṅgalā, Iḍā and Suṣumnā.

It is time now to turn to the individual sacred spots in Banaras. It is stated in some of the Purāṇas[1445] that at every step in the Kāśīkṣetra there is a holy place and that there is not even as much space as a sesamum seed in Kāśī which has not a *liṅga* (emblem of Śiva). As a matter of fact the Kāśīkhaṇḍa names 64 liṅgas in chap. 10 alone. But one must look to the tīrthas that are specifically named. Hiouen Thsang says that there were one hundred temples at Banaras in his day and he speaks of a temple where the copper image of Deva Maheśvara was a little less than 100 feet high (vide Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. II. pp. 44–45). Unfortunately, the fanatical zeal and ruthlessness of Moslem rulers demolished almost all Hindu temples at different times from 1194 to about 1670 A. D. Mosques and mausoleums were erected on their sites, and the materials of the temples thus razed were used in constructing mosques and for serving as breakwaters &c. Kutubdin Aibak destroyed about 1000 temples in 1194 A. D. (vide Elliot and Dowson's 'History of India', vol. II. p. 222). Alauddin Khilzi boasted that he had destroyed one thousand temples in Banaras alone (vide Sherring p. 31, Havell p. 76). About 1585 A. D. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa re-established the temple of Viśvanātha with the help

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1444. सहोवाचेति जाबालिरारुणेऽसिरिडा मता। वरणा पिङ्गला नाडी तदन्तस्त्वविमुक्तकम्॥ सा सुषुम्णा परा नाडी त्रयं वाराणसी त्वसौ॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 5.25 ; compare नारदीय (उत्तर) 47. 22–23 ; पिङ्गला नाम या नाडी आग्नेयी सा प्रकीर्तिता। शुष्का सरिच्च सा ज्ञेया लोलार्को यत्र तिष्ठति॥ इडानाम्नी च या नाडी सा सौम्या संप्रकीर्तिता। वरणा नाम सा ज्ञेया केशवो यत्र संस्थितः॥ आभ्यां मध्ये तु या नाडी सुषुम्ना सा प्रकीर्तिता॥ मत्स्योदरी च सा ज्ञेया विषुवं तत्प्रकीर्तितम्॥ लिङ्गपुराण q. by तीर्थचि. p. 341, त्रिस्थली० pp. 78–79.

1445. तीर्थानि सन्ति भूयांसि काश्यामत्र पदे पदे। न पञ्चनदतीर्थस्य कोट्यंशेन समान्यपि॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 59. 118 ; तिलान्तरापि नो काश्यां भूमिर्लिङ्गं विना क्वचित्। काशीखण्ड 10. 103.

of Rājā Todarmal[1446]. Even this temple was desecrated. The following passage from the Ma-A'sir-i-A'lamgiri quoted by Elliot and Dowson ('History of India,' vol. VII. p. 184) is instructive: "It reached the ears of his Majesty, the protector of the faith, that in the provinces of Thatta, Multan and Benares, but especially in the latter foolish brāhmaṇas were in the habit of expounding frivolous books in their schools and that students and learners, Musalmans as well as Hindus, went there even from long distances, led by a desire to become acquainted with the wicked sciences they taught. 'The Director of the Faith' consequently issued orders to all the governors of provinces to destroy with a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels; and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and practising of idolatrous forms of worship. On the 15th Rabiu-lākhir (i. e. December 1669) it was reported to his religious Majesty, leader of the Unitarians, that in obedience to order, the Government officers had destroyed the temple of Bishnath at Benares."

A mosque, which still exists, was built on the site of the Viśveśvara temple by Aurangzeb, who even changed the name of Banaras to Muhammadabad. The result is that, as stated by Sherring (p. 32), it would be difficult to find twenty temples in the whole of Banaras of the age of Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A. D.). Many of the temples were built by the Maratha Chiefs and *Sardars* and during the British occupation many more were built. Prinsep calculated in about 1828 that there were in the Banaras city proper 1000 Hindu temples and 333 mosques; a more recent estimate puts the figures at 1454 temples and 272 mosques (Sherring[1447] pp. 41-42).

Viśveśvara or Viśvanātha is the tutelary deity of Banaras and the principal and most holy temple in it (vide n. 1429 a). It is prescribed that every resident of Kāśī must every day bathe in the Ganges and visit the temple of Viśveśvara (vide Tri. S. p. 214). After Aurangzeb pulled down the temple of Viśvanātha, there was no shrine of Viśvanātha in Benares for over a hundred years. The *liṅga* was probably removed from place

1446. Vide Altekar pp. 47-48 and Introduction to my edition of the Vyavahāramayūkha p. VIII (Poona, 1926), where I cite a verse from the Dānahīrāvali-prakāśa of Divākarabhaṭṭa, a daughter's son of Nīlakaṇṭha, who was the grandson of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.

1447. Havell (p. 76) remarks that there are 1500 temples and that smaller shrines or images in niches of walls or the like are countless.

to place as the vicissitudes of the times required and the pilgrims performed parts of the worship (such as *namaskāra* and circumambulation) at the site of the image, but they could not perform other portions of the worship such as bathing the image with Ganges water[1448]. The present temple of Viśvanātha was built in the last quarter of the 18th century by *Devi Ahalyābāi* Holkar (Altekar, p. 57). The Tri. S. p. 183, while on the question of the appearance (*prādurbhāva*) of Viśveśvara, observes that there is no blemish in the case of the Viśveśvara-liṅga due to the touch of the untouchable, that every day Viśveśvara removes it by a bath in Maṇikarṇikā at dawn and the worship offered by Himself and quotes a verse of the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā in support[1449]. What the Tri. S. means is: Generally great care is taken about *liṅgas*. All and sundry are not allowed to touch them but in the case of the Viśveśvara-liṅga any one, even a great sinner, may worship it and pour Ganges water over it. Whether Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa meant that even the so-called untouchables might touch it is not clear.

It appears that Vācaspati [1449a] holds that Avimukteśvara liṅga is the same as Viśvanātha, but both the Tristhalī-setu (p. 296) and Tīr. Pr. (p. 187) reject this idea. The Skanda-purāṇa (Kāśī. 10. 93) mentions Viśveśvara and Avimukteśvara as separate *liṅgas*. Besides worshipping Viśvanātha, every pilgrim to Benares has to visit the five tīrthas[1450] (Pañcatīrthī). According to the Matsyapurāṇa the five essential tīrthas in the Ānandakānana of Viśveśvara are Daśāśvamedha, Lolārka,[1450a]

1448. अत्र यद्यपि विश्वेश्वरलिङ्गं किंचिदपनीयतेऽन्यदानीयते च कालवशात्पुरुषै-स्तथापि तत्स्थानस्थिते यस्मिन्कस्मिंश्चित्पूजादि कार्यम्।......यदापि म्लेच्छादिदुष्टराजवशात्तस्मिन्स्थाने किञ्चिदपि लिङ्गं कदाचिन्न स्यात् तदापि प्रदक्षिणानमस्काराद्याः स्थानधर्मा भवन्त्येव। तावतैव च नित्ययात्रासिद्धिः। स्नापनादयस्तु साधिष्ठाना न भवन्तीति निर्णयः। त्रिस्थली० p. 208; vide also तीर्थप्रकाश p. 219 (which states that there is no śāstric authority for this, but only usage of śiṣṭas).

1449. विश्वेश्वरलिङ्गेऽस्पृश्यस्पर्शनिबन्धनो दोषो नास्ति प्रत्यहं तेनैव पूजया तन्निराकरणात्। तदुक्तं तत्रैव (सनत्कुमारसंहितायां)। ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते मणिकर्णिकायां स्नात्वा समाराधयति स्वमेव। अस्पृश्यसंस्पर्शविशोधनाय कलौ नराणां कृपया हिताय॥.

1449 a. अविमुक्तश्मशानोभयसंज्ञके क्षेत्रे शिवस्थापितमविमुक्तेश्वरं लिङ्गं विश्वनाथनाम्ना लोकप्रसिद्धम्। तीर्थचि. p. 360.

1450. The Pañcatīrthī has received the highest judicial notice in *Maharani Hemanta Kumari* v. *Gauri Shankar* 68. I. A. 53 at p. 57.

1450 *a*. Lolārka is only one of the shrines of the Sun in Kāśī; vide Kāśīkhaṇḍa 10.83 (Lolārka-mukhya-sūryāṁśca praṇamya ca punaḥ punaḥ) and 46. 45–46, where the shrines of the twelve *Arkas* in Kāśī are enumerated as लोलार्क, उत्तरार्क, साम्बादित्य &c.

Keśava, Bindumādhava and Maṇikarṇikā.[1451] In modern times the five essential tīrthas called Pañcatīrthī are the confluence of the Asi with the Ganges, the Daśāśvamedha *ghāṭ*, Maṇikarṇikā, the Pañcagaṅgā *ghāṭ* and the confluence of the river Varaṇā (called Bārṇā by the common people) with the Ganges. This is based on the Kāśīkhaṇḍa.[1452] The shrine of Lolārka is situated at the confluence of the Asi (the southern boundary of Banaras) with the Ganges. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa [1453] furnishes a popular etymology for the name Lolārka, viz. that the mind of the Sun on seeing Kāśī became agitated. The Asi is a tolerably wide stream (about 40 feet) in the rainy season, but is dry at other times. The several gigantic ghats with their flights of stone steps are a grand sight at Banaras. The Ganges while passing by Banaras takes a great sweep so that its mighty current flows in a northerly direction (that is towards the Himālaya) and is therefore held to be peculiarly holy here. The Daśāśvamedha-ghāṭ has been famed for centuries. Jayaswal's interpretation of the epithets applied to the Bhāraśivas in Vākāṭaka grants should be accepted viz. the Bhāraśivas were an imperial dynasty, were crowned with the holy waters of the Ganges and took their ceremonial baths on the Ganges at the end of ten Aśvamedha sacrifices, on account of which the Daśāśvamedha-ghāṭ [1454] at Banaras was so named (Jayaswal's 'History of India' 150 A. D.-350 A. D. p. 5). In order to realize the grandeur of Banaras on the side of the river one must be at

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1451. तीर्थानां पञ्चकं सारं विश्वेशानन्दकानने। दशाश्वमेधं लोलार्कः केशवो बिन्दुमाधवः। पञ्चमी तु महाश्रेष्ठा प्रोच्यते मणिकर्णिका। एभिस्तु तीर्थवर्यैश्च वर्ण्यते ह्यविमुक्तकम्॥ मत्स्य॰ 185. 68-69.

1452. प्रथमं चासिसम्भेदं तीर्थानां प्रवरं परम्। ततो दशाश्वमेधाख्यं सर्वतीर्थनिवेशितम्। ततः पादोदकं तीर्थमादिकेशवसंनिधौ। ततः पञ्चनदं पुण्यं स्नानमात्रादघौघहृत्। एतेषां पञ्चतीर्थानां चतुर्णामपि सत्तम। पञ्चमं मणिकर्ण्याख्यं मनोवयवशुद्धिदम्। पञ्चतीर्थ्यां नरः स्नात्वा न देहं पाञ्चभौतिकम्। गृह्णाति आशुचित्काश्यां पञ्चास्यो वाभिजायते। काशी॰ 106.110 and 114 q. by त्रिस्थली॰ p. 261, which explains 'यदि देहग्रहणं तदा पञ्चास्यः शिव एव भवति कर्मनिबन्धनो देहो नास्तीति भावः.'

1453. तस्यार्कस्य मनो लोलं यदासीत्काशिदर्शने। अतो लोलार्क इत्याख्या काश्यां जाता विवस्वतः॥ लोलार्कस्त्वसिसम्भेदे दक्षिणस्यां दिशि स्थितः॥ स्कन्द, काशी॰ 46. 48-49. The shrine of लोलार्क is referred to in E. I. vol. V. p, 117 of Vikrama era 1208 (1151 A. D.), a grant of गोविन्दचन्द्र of Kanoj.

1454. 'अंसभारसंनिवेशितशिवलिङ्गोद्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानां पराक्रमाधिगतभागीरथ्यमलजलमूर्धाभिषिक्तानां दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नानानां भारशिवानां महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य...। E. I. vol. III. p. 258 (Dudia plates of प्रवरसेन II) and Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions (Chammak plate of प्रवरसेन II) p. 236 and p. 245 (Siwani plate of the same king).

the Daśāśvamedhaghāṭ at dawn. For the eulogy of Daśāśvamedha, vide Kāśīkhaṇḍa 52. 83 ff. and Tri. S. p. 159. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa says that formerly the tīrtha was called Rudrasaras, but as Brahmā performed ten Aśvamedhas there it came to be called Daśāśvamedha (chap. 52. 66–68). The Maṇikarṇikā (also called Mukti-kṣetra) pool is the very centre of the religious life of Banaras and [1455] is the most holy among all the Banaras tīrthas. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa gives a phantastic story of its origin (in chapter 26 verses 51–63 quoted in Tri. S. pp. 145–146): Viṣṇu dug with his discus a puṣkariṇī, filled it with the perspiration from his own body and performed severe austerities on its bank for 1050 (or 50000) years. Śiva came there and being pleased shook his head and an ear-ornament studded with jewels fell into the pool, which thenceforward came to be called Maṇikarṇikā. The word is [1456] derived in two ways in the Kāśīkhaṇḍa. Śiva who is like the wish-yielding jewel whispers in the ear (karṇikā) of good men the Tāraka mantra at the time of death. The extent of Maṇikarṇikā north to south is said to be 105 *hastas* i. e. about 160 feet (Kāśīkhaṇḍa 99. 54). In modern times the waters of the Maṇikarṇikā pool become foul and fetid because it is shallow (two or three feet deep), because hundreds of pilgrims cast into it flowers and money by way of worship and because the priests stir the waters with their hands and feet to find the coins dropped by pilgrims. Our methods of worship must be changed. The flowers and gifts should be placed on the banks of the pool and then taken away by the priests. The Tri. S. p. 147 mentions several mantras (two of which are set out below) to be recited when contemplating on Maṇikarṇikā [1457]. Near the Maṇikarṇikā pool is the temple of Tārakeśvara so named from the belief that Śiva will whisper the mantra called *tāraka* in the ear of

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1455. तत्र तावत्सकलतीर्थवरिष्ठायाः श्रीमन्मणिकर्णिकाया महिमा। त्रिस्थली° p. 142; तत्रापि सर्वतीर्थानामुत्तमा मणिकर्णिका। नारदीय (उत्तर) 48. 66.

1456. मुक्ताकुण्डलपातेन तवाखिलनयाप्रिय। तीर्थानां परमं तीर्थं मुक्तिक्षेत्रमिहास्तु वै॥ काशी° 26. 66, q. in त्रिस्थली° p. 146; संसारिचिन्तामणिरत्र यस्मात्तं तारकं सज्जनकर्णिकायाम्। शिवोऽभिधत्ते सहसान्तकाले तद्गीयतेऽसौ मणिकर्णिकेति॥ मुक्तिलक्ष्मीमहापीठमणिस्तच्चरणाब्जयोः। कर्णिकेयं ततः प्राहुर्यां जना मणिकर्णिकाम्॥ काशीखण्ड 7. 79–80 q. by त्रिस्थली° p. 148. In the 2nd verse मणि means श्रेष्ठ and the compound is dissolved as मणिश्चासौ कर्णिका च, the meaning being that मणिकर्णिका is the jewel among मुक्तिक्षेत्रs and it is as it were the कर्णिका of the lotus-like feet of मोक्षलक्ष्मी.

1457. तथा चैवं मन्त्रः। ओं ऐं ह्रीं श्रीं क्लीं ओं मं मणिकर्णिके नमः। ओम्। इति। तथा चैवं मन्त्रः। ओं मं मणिकर्णिके प्रणवात्मिके नमः। इति। त्रिस्थली p. 147. The second मन्त्र is based on काशीखण्ड 61. 97.

the dying man brought to the sacred pool[1457a] (vide Kāśīkhaṇḍa 7.78, 25. 72-73 and 32. 115-116). The Pañcagaṅgā *ghāṭ* is so called because it is supposed that five rivers, viz. the Kiraṇā,[1458] Dhūtapāpā, Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī, meet here (though four of them are invisible). This is very highly eulogised and it is said in the Nāradīyapurāṇa and the Kāśīkhaṇḍa (59. 118-133) that when a man takes a bath in the Pañcanada he is not born again in a body made up of the five elements. It is said that this confluence of five rivers had different names viz. Dharmanada, Dhūtapātaka, Bindutīrtha and Pañcanada in Kṛta and the following Yugas respectively. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa in chap. 59 deals with the confluence of five rivers and gives phantastic legends as to why the rivers were called Kiraṇā (59. 108-113) and Dhūtapāpā (59. 101-106). The river Varaṇā is the northern boundary of Vārāṇasī and the end of the *ghāṭs* on the northern side is reached at the confluence of the Varaṇā with the Ganges. That the ghāṭs have been there for at least a thousand years can be proved from copperplates and inscriptions. The Gāhaḍvāla rulers of Kanoj (of whose times at least 55 copperplates and 3 inscriptions on stone were issued during the period 1097 to 1187 A. D.), being devotees of Viṣṇu, several times made grants at the Ādi-Keśava *ghāṭ*. Vide J. R. A. S. for 1896 p. 787 (king Madanapāla's grant on the occasion of a Sun-eclipse after Mahārājñī Pṛthvīśrīkā took a bath), I. A. vol. 19 p. 249 (grant of Govindacandra in *saṁvat* 1188 i. e. 1131 A. D.), E. I. 14 p. 197 (Candrādityadeva, who having bathed at Ādikeśava-ghaṭṭa[1459] at the confluence of the rivers Gaṅgā

1457 a. ब्रह्मज्ञानेन मुच्यन्ते नान्यथा जन्तवः क्वचित्। ब्रह्मज्ञानमये क्षेत्रे प्रयागे वा तनुत्यजः॥ ब्रह्मज्ञानं तदेवाहं काशीसंस्थितिभागिनाम्। दिशामि तारकं प्रान्ते मुच्यन्ते ते तु तत्क्षणात्॥ काशीखण्ड 32. 115-116; vide also काशीखण्ड 86. 48 and नारदीय (उत्तर) 47. 56, 59-62.

1458. किरणा धूतपापा च पुण्यतोया सरस्वती। गङ्गा च यमुना चैव पञ्च नद्यः प्रकीर्तिताः॥ अतः पञ्चनदं नाम तीर्थं त्रैलोक्यविश्रुतम्। तत्राप्लुतो न गृह्णीयाद्देहितां पाञ्चभौतिकीम्॥ अस्मिन्पञ्चनदीनां तु सङ्गमेऽघौघभेदने। स्नानमात्राज्जरो याति भित्त्वा ब्रह्माण्डमण्डपम्॥... कृते धर्मनदं नाम त्रेतायां धूतपापकम्। द्वापरे बिन्दुतीर्थं च कलौ पञ्चनदं स्मृतम्॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 51. 15-18 and 35-36 and काशीखण्ड 59. 115-117 (reads देहं वा पाञ्चभौतिकम्) and 136.

1459. देवश्रीमदादिकेशवदक्षिणमूर्तौ ... अद्याक्षततृतीयायां युगादिपर्वणि ... आदिकेशवघट्टे स्नात्वा...वासुदेवस्य पूजां विधाय...पितृपिण्डयज्ञं निर्वर्त्य उपरि लिखितग्रामाः... गोकर्णकुशपूतकरतलोदकपूर्वं...प्रदत्ताः। E. I. 14 p. 197 at p. 198. For अक्षयतृतीया as one of the four युगादितिथिs vide n. 841 above. That there were several images of Keśava is expressly stated by the काशीखण्ड॰ 10.82 (आदिकेशवमुख्यांश्च केशवान्परितोष्य च). Prof. Altekar observes (p. 28) that the Ādikeśava-ghāṭ, once a royal favourite, is now in a dilapidated condition and is rarely visited by pilgrims.

and Varaṇā bestowed on 500 brāhmaṇas 30 villages on the Akṣayya-tṛtīyā of *saṁvat* 1156). Those rulers made grants at other ghāṭs and sacred spots also. For example, E. I. vol. IV. pp. 97 ff. (21 copperplates of Gāhaḍvālas, of which H in *saṁvat* 1178 speaks of the grant of a village after a bath at the Kapāla-mocana-ghaṭṭa at Banaras where the Ganges flows towards the north; grant L. p. 114 of *saṁvat* 1197 made on a queen taking a bath at the ghaṭṭa of god Vedeśvara in Avimuktakṣetra; grant S. mentions god Kṛttivāsa; grant U. is made to the temple of Lolārka by Jayacandra in *saṁvat* 1233), E. I. vol. VIII p. 149 (five copperplate grants of Govindacandra in *saṁvat* 1207 i. e. 1156 A. D. after a bath at Koṭitīrtha on Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti). The Kāśī-khaṇḍa promises Varuṇa-loka to those charitable people that build stone ghāṭs on the sacred rivers [1460].

One of the most meritorious of all pilgrimages is the Pañcakrośī by road. Lakṣmīdhara in his section on Tīrthas in the Kṛtyakalpataru apparently takes no notice of it. The length of the Pañcakrośī road is about 50 miles and there are hundreds of shrines on the road. Taking Maṇikarṇikā as the centre the whole road describes an irregular semicircle round the city of Banaras with a radius of five krośas (about ten miles) and hence it is called pañcakrośī. The word 'pañcakrośī' occurs very often in the Kāśīkhaṇḍa (as in chap. 26, verses 80 and 114, chap. 55. 44). This pilgrimage may be very briefly described as follows:—The pilgrim starts from the Maṇikarṇikā-ghāṭ and going along the bank of the Ganges arrives at the confluence of the river Asi with the Ganges and halts for the day at a village called Khāṇḍava about six miles from Maṇikarṇikā. The 2nd day's march (for eight or ten miles) ends at the village called Dhūpacaṇḍī where he offers worship to the goddess of that name. On the 3rd day the pilgrim walks 14 miles to the village Rāmeśvara. On the 4th day he walks eight miles and reaches the village Śivapura. On the 5th day he walks 6 miles and reaches the village Kapiladhārā, where the pilgrim offers oblations to his pitṛs. On the 6th day he walks from Kapiladhārā to Varaṇāsaṅgama and thence to Maṇikarṇikā, a distance of six miles. It is the practice for pilgrims to scatter grains of barley from Kapiladhārā to Maṇikarṇikā. The pilgrim bathes, pays *dakṣiṇā* to the priest and then goes to the temple of Sākṣi-Vināyaka who is supposed to bear witness to the pilgrim's having performed the Pañcakrośī-yātrā.

1460. घट्टान्पुण्यतटिन्यादौ बध्नन्ति शिलादिभिः । तोयार्थिसुखसिद्ध्यर्थं ये नरास्तेऽत्र भोगिनः॥ स्कन्द, काशी. 12. 59.

There are numerous other sub-tīrthas in Banaras, some of which may be briefly noticed here. The Jñānavāpī may be mentioned first. The story of its origin is narrated in the Kāśīkhaṇḍa, chap. 33. The Tri. S. (pp. 148-150) refers to it. It is said that when Śiva (Īśāna) saw the Viśveśvara-liṅga a desire arose in him to bathe with its cool water. He dug a *kuṇḍa* with his trident to the south of the temple of Viśveśvara and with the water therefrom he bathed Viśveśvara-liṅga and Viśveśvara granted the boon that the tīrtha would be superior to all tīrthas and that, as Śiva is knowledge (verse 32), the tīrtha would be called Jñānoda or Jñānavāpī. One of the most popular and the most frequented temple is that of Durgā. In chap. 72 (verses 37-65) of the Kāśīkhaṇḍa there is a Durgāstotra called Vajra-pañjara which is referred to in Tri. S. p. 161. There is a temple of Bhairavanātha about a mile to the north of the temple of Viśveśvara. He is the *Kotwal* or police Magistrate of Kāśī and wields a stone cudgel (of enormous thickness). His *vāhana* is a dog. Vide Kāśīkhaṇḍa, chap. 30, for Bhairava. There are many temples of Gaṇeśa. The Tri. S. (pp. 198-199) names 56 Gaṇeśas and indicates their locations, following Kāśīkhaṇḍa, chap. 57.59-115 (ṣaṭ-pañcāśad-Gaja-mukhān-etān-yaḥ saṁsmariṣyati). In Kāśīkhaṇḍa (57. 33) the name Dhuṇḍhi applied to Gaṇeśa is derived from the root 'ḍhuḍhi' in the sense of 'searching' (anveṣaṇe ḍhuḍhir-ayam prathitosti dhātuḥ). Compare the Marathi verb dhuṇḍaṇe.

The Tri. S. discusses at some length (pp. 98-100) the question whether sins committed in all past lives are destroyed by entering Kāśī or whether it is only the sins committed during the present life that are destroyed. Some hold the view that sins committed in this life only are destroyed by visiting Kāśī and by bath in the various sacred spots the sins of previous lives are destroyed. Others hold that by entering Kāśi the sins of all past lives are destroyed, but bath at various sacred spots brings about only the cessation of the tendency to sin in different lives. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa puts forward several other views and says that wise men should hold the view that appears proper.

Many of the purāṇas lay down rules about how one dwelling in Kāśī should act. The injunction is that in Kāśī one should not commit the slightest sin, since the punishment is far more heavy. The Matsya (chap. 185. 17-45) and Kāśīkhaṇḍa, chap. 96, narrate the story of Vyāsa, who while wandering about for alms in Kāśī, did not secure alms and

being hungry and angry was on the point of cursing Kāśī in the words quoted below [1461] when Śiva coming to know his mind assumed the form of a householder, gave him the best of food and ordered Vyāsa not to enter Kāśīkṣetra as he was an irritable man, but allowed him to do so on the 8th and 14th *tithis* only. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa 96. 12–80 and 119–180 speak at great length about how one residing in Kāśī should conduct himself.

Some miscellaneous matters in connection with Banaras may be set out here. Vārāṇasī being a great tīrtha, śrāddha for the benefit of ancestors should be performed there and if it is not possible to perform a śrāddha with all details, at least offerings of piṇḍas should be made.[1462] The construction of *maṭhas* for those who practise penance there and endowing them with means for their maintenance are highly eulogized.[1463]

In the 12th century A. D. there was a Kapālamocanaghāṭ [1464] situated on the Ganges. In a grant published in E. I. vol. IV p. 110 dated *saṁvat* 1178 (1122 A. D.) the Emperor Govindacandra bestowed a village on a brāhmaṇa named Vyāsa after bathing at the Kapāla-mocanaghaṭṭa in Banaras where the Ganges flows to the north. The story of Kapālamocana-tīrtha is narrated in the Matsya-purāṇa, chap. 183. 84–103 and a reference is made to it in Kāśīkhaṇḍa 33. 116.

It may be noted that in the Liṅgapurāṇa, pūrvārdha, chap. 92 verses 67–100, in Padma,[1464a] Ādikhaṇḍa, chap. 34–37,

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1461. तीर्थं चातीर्थतां यातु नगरं शापयाम्यहम् ॥ मा भूत्त्रिपौरुषी विद्या मा भूत्त्रिपौरुषं धनम् । मा भूत्त्रिपौरुषं सख्यं व्यासो वाराणसीं शपन् ॥ अविमुक्ते निवसतां जनानां पुण्यकर्मणाम् । विघ्नं सृजामि सर्वेषां येन सिद्धिर्न विद्यते ॥ मत्स्य 185. 21–23, q. by कल्प॰ on तीर्थ (p. 28). The verse मा भूत्॰ is काशीखण्ड 96. 125.

1462. मनुष्यैः पिण्डदानादि कार्यमत्रागतैः सदा । पिण्डदानं च तत्रैव सुपुत्रैः कार्यमादरात् । सुपुत्रास्ते पितॄणां तु भवन्ति सुखदायकाः । q. by त्रिस्थली. p. 129.

1463. मठानपि तपस्विभ्यः कारयित्वात्र योऽर्पयेत् । जीवनोपायसंयुक्तान् सोऽपि सर्वफलाश्रयः ॥ q. by त्रिस्थली. p. 133.

1464. Dr. Altekar (pp. 28–29) notes that at present a *ghāṭ* and a tank near the Rajaghat station is known by the name Kapālamocanaghāṭ, that there exists a temple near this tank dedicated to Kapālamocaneśvara and that the god must have been removed from the original place to the present habitation at some time during the last 700 years.

1464 a. Kūrma I. 32. 3–29 about Oṁkāra and other Liṅgas are the same as Padma I. 34. 1–25 (with some half verses omitted) and Kūrma I. 33 is taken over bodily in Padma I. 35 and Kūrma I. 34. 2–16 are the same as Padma I. 37. 1–19 (with a few additions).

Kūrma I. 32. 1-12 and I. 35. 1-15 (tīrthas) and in the Kāśīkhaṇḍa, chap. 10. 86-97, chap. 33, chap. 53. 27 ff., chapters 55, 58 and 61 numerous liṅgas and tīrthas of Banaras are named. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa, chap. 73. 32-36 (quoted by Tri. S. pp. 264-265) mentions 14 of these as Mahāliṅgas, viz. Oṁkāra, Trilocana, Mahādeva, Kṛttivāsas, Ratneśa, Candreśvara, Kedāra, Dharmeśa, Vīreśvara, Kāmeśa, Viśvakarmeśvara, Maṇikarṇīśa, Avimukta, Viśveśvara. It is provided in Kāśīkhaṇḍa 73. 39 that *yātrās* of these main liṅgas should be celebrated every month from the 1st tithi onwards. In Kāśīkhaṇḍa 73. 45-48 there is another series of fourteen great liṅgas different from those in chap. 73. 32-36. Fourteen āyatanas are named in Kāśīkhaṇḍa 73. 60-62.[1464b] Twelve out of these are specified as liṅgas in Liṅgapurāṇa I. 92.67-107. In Kāśīkhaṇḍa chapters 83 and 84 are enumerated about 125 tīrthas of Banaras. In chap. 94. 36 of the Kāśīkhaṇḍa 36 principal liṅgas are referred to (14 Oṁkārādi, 8 Dakṣeśvarādi and 14 Śaileśādi). From considerations of space the other liṅgas and tīrthas are not mentioned here. But out of all these Viśveśvara is said to give quick results.

It is laid down that every one residing in Kāśī must repair every day to the Ganges, take a bath in the Maṇikarṇikā and visit Viśveśvara.[1465]

What happens if a person commits sins outside Kāśī, comes to Kāśī and then dies, or if a resident of Kāśī commits sins in Kāśī but dies either at Kāśī or outside it? The Tri. S. after quoting several verses from the Kāśīkhaṇḍa, Padmapurāṇa and Brahmavaivarta states the following conclusions (p. 268). Sins committed elsewhere are destroyed by coming to Kāśī.[1466] He who residing in Kāśī is always addicted to sins becomes a *piśāca* (goblin) for thirty thousand years, again dwells in Kāśī, secures highest knowledge and then obtains

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1464 b. शैलेशः सङ्गमेशश्च स्वर्लीनो मध्यमेश्वरः। हिरण्यगर्भ ईशानो गोप्रेक्षो वृषभध्वजः। उपशान्तशिवो ज्येष्ठो निवासेश्वर एव च। शुक्रेशो व्याघ्रलिङ्गं च जम्बुकेशं चतुर्दशम्। मुने चतुर्दशैतानि महान्त्यायतनानि वै॥ काशी॰ 73. 60-63 q. by. त्रिस्थली॰ p. 263.

1465. यात्राद्वयं प्रयत्नेन कर्तव्यं प्रतिवासरम्। एका स्वर्गतरङ्गिण्यास्ततो विश्वेशितुः परा॥ काश्यां लिङ्गान्यनेकानि काश्यां तीर्थान्यनेकशः। तथापि सेव्यो विश्वेशः स्नातव्या मणिकर्णिका॥ काशीखण्ड 100. 101 q. in त्रिस्थली॰ p. 266.

1466. अन्यत्र विहितं पापं नश्येत्काशीनिरीक्षणात्॥ काश्यां कृतानां पापानां दारुणेयं तु यातना॥ काशीखण्ड 33.115. Vide also काशी॰ 75.22 'काश्यां तु यत्कृतं पापं तत्पैशाच्यपदप्रदम्।'.

mokṣa. Those who being residents of Kāśī commit sins have not to undergo the tortures of Yama whether they die in Kāśī or elsewhere. Those who after committing sins in Kāśī die there will be punished by Kālabhairava. Those who die elsewhere (after committing sins in Kāśī) first undergo torments inflicted by the *gaṇas* of Śiva called Yāma, then undergo torments inflicted by Kālabhairava for thirty thousand years, are then born as mortal men, then die in Kāśī and secure release (from saṁsāra) at the end.

It is remarkable that the Kāśīkhaṇḍa [1467] states that a little to the north of Kāśī, Viṣṇu assigned a place for his residence called Dharmakṣetra and that there Viṣṇu assumed the form of Buddha. This is a clear reference to Sārnath about five miles by road to the north of Banaras, where Buddha delivered his first sermon. The general rule for ascetics is that for eight months they must move from place to place and may spend the four months of the rainy season or two months in one place; but this rule is abrogated where ascetics enter Banaras and it is laid down that they should not leave Kāśī at all. [1467a]

The Kāśīkhaṇḍa remarks 'For devotees of Śiva who are full of faith there is, even in great calamities, no other remedy except the water of the feet of the image of God. Incurable diseases even, whether affecting the body outside or inside, are got rid of by the touch with faith of the water of (washing the image of) the deity.' This reminds one of the miraculous cures believed to have been effected by the water of a pool at Lourdes in the first years of this century [1467b].

It would be far beyond the scope of this section to dilate upon the great traditions of learning associated with the name of Banaras. It is sufficient to refer to Alberuni (vol. I. p. 173) who observed that Banaras and Kashmir were the

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1467. किंचित्काश्या उदीच्यां च गत्वा देवेन चक्रिणा। स्वस्थित्यै कल्पितं स्थानं धर्मक्षेत्रमितीरितम् ॥ ततस्तु सौगतं रूपं शिश्राय श्रीपतिः स्वयम् ॥ ch. 58.71-72.

1467 a. अष्टौ मासा विहारस्य यतीनां संयतात्मनाम्। एकत्र चतुरो मासान् मासौ वा निवसेत्पुनः। अविमुक्ते प्रविष्टानां विहारस्तु न विद्यते।...मोक्षो ह्यसंशयस्तत्र पञ्चत्वं तु गतस्य वै॥ मत्स्य 184. 32-34 q. by कल्पतरु on तीर्थ p. 24. The same verses (with slight variations) are स्कन्द, काशी. 86. 112-113. The general rule for an ascetic is stated in विष्णुपुराण III. 9. 28 'एकरात्रस्थितिर्ग्रामे पञ्चरात्रस्थितिः पुरे'.

1467 b. श्रद्धावतां स्वभक्तानामुपसर्गे महत्यपि। नोपायान्तरमस्त्येव विनेशचरणोदकम्॥ ये व्याधयोऽपि दुःसाध्या बहिरन्तः शरीरगाः। श्रद्धयेशोदकस्पर्शात्ते नश्यन्त्येव नान्यथा॥ काशीखण्ड 67. 82-83.

'high schools of Hindu Sciences,' to Ain. A. vol. II. p. 158 'from time immemorial it has been the chief seat of learning in Hindustan' and to Kāśikhaṇḍa, chap. 96. 121 that states that Kāśī is the home of learning (vidyānām sadanam Kāśī). Vide Prof. Altekar's 'History of Benares' pp. 23–24 and I. A. vol. 41 pp. 7–13 and 245–253 for some learned families of Banaras.

CHAPTER XIV

GAYĀ

Gayā occupies a unique place in the hearts of all pious Hindus even in these days. Hundreds of pages have been written about the history, the antiquities, the architectural remains of Gayā, the sacred places in and round about Gayā, the śrāddha rites performed in Gayā and about *Gayāwals* (the priests of Gayā). It is not possible to deal with this vast mass in this work. But it is impossible not to say a few words about the many conflicting views on certain important matters put forward by scholars for about three quarters of a century. Those who are deeply interested in the history and antiquities of Gayā should carefully read the following books and papers; Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's 'Buddha-Gayā' with 51 plates (1878); General Cunningham's 'Mahābodhi' with 31 plates at the end (1892); L. S. S. O'Malley's District Gazetteer of Gayā, vol. XII and J. A. S. B. for 1903 LXXII, No. 3, pp. 1-11 on 'Gayāśrāddha and Gayāvals;' Indian Antiquary, vol. X pp. 339-340 for a Chinese Inscription at Buddha Gayā dated in a Chinese date corresponding to 1033 A. D. and pp. 341-347 for Inscriptions at Gayā, one of which is engraved in a temple of the Sun near a tank 'Dakṣiṇamānasa' near the Viṣṇupada, dated 1813 years after Buddha's Parinirvāṇa; Indian Antiquary, vol. 16 pp. 63 ff Inscription of Yakṣapāla, son of Viśvāditya, which records the building of a temple for certain images in the 15th regnal year of the Pāla king Nayapāladeva who died in 1045 A. D., edited by Kielhorn; Dr. Benimadhav Barua's 'Gayā and Buddha-Gayā' in two volumes (1934) with plates; Journal of Bihar and Orissa R. Society, vol. 24 (for 1938) pp. 89-111 where Dr. J. C. Ghose deals with 'the antiquity of Gayā.' Some of the remarks of Dr. Ghose are most unwarranted and cannot be accepted, such as holding 'maganda' in 'Pramagandasya' in Ṛg. III. 53. 14 as identical with Magadha and the explanation of 'udantyāḥ' in the Ait. Br. as 'people of sunrise.' Among medieval digests Gayā is dealt with in Kalpataru on Tīrthas pp. 163-174, Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati pp. 268-328, Tristhalīsetu of Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa pp. 316-379, Tīrthaprakāśa pp. 384-452, Tīrthendu-śekhara pp. 54-59, Triṣthalīsetu-sāra-saṅgraha of Bhaṭṭoji pp. 36-38.

The most important work on Gayā relied upon in such works as the Tristhalī-setu and in modern times is the Gayā-māhātmya that occurs at the end of the Vāyupurāṇa (chapters 105–112 of the Ānandāśrama ed.). Scholars differ about the antiquity of these chapters. Rajendralal Mitra assigned the Gayā-māhātmya to the 3rd or 4th century A. D. O'Malley was inclined to hold that the legend of Gayāsura was invented in the 14th or 15th century, principally on the ground that the Gayāwals profess the Vaiṣṇava faith established by Madhvācārya [1468] and acknowledge as their spiritual head the *mahant* of Hari Narasiṁhapura; vide J. A. S. B. vol. LXXII (1903) p. 4. To my mind there is hardly anything in this. The Gayāwals are notorious for their indolence, dissoluteness and ignorance and they are a dying race. O'Malley himself notes in the paper mentioned above (at p. 8) that originally the families of Gayāwals were 1484, that in Buchanan Hamilton's time they numbered about 1000, that in 1893 a Gayāwal counted 128 families, that in the census of 1901 there existed only 168 males (as pure Gayāwals) and 153 females. Gayā is a place sacred to Viṣṇu and if the Gayāwals had to turn in medieval times for support to some great ācārya they would naturally choose to align themselves with the Vaiṣṇava ācārya Madhva rather than with Śaṅkara. Dr. Barua, after an elaborate examination of the several items of evidence, holds that the Gayā-māhātmya is not earlier than the 13th or 14th century A. D. (vol. I. p. 64 of 'Gayā and Buddha Gayā'). From considerations of the space at my disposal I cannot examine in detail his arguments. His conclusion is vitiated mainly for two reasons. He relies too much on the dubious and unconvincing argument from silence. He examines the account of Gayā that appears in the Vanaparva and compares it with the fuller account in the Gayāmāhātmya and arrives at the rather startling conclusion 'The Gayā proper as known to the Epic (the Mahābhārata) is essentially a place sacred to Yama Dharmarāja, Brahmā and Śivaśūlin, and Viṣṇu and Vaiṣṇavism has no place in it either as a name or as an idea. Except

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1468. There is conflict about the dates of Madhvācārya's birth and death. The Uttarādi-maṭha records give śake 1040 (1118 A. D.) and śake 1120 (1198 A. D.) as the dates of his birth and death respectively. This is said to conflict with the date given in Madhva's महाभारततात्पर्यनिर्णय viz. that he was born in गतकलि 4300. In a paper published in the Journal of the Annamalai University, vol. III for 1934 pp. 245 ff. the correct dates are said to be 1238 A. D.–1317 A. D.

Brahmayūpa, Śivaliṅga and Vṛṣabha there is no reference to any structural erection nor any iconic suggestion'. In order to show how this conclusion is not at all justified the references to Gayā in the Epic and other Sanskrit works will have to be set out and compared with each other and with the Gayāmāhātmya. The second reason that vitiates Dr. Barua's conclusion is the wrong interpretation that he puts on verse 12 of the Inscription edited by Kielhorn in I. A. vol. 16.

I shall now turn to the name Gayā and references to it or similar names from the Ṛgveda downwards. A Gaya, son of Plati, is the reputed author of two hymns of the Ṛgveda (X. 63 and X. 64). In Ṛg. X. 63. 17 and X. 64. 17 we have the words 'astāvi jano divyo Gayena' (the divine host was praised by Gaya). So Gaya was a proper name applied to a composer of Ṛgvedic hymns. In the Ṛg. the word Gaya has several other senses, which are not material here. In the Atharvaveda (I. 14.4) Gaya appears to be a wonder-worker or a sorcerer along with Asita and Kaśyapa. Even in the Vedic Saṁhitās Asuras, Dāsas and Rākṣasas are credited with tricks and magic. Vide Ṛg. VII 99.4, VII. 104.24-25 and Atharva IV. 23. 5. It is not difficult to imagine how a sorcerer Gaya could have been transformed into Gayāsura later on. Proceeding further, the Nirukta[1469] while explaining 'idam Viṣṇur-vi cakrame tredhā nidadhe padam' (Ṛg. I. 22. 17) gives two very interesting interpretations, one explaining the verse as a natural phenomenon and the other explaining it from geographical or legendary points of view 'He (Viṣṇu) puts down his foot in three ways. According to Śākapūṇi, Viṣṇu plants his foot on the earth, in mid air (sky) and heaven; according to Aurṇavābha, on Samārohaṇa, on Viṣṇupada and on Gayaśiras.' Whatever the Vedic verse may mean, it is clear that two interpretations had arisen several centuries before Christ and if the usual dates about Buddha's *nirvāṇa* are accepted Aurṇavābha and Yāska both flourished before Buddha. Vide S. B. E. vol. XIII pp. XXII-XXIII for Buddha's *nirvāṇa* being placed at 483 B. C. according to Ceylonese chronicle, while some western scholars would place it between 429-400 B. C.[1470] Gayaśiras is named in the Vanaparva (87.

1469. त्रेधा निधत्ते पदम्। पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवीति शाकपूणिः। समारोहणे विष्णुपदे गयशिरसि-इति और्णवाभः। निरुक्त 12. 19.

1470. The Nirukta is placed not later than at least 500 B. C. by most Sanskrit scholars. Aurṇavābha is earlier than the Nirukta. Vide Histo y cf

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11, 95. 9), in the Viṣṇudharma-sūtra 85.4 (in the form Gayāśīrṣa), Vāmanapurāṇa (22.20 as the eastern *vedi* of Brahmā), Skanda I. 2. 13.21 and even in the Buddhist books such as the Mahāvagga (I. 21. 1, S. B. E. vol. XIII p. 134) in which last it is said that after having dwelt at Uruvelā, Buddha accompanied by a thousand *bhikkhus* went to Gayāsīsa (which is the Pali equivalent of Gayāśīrṣa). Traditions of Gaya as a king of the territories round about Gayā are mentioned in Jaina and Buddhist works. The Uttarādhyayanasūtra (S. B. E. vol. 45 p. 86 and note 3 there) states that he was son of king Samudravijaya of Rājagṛha and became the 11th Cakravartin. The Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa states that Buddha visited the hermitage called a city of the royal sage Gaya, that the saint (future Buddha) fixed his dwelling on the pure bank of the Nairanjanā river (S. B. E. vol. 49 part 1 p. 132, Canto XII. 87-88) and p. 193 (chap. XVII. 8 of the same work) and that Buddha went to the hermitage of Kāśyapa at Gayā called Uruvilvā. The same work (S. B. E. vol. 49 part 1 p. 192) speaks of Dharmāṭavī where dwelt 700 ascetics whom Buddha helped to enter *nirvāṇa*. Viṣṇupada occurs in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra 85.40 as a holy place very fit for śrāddha. In my opinion at least Aurṇavābha held that in a particular region there were three places on which according to the legends current in his day the foot-prints of Viṣṇu's foot could be seen[1471]. Two of

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Sanskrit literature by Winternitz, vol. I p. 69(English tr.). Scholars are not agreed about the exact location and extent of Gayāśiras. Rajendralal in 'Buddha-gayā' p. 19 says 'Gayāśiras is not the Brahmayoni hill but a low spur of it to the north-east about a mile in area forming the site of the old town of Gayā. This Gayāśiras is the most sacred spot in Gayā.' Dr. Barua (vol. I. p. 246) 'Gayā proper is still sandwiched between the Phalgu and a small set of hills containing some 25 hill-tops with Gayaśira or Gayāśira (Brahmayoni) in the south-west &c.'. Both are, however, agreed that Gayaśiras is part of the ancient Gayā region. Vide S. B. E vol. XIII. p. 134 n. 1 about Cunnigham's view that गयासीस is the ब्रह्मयोनि hill near Gayā.

1471. I am not unmindful of the fact that in the Iron Pillar Inscription of a king called Candra at Meherauli (nine miles south of Delhi) the last verse reads तेनायं प्रणिधाय भूमिपतिना ... प्रांशुर्विष्णुपदे गिरौ भगवतो विष्णोर्ध्वजः स्थापितः' (Gupta Inscriptions, No 32 at p. 141). This shows that near Delhi there was a hill called विष्णुपद. But there is nothing to show that there was a place called गयशिरस् near it. Hence विष्णुपद and गयशिरस् being taken together point out to Gayā. The Inscription is undated but looking to the characters it would not be far wrong to assign it to a period near Samudra-

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these, Visnupada and Gayaśiras are well-known; hence it would not be unreasonable to hold that 'Samārohaṇa' is a place and has to be located somewhere near the other two. Samārohaṇa means 'mounting up' or 'ascending'. This word probably refers to the ascent of the hill that rises up from the river Phalgu. It is also possible that it is the same as the Udyanta hill echoing with the warbling (of birds).[1472] I therefore hold that at least 600 years before Christ (and hence even before Buddha) there was a tradition about Viṣṇu's footprints in at least two well-known places viz. Viṣṇupada and Gaya-śiras (both in Gayā). Even if some other work does not mention any one of these it does not follow from mere non-mention that that spot was not so named or did not exist.

Let us now turn to the Vanaparva. Dr. Barua mainly relies on Vanaparva 84. 82–103 and 95. 9–29. But some preliminary remarks must be made before the two passages are examined.

The Nāradīyapurāṇa (uttara, 46. 16) states that Gayaśiras extends from Krauñcapada to Phalgutīrtha.

Vanaparva chapter 82 sets out Pulastya's replies to Bhīṣma's question about tīrthas. First comes Puṣkara (verses 20–40), then Jambumārga, Tandulikāśrama, Agastyasaraḥ, Mahākāla, Koṭitīrtha, Bhadravaṭa (Sthāṇutīrtha), Narmadā, Prabhāsa and several other tīrthas (not in any particular order but selected at random). In chap. 83 Kurukṣetra is described at some length.

Before discussing the most important passage of the Vanaparva (viz. 84. 82–103) we must see what precedes the description of Gayā. Dr. Barua and many of those that have written on this passage have not carefully considered the implications of verses 1–81 of chapter 84 and also of the following chapters. In Vanaparva 84. 1–81 the author makes Dhaumya name

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gupta. Therefore Viṣṇu's footprint existed on a hill near Delhi in the 4th century A. D. There is no sound reason advanced why it could not have existed at Gayā about the same time or even earlier. Besides in the Rām. II. 68.19 a विष्णुपद south of the river विपाशा is mentioned.

1472. Dr. Barua regards गीतनादित in Vanaparva 84. 93 as the name of a peak (vol. I. p. 246). But this appears to be wrong. It is an adjective of उद्यन्तं (पर्वतं) that immediately precedes. I have not come across any peak called गीतनादित in any other work and Dr. Barua does not cite any other text in support of his view. उद्यन्त would mean 'the hill of sunrise,' not necessarily for the whole of Āryāvarta but in the place where both विष्णुपद and गयाशिरस् were situated.

about 57 holy places (including such famous ones as Naimiṣa, Śākambharī, Gaṅgādvāra, Kanakhala, the confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, Kubjāmraka) and then comes to speak of the sacred spots in Gayā.[1473] It is therefore clear that the intention of the author is not to speak exhaustively about any tīrtha. For this reason some tīrthas are described twice in the Vanaparva. For example Naimiṣa is very highly praised in chap. 84. 59-64 and again in chap. 87. 6-7. The same happens with regard to Gayā in 85.82-103 and 87.8-12. We cannot at all presume

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1473. The verses relating to गया in वनपर्व 84 are set out in full here : ततो गयां समासाद्य ब्रह्मचारी समाहितः। अश्वमेधमवाप्नोति कुलं चैव समुद्धरेत्॥ तत्राक्षयवटो नाम त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतः। तत्र दत्तं पितृभ्यस्तु भवत्यक्षयमुच्यते॥ महानद्यामुपस्पृश्य तर्पयेत् पितृदेवताः। अक्षयान्प्राप्नुयात् लोकान् कुलं चैव समुद्धरेत्॥ ततो ब्रह्मसरो गत्वा धर्मारण्योपशोभितम्। ब्रह्मलोकमवाप्नोति प्रभातामेव शर्वरीम्॥ ब्रह्मणा तत्र सरसि यूपश्रेष्ठः समुच्छ्रितः। यूपं प्रदक्षिणीकृत्वा वाजपेयफलं लभेत्॥ ततो गच्छेत राजेन्द्र धेनुकं लोकविश्रुतम्। एकरात्रोषितो राजन् प्रयच्छेत् तिलधेनुकाम्॥ सर्वपापविशुद्धात्मा सोमलोकं व्रजेद् ध्रुवम्। तत्र चिह्नं महद्राजन्नद्यापि सुमहद् भृशम्। कपिलायाः सवत्सायाश्चरन्त्याः पर्वते कृतम्। सवत्सायाः पदानि स्म दृश्यन्तेऽद्यापि भारत॥ तेषूपस्पृश्य राजेन्द्र पदेषु नृपसत्तम। यत्किंचिदशुभं कर्म तत्प्रणश्यति भारत॥ ततो गृध्रवटं गच्छेत्स्थानं देवस्य धीमतः। स्नायीत भस्मना तत्र अभिगम्य वृषध्वजम्॥ ब्राह्मणेन भवेच्चीर्णं व्रतं द्वादशवार्षिकम्। इतरेषां तु वर्णानां सर्वपापं प्रणश्यति॥ उद्यन्तं च ततो गच्छेत् पर्वतं गीतनादितम्। सावित्र्यास्तु पदं तत्र दृश्यते भरतर्षभ॥ तत्र सन्ध्यामुपासीत ब्राह्मणः संशितव्रतः। तेन ह्युपास्ता भवति सन्ध्या द्वादशवार्षिकी॥ योनिद्वारं च तत्रैव विश्रुतं भरतर्षभ। तत्राभिगम्य मुच्येत पुरुषो योनिसङ्कटात्॥ कृष्णशुक्लावुभौ पक्षौ गयायां यो वसेन्नरः। पुनात्यासप्तमं राजन् कुलं नास्त्यत्र संशयः॥ एष्टव्या...वृषमुत्सृजेत्॥ ततः फल्गुं व्रजेद्राजन् तीर्थसेवी नराधिप। अश्वमेधमवाप्नोति सिद्धिं च महतीं व्रजेत्॥ ततो गच्छेत राजेन्द्र धर्मप्रस्थं समाहितः। तत्र धर्मो महाराज नित्यमास्ते युधिष्ठिर॥ तत्र कूपोदकं कृत्वा तेन स्नातः शुचिस्तथा। पितॄन्देवांस्तु सन्तर्प्य मुक्तपापो दिवं व्रजेत्॥ मतङ्गस्याश्रमस्तत्र महर्षेर्भावितात्मनः। तं प्रविश्याश्रमं श्रीमच्छ्रमशोकविनाशनम्॥ गवामयनयज्ञस्य फलं प्राप्नोति मानवः। धर्मं तत्राभिसंस्पृश्य वाजिमेधमवाप्नुयात्॥ ततो गच्छेत राजेन्द्र ब्रह्मस्थानमनुत्तमम्। तत्राभिगम्य राजेन्द्र ब्रह्माणं पुरुषर्षभ॥ राजसूयाश्वमेधाभ्यां फलं विन्दति मानवः। ततो राजगृहं गच्छेत् तीर्थसेवी नराधिप॥ वनपर्व 84. 82-104. These verses are q. in the तीर्थचि. pp. 275-277 (except three), त्रिस्थलीसेतु pp. 321-323. It may be noted that the Padmapurāṇa, Ādikhaṇḍa, chap. 38 (verses 2-19) contains verbatim and in the same order the verses about Gayā in the Vanaparva 84. 82-99 except that a word is changed here and there. There is hardly any doubt that one borrows from the other. Good grounds have been advanced by Mr. M. V. Vaidya in his paper 'Tīrthayātrā in the Āraṇyakaparvan and the Padmapurāṇa' in the Kane Festschrift pp 530-537. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar in the volume of Indian and Eastern studies presented to Prof F. W. Thomas pp. 19-28 in his paper on 'Cosmographical episode in the Mahābhārata and the Padmapurāṇa' has shown that chapters 80-83 of the Vanaparva are taken over by the author of the Padmapurāṇa in chapters 10. 5 to chapter 39.120.

from the manner in which tīrthas in Gayā are named and described that the writer of Vanaparva (chap. 84. 82–103) meant to be exhaustive as regards the holy spots in Gayā or the legends about Gayā. This conclusion is very much strengthened by the fact that in the Anuśāsanaparva three sacred spots in Gayā are mentioned which do not occur in Vanaparva 84. 82–103 viz. 'In Gayā a man becomes purified in Aśmapṛṣṭha (the same as Pretaśilā), on the hill Niravinda and of even a third brāhmaṇa murder in Krauñcapadī'.[1474] These three, Aśmapṛṣṭha, Niravinda and Krauñcapadī, are in addition to those sacred spots that are mentioned in Vanaparva 84. In Vāyu 109. 15 a hill Aravindaka is said to be a peak of the Śilāparvata and Nāradīya (uttara 47. 83), Vāyu 108. 75 and Nāradīya ('uttara 46. 16) mention the hill Krauñcapada (Muṇḍa-pṛṣṭha was so called). Therefore it is clear that three important sites in the Gayāmāhātmya are mentioned by the Anuśāsanaparva.

It was unfortunate that Dr. Barua confined his attention on the question of the antiquity of Gayā to merely three works viz. the Vanaparva chapters 84 and 95, the Agnipurāṇa chap. 114–116 and the Vāyupurāṇa chapters 105–112. He did not care to investigate all the other Purāṇas nor did it strike him that the explanation of three *padas* of Viṣṇu furnished by Aurṇavābha probably referred to spots around Gayā alone. Other Purāṇas such as Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 38. 2–21), Garuḍa I chapters 82–86, and the Nāradīya (uttara chap. 44–47) contain much that concerns Gayā and all of them have many verses in common. The critical edition of the Mahābhārata (published by the B. O. R. I., Poona) reads 'sāvitram padam' (chap. 82.81) for 'sāvitryāstu padam' of the Bombay edition. The reading of the critical edition is supported by numerous and ancient Mss. Further, the printed Padmapurāṇa (in Ādikhaṇḍa 38. 13) reads 'Sāvitram padam' and thus lends support to the reading adopted in the critical edition. The words 'sāvitram padam' may be taken to mean the foot-print of Viṣṇu (Savitṛ). Dr. Barua goes very much further than the facts warrant when he says that there is no reference in the Vanaparva to any structural erection or iconic suggestion. It is clear that there must have been an image of Dharma, since the Vanaparva speaks of

1474. अश्मपृष्ठे गयायां च निरविन्दे च पर्वते । तृतीयां क्रौञ्चपद्यां च ब्रह्महत्यां विशुध्यते ॥ अनुशासन 25. 42. नीलकण्ठ explains 'अश्मपृष्ठे प्रेतशिलायां एकां ब्रह्महत्यां व्यपोह्य निरविन्दे मुण्डगन्धहीने द्वितीयां ब्रह्महत्यां निरस्य क्रौञ्चपदीति सर्वेषां विष्णुपदादीनामुपलक्षणं तेषु तृतीयां ब्रह्महत्यां सकृद्‌गत्वा गत एव विशुध्यते पूतो भवति'.

the pilgrim to Gayā having to touch Dharma (Dharmam tatrābhi-saṁspṛśya). Besides, there is a reference to the footprints of a cow with a calf and to 'Sāvitra pada'. All these would surely be things that have an 'iconic suggestion'. Moreover, Dr. Barua forgets for the moment that, according to the Chinese traveller Fa Hien who visited India between 399-413 A. D., the Gayā of the Hindu faith was 'all emptiness and desolation' (vide Legge's translation p. 87). It is possible that Gayā might have suffered from earthquakes before 400 A. D. (as it is a region that is liable to severe earthquakes even in modern times) and therefore no structural erection of the ancient city of Gayā (to which ancient Pāli works and the Lalitavistara p. 311 refer) might have been left in Fa Hien's day. Gayā appears to have passed through several vicissitudes. Some centuries before the Christian era it was in existence and was a flourishing town. By 400 A. D. it had been reduced to desolation. But in the 7th century the Chinese traveller Hiouen Thsang notes that the Hindu Gayā was a town with 1000 brāhmaṇa families (vide Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. II p. 113). Later on when Buddhism waned and vanished, Gayā came to comprehend even Buddhist remnants, since the Vāyupurāṇa speaks of Gayā as extending from Pretaśilā to Mahābodhi tree (a distance of about 13 miles, according to Mitra p. 19).

Dr. Barua has also misunderstood verse 12 of the inscription at Gayā edited by Dr. Kielhorn in I. A. vol. 16 p. 63 ff. The verse[1475] set out below may be translated as follows: That wise (prince Yakṣapāla) caused to be constructed a temple for the images of Maunāditya and the other gods (mentioned in it), he *dug up the famous Uttaramānasa* lake and established a sattra (charity house for food) near the Akṣaya (vaṭa)'. This inscription of the reign of Nayapāla was

1475. मौनादित्यसहस्रलिङ्गकमलार्धाङ्गीणनारायणद्विसोमेश्वरफल्गुनाथविजयादित्याह्वयानां कृती । स प्रासादमचीकरद् दिविषदां केदारदेवस्य च ख्यातस्योत्तरमानसस्य खननं सत्रं तथा चाक्षये ॥ verse 12 of the inscription of prince (*Narendra*) यक्षपाल son of विश्वादित्य edited in I. A. 16 at p. 65. Kielhorn translated 'this wise (prince) caused to be built a temple of the inhabitants of heaven called Maunaditya...He likewise had the famous Uttaramānasa tank dug and established a sattra (*hall of charity*) *to last forever*'. Dr. Kielhorn is wrong in his translation 'to last forever.' Dr. Barua read समासत्रं as one word and *connects that one word* with दिविषदां (*vol.* I. *p. 62n*). *One fails* to understand how दिविषदां (genitive plural) is to be construed with मासत्रं which according to Dr. Barua's construction *is only part of* a compound word.

engraved about 1040 A.D. Dr. Barua thought that Uttaramānasa was dug up at that time and therefore Uttaramānasa tank is taken to be not older than 1040 A. D. and that it and many of the sacred spots must have been later and the Gayāmāhātmya which speaks of Uttarmānasa must be much later than the 11th century A. D. But Dr. Barua is entirely mistaken in this. If a tank was dug up for *the first time* at the time of the inscription, it is impossible that it should have been called 'khyāta' (famous). The *tank* can become famous some centuries after it was dug. Uttarmānasa tank is mentioned as a sacred spot in Vāyupurāṇa 77. 108 (which verse is quoted about 1110 A. D. in the Kalpataru on tīrtha at p. 168), Vāyu 82. 21, Agni 115. 10. Therefore Uttaramānasa tank was well known at least in the 8th or 9th century A. D. What the inscription means is either that the famous tank had silted up and so it was dug up or that it was made longer, broader and deeper in about 1040. That is all.

In my opinion the Gayāmāhātmya (Vāyu, chap. 105-112), though possibly later than the main text of the Vāyupurāṇa, cannot be placed so late as the 13th or 14th century A. D. It is really a patch-work from many sources of earlier times such as the Vanaparva, Anuśāsanaparva, Padma I. 38, the Nāradīya (uttara) chap. 44-47. Several verses and half verses of it are repetitions (such as the half verse 'Gayāyām akṣayam śrāddham japahomatapāṁsi ca' Vāyu 108. 35 and Vāyu 82.43 quoted as from Vāyu in Kalpataru on tīrtha p. 167, and Vāyu 110. 29-30 are the same as Vāyu 105.37-38. So also Vāyu 82. 31-33 are the same as Vāyu 110. 51-53. Dr. Barua does not notice that in chap. 82 of the Vāyu (20-24) several sub-tīrthas of Gayā are expressly mentioned viz. Brahmakuṇḍa, Prabhāsa, Pretaparvata, Uttaramānasa, Udīcī, Kanakhala, Dakṣiṇamānasa, Dharmāraṇya, Gadādhara, Mataṅga; so also chap. 77. 97-108 mention Gṛdhrakūṭa, hermitage of Bharata, Mataṅgapada, Muṇḍapṛṣṭha and Uttaramānasa. Many of the verses occurring in the Gayāmāhātmya are found quoted in the Smṛticandrikā [1476]

1476. Vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 346 for the date of the Smṛticandrikā. The verses ब्रह्मज्ञानं...चतुर्विधा (vide note 1484) and ब्रह्महत्या...हिनश्यति (वायु. 105.13) are नारदीय (उत्तर) chap. 44. 20 and 22; Vāyu 110. 63-64 are equal to नारदीय, उत्तर, 45. 64-66; Vāyu 110. 63-64 are the same as Nāradīya (uttara) 45.64-66; Vāyu 108.13-16 are the same as नारदीय (उत्तर) 45. 2-4. Vāyu 110. 4-5 are the same as Vanaparva 82.9-10. गरुडपुराण (I.

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(about 1150–1225 A. D.) on Śrāddha and Āśauca (without name) as briefly exemplified below. I think that the Gayāmāhātmya is to be assigned to some date between the 7th and 10th centuries A. D.

Having disposed of the question of the date of the Gayāmāhātmya and the references to the sacred spots in Gayā in Vanaparva chap. 84, it is necessary to see how Gayā is spoken of in the other parts of the Mahābhārata and the smṛtis. In the Vanaparva itself references to Gayā occur in chap. 87 and chap. 95. Vanaparva, chap. 87, starts by saying that going towards the east (from Kāmyaka-vana where the Pāṇḍavas dwelt for some time) the pilgrim would come to the Naimiṣa forest and the Gomatī river. Thus it is said that in the east there is a holy hill called after Gaya and a holy pool called Brahmasaras; then comes a famous verse [1477] 'one should desire to have many sons if even

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85. 2–22) contains most of the verses of Vāyu 110. 34–60. The notes below in this Gayā section will show that the Nāradīya and the Gayāmāhātmya contain scores of verses in common.

The स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (University of Mysore edition) on आशौच has towards the end a section on गयाश्राद्धविधि, several verses of which occur in वायु. A few verses are cited by way of illustration. The first two verses (स्मृतिच. p. 194) though ascribed to आदिपुराण are almost the same as वायु 110.2–3; the verses गोप्रचार...बभूव (in स्मृतिच. on आशौच p. 199) are almost the same as वायु. 111. 35 and 37 ; स्मृतिच॰ p. 197 the verse मकरे वर्तमाने तु is the same as वायु 105.48 and स्मृतिच. p. 199 the verse या सा वैतरणी नाम is वायु 105 44.

The Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati quotes many verses from the Gayāmāhātmya of the Vāyupurāṇa. Vācaspati's literary activity lies between 1450 to 1480 (or 1500 AD at the latest). He treats the Gayāmāhātmya as on the same level as the other purāṇas. This position could not have been attained by the Gayāmahātmya in a century or two. Therefore it must be much earlier than 1300 AD. A few examples of the citations of the Gayāmahātmya by Vacaspati may be indicated here. On pp. 285–286 the तीर्थचि. expressly quotes from the वायव्य verses 18, 19, 26 of वायु. 105; वायु. 110. 2–3 are quoted as from वायु॰ in तीर्थचि. p. 7 ; on pp. 280–283 numerous verses are quoted from वायुपुराण which are (with slight variations) the same as वायुपुराण 108. 13–23, 28–30 ; on pp. 284–285 from वायुपुराण are cited वायु॰ 110. 9–15 and 19–20, 56–59 ; तीर्थचि. pp. 288–293 quote from the वायुपुराण 110. 17, 21–24, 30–32, 34–55 ; तीर्थचि. pp. 298–301 quote वायु. 111. 1–22 (with additions and variant readings) ; similarly the पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय on श्राद्ध and त्रिस्थलीसेतु quote about 300 verses from गयामाहात्म्य and the त्रिस्थली॰ (pp. 356–359 &c.) several times refers to the explanations of verses from गयामाहात्म्य given by his predecessors. But space does not allow me to go into this subject at greater length.

1477. एष्टव्या बहवः पुत्रा यद्येकोपि गयां व्रजेत्। यजेत वाश्वमेधेन नीलं वा वृषमुत्सृजेत्॥ महानदी च तत्रैव तथा गयशिरो नृप। यत्रासौ कीर्त्यते विप्रैरक्षय्यकरणो वटः॥

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one (of whom) goes to Gayā, or performs the Aśvamedha sacrifice or lets loose a *nīla* bull' (the pitṛs may be gratified). Then Vanaparva chap. 87 goes on to refer to the holy river (mahānadī) Phalgu, the hill Gayaśiras, the Akṣayya Vaṭa, where food offered to pitṛs becomes inexhaustible. In Vanaparva 95 mention is made of Brahmasaras (where Agastya went to Dharmarāja i. e. Yama, verse 12), of Akṣayavaṭa (v. 14) which is an imperishable place of worship and where the fruit (of offerings made) is inexhaustible; it further states that king Gaya, son of Amūrtarayas,[1477a] performed a sacrifice in which food and fees in plenty were distributed (verses 18–19). Vas. (XI. 42) states: when a man goes to Gayā and offers food his ancestors become delighted like agriculturists that rejoice when there is good rain and pitṛs become (really) *putrin* (having a son) on account of such a son. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra, chapter 85,[1478] mentions by name about 55 holy places that are most proper for śrāddha among which those connected with Gayā are Gayāśīrṣa, Akṣayavaṭa, Phalgu, Uttaramānasa, Mataṅgavāpī, Viṣṇupada, and winds up by quoting three verses as *gāthās* sung by pitṛs. Yāj. I. 261 states that whatever a man gives while in Gayā leads to inexhaustible rewards. Atri-smṛti (55–58) refers to a son's going to Gayā for the benefit of the pitṛs, to a bath in Phalgu and *tarpaṇa* of pitṛs in the river, to seeing Gadādhara (Viṣṇu) at Gayā and to Gayāśirṣā. Śaṅkha (14. 27–28) refers[1479] to several tīrthas (one being Gayā) the offerings made at which

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यत्र दत्तं पितृभ्योऽन्नमक्षय्यं भवति प्रभो। सा च पुण्यजला तत्र फल्गुनामा महानदी॥ वनपर्व 87. 10–12; राजर्षिणा पुण्यकृता गयेनानुपमद्युते। नगो गयशिरो यत्र पुण्या चैव महानदी॥... ऋषियज्ञेन महता यत्राक्षयवटो महान्। अक्षये देवयजने अक्षयं यत्र वै फलम्॥ वनपर्व 95. 9–14. The verse एष्टव्या° occurs in numerous works such as the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85 (last verse), the मत्स्य. 22. 6, वायु. 105. 10, कूर्म. II. 35. 12, पद्म. I. 38. 17 and V. 11. 68, नारदीय (उत्तर 44. 5–6).

1477 a. It is to be noted that the Rāmāyaṇa I. 32.7 states that Dharmāraṇya was founded by Asūrtarayas (probably a variant of Amūrtarayas), a son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā.

1478. कुलेऽस्माकं स जन्तुः स्याद् यो नो दद्याज्जलाञ्जलीन्। नदीषु बहुतोयासु शीतलासु विशेषतः॥ अपि जायेत सोऽस्माकं कुले कश्चिन्नरोत्तमः। गयाशीर्षे वटे श्राद्धं यो नः कुर्यात् समाहितः॥ एष्टव्या...त्सृजेत्॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85. 65–67. The verse अपि जायेत° is quoted in कल्पतरु on तीर्थ p. 173.

1479. It is somewhat strange that Dr. Barua (in 'Gayā and Buddhgayā' vol. I p. 66) read तीर्थे वामरकण्टके in Saṅkha and thought that Vāmarakaṇṭaka was a holy place (instead separating as वा अमरकण्टके).

become inexhaustible. The Likhita-Smṛti speaks[1480] of the importance of Gayā as follows: In whosesoever name a piṇḍa is offered at Gayāśiras, whether for oneslf or for another, that person, if in hell, goes to heaven and if in heaven that man secures release (from *saṁsāra*). The Kūrmapurāṇa remarks that one should desire to have many sons so that if one out of them goes to Gayā on some other business and offers śrāddha, he thereby saves his pitṛs and himself reaches the highest goal. The Matsyapurāṇa (22. 4–6) quoted by the Kalpataru (on tīrtha p. 163) speaks of Gayā as pitṛtīrtha and as the best among tīrthas where Brahmā himself dwells and also has the verse 'eṣṭavyā bahavaḥ putrāḥ'.

In the Gayāmāhātmya (Vāyupurāṇa, chapters 105–112) there are about 560 verses. An attempt will be made here to give a brief summary of it and some of the important verses will be quoted. Chapter 105 is general and briefly indicates some of the main topics dealt with in the following chapters. It states that in Śvetavārāhakalpa Gaya performed a sacrifice and Gayā was named after him[1481], that *pitṛs* hanker after sons because the son that goes to Gayā saves the *pitṛs* from hell[1482]. At Gayā a man should offer *piṇḍas* to his father and others and even to himself but without sesame; all the five mortal sins like brāhmaṇa-murder are removed by the performance of śrāddha at Gayā. A piṇḍa offered after uttering the name and gotra of the recipient by the son or any other person in Gayā leads that person to the imperishable *brahma*[1483]. Mokṣa is fourfold (i. e. results in four ways) viz. by knowledge of *brahma*, śrāddha at Gayā, death in (a fight for preventing) the seizure of cows and residence in Kurukṣetra and śrāddha at

1480. गयाशिरे तु यत्किंचिन्नाम्ना पिण्डं तु निर्वपेत्। नरकस्था दिवं यान्ति स्वर्गस्था मोक्षमाप्नुयुः॥ आत्मनो वा परस्यापि गयाकूपे यतस्ततः। यन्नाम्ना पातयेत्पिण्डं तं नयेद् ब्रह्म शाश्वतम्॥ लिखितस्मृति verses 12–13; compare अग्नि 115. 46–47 शमीपत्रप्रमाणेन पिण्डं दत्त्वा गयाशिरे। नरकस्थाः...माप्नुयुः॥.

1481. वायु. 105. 7–8, अग्नि. 114. 41 'गयोपि चाकरोद्यागं बह्वन्नं बहुदक्षिणम्। गयापुरी तेन नाम्ना'. Both are quoted by त्रिस्थली° pp. 340–341.

1482. Here occurs the well-known verse एष्टव्या बहवः पुत्राः (वायु. 105.10) q. in n. 1477. A verse is quoted by the त्रिस्थली° p. 319 which defines what makes a son worthy of being so called: 'जीवतो वाक्यकरणात् ... त्रिभिः पुत्रस्य पुत्रता॥' (quoted above in note 832).

1483. आत्मजोऽन्यजो वापि गयाभूमौ यदा तदा। यन्नाम्ना पातयेत्पिण्डं तन्नयेद् ब्रह्म शाश्वतम्। नामगोत्रे समुच्चार्य पिण्डपातनमिष्यते। वायु. 105.14–15; the half verse यन्नाम्ना ...शाश्वतम् is अग्नि 116.29.

Gayā renders the others unnecessary[1484]. Śrāddha may be performed at Gayā at all times, even in an intercalary month, on the anniversary of one's birthday, or even when Jupiter and Venus are invisible or when Jupiter is in Leo. One should honour the brāhmaṇas (of Gayā) that were established there by Brahmā; when they are gratified all deities together with the pitṛs are gratified. Tonsure[1485] and fast are to be observed at all tīrthas except in Kurukṣetra, Viśālā, Virajā and Gayā. An ascetic[1486] (sannyāsin) should not offer piṇḍas (at Gayā) but should merely exhibit (hold up) his staff and should put it down on Viṣṇupada. The (whole) Gayākṣetra is five *krośas* in extent and Gayāśiras is one krośa and all the tīrthas of the three worlds are centered in these two[1487]. At Gayā one may offer (to pitṛs) piṇḍas by means of *pāyasa* (rice cooked in milk), boiled rice, barley flour, fruits and roots, the cake of sesame (after oil is extracted), sweetmeats or jaggery with ghee or with curds alone or with invigorating honey. In a śrāddha at Gayā, the procedure consists in preparing[1488] a seat for the piṇḍas, the offering of piṇḍas, the sprinkling of water again (on the kuśa grass), giving fees and declaration of dinner (to brāhmaṇas); but there is no invocation of pitṛs, no curtains for privacy and no blemish due to śrāddha being seen (by undesirable persons or animals). Those who desire to reap the full fruit of śrāddha performed at a tīrtha (like Gayā) must give up passionate longings, anger and

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1484. ब्रह्मज्ञानं गयाश्राद्धं गोग्रहे मरणं तथा। वासः पुंसां कुरुक्षेत्रे मुक्तिरेषा चतुर्विधा॥ ब्रह्मज्ञानेन किं कार्यं ... यदि पुत्रो गयां व्रजेत्॥ गयायां सर्वकालेषु पिण्डं दद्याद्विचक्षणः। वायु. 105. 16–18; compare न कालादि गयातीर्थे दद्यात्पिण्डांश्च नित्यशः। अग्नि. 115.8. ब्रह्मज्ञानं...चतुर्विधा॥—is also नारदीय (उत्तर) 44.20. Both occur in अग्नि. 115. 3–4 and 5–6 (in reverse order) and the verse ब्रह्मज्ञानं occurs in वामनपुराण 33. 8.

1485. मुण्डनं चोपवासश्च ... विरजां गयाम्॥ वायु. 105.25, q. in n. 1301 above where various readings also are noted.

1486. दण्डं प्रदर्शयेद्भिक्षुर्गयां गत्वा न पिण्डदः। दण्डं न्यस्य विष्णुपदे पितृभिः सह मुच्यते॥ वायु. 105. 26 and नारदीय II. 45. 31 q. by ती. प्र. p. 390.

1487. पञ्चक्रोशं गयाक्षेत्रं क्रोशमेकं गयाशिरः। तन्मध्ये सर्वतीर्थानि त्रैलोक्ये यानि सन्ति वै। 105.29–30 and 106. 65 q. by त्रिस्थली॰ p. 335, ती. प्र. p. 391; अग्नि. 115. 42 has the half verse पञ्चक्रोशं॰ and also नारदीय (उत्तर) 44.16. It had become the fashion to speak of famous tīrthas as five krośas in extent.

1488. पिण्डासनं पिण्डदानं पुनः प्रत्यवनेजनम्। दक्षिणा चान्नसङ्कल्पस्तीर्थश्राद्धेष्वयं विधिः॥ नावाहनं न दिग्बन्धो न दोषो दृष्टिसम्भवः।...अन्यत्रावाहिताः काले पितरो यान्त्यमुं प्रति। तीर्थे सदा वसन्त्येते तस्मादावाहनं न हि॥ 105. 37–39. The verses नावाहनं... दृष्टिसम्भवः, पिण्डासनं...विधिः are repeated in वायु. 110. 28–29.

avarice, observe celibacy, eat only one meal a day, should sleep on the ground (and not on a cot), should speak the truth, should be pure and intent on the good of all beings. The famous river Vaitaraṇī has come down to Gayā; one taking a bath in it and donating a cow saves 21 generations in his family. One should go to the Akṣayavaṭa and gratify the (Gayā) brāhmaṇas. There is no spot in Gayā which is not a sacred place.[1489]

Chap. 106 narrates the story of Gayāsura. Gayāsura, a very powerful *asura* 125 *yojanas* in height and 60 yojanas in girth, performed severe austerities for thousands of years on the mountain called Kolāhala. The gods, anxious and tormented by his austerities, went to Brahmā for protection. Brahmā took them to Śiva who proposed to go to Viṣṇu. Brahmā, Śiva and the gods praised Viṣṇu, who appeared to them and said that they should, riding their respective conveyances, go to Gayāsura. Viṣṇu asked him why he practised severe austerities and said that the boon he would ask would be granted. He asked the boon that he should be purer than all the gods, sages, mantras, ascetics &c. The gods said 'let it be so' and left for heaven. All people who saw or touched Gayāsura's holy body went to heaven. The capital of Yama became deserted and so he went to Brahmā who took him to Viṣṇu who asked Brahmā to request Gayāsura to give his pure body for the purpose of a sacrifice. Gayāsura agreed and fell down on the earth towards the southwest with his head on the north on Kolāhala mountain and feet to the south. Brahmā collected materials and mind-born *ṛtviks* (about 40 are named) and performed a sacrifice on the body of Gayāsura. That body, however, was not stable but moved and hence Brahmā asked Yama to place on Gayāsura's head a *śilā* (stone slab) that was in Yama's house. Yama did so; yet Gayāsura's body together with the *śilā* still moved. Brahmā asked Śiva and other gods to stand immoveable on the śilā. They did so and yet the body moved. Hence Brahmā went to Viṣṇu and requested him to make the body and śilā stable. Viṣṇu gave his own *mūrti* and though it was placed on the śilā it still moved. Then Viṣṇu sat on the śilā in three forms viz. Janārdana, Puṇḍarīka and Ādi-Gadādhara, Brahmā in five forms (Prapitāmaha, Pitāmaha, Phalgvīśa, Kedāra and Kanakeśvara), Vināyaka in the form of an elephant, the Sun in three forms, the Goddesses Lakṣmī (as Sītā), Gaurī (as Maṅgalā), Gāyatrī

1489. गयायां न हि तत्स्थानं यत्र तीर्थं न विद्यते । वायु. 105. 46 = अग्नि. 116.28,

and Sarasvatī. As Gayāsura was made stable by the first Gadā (mace) wielded by Hari, therefore Hari was called Ādigadādhara.[1490] Gayāsura complained 'why am I deceived? I have given my pure body to Brahmā for the latter's sacrifice. Would I not have become stable at the mere word of Viṣṇu (why torment me with the mace?).' Then the gods asked him to choose a boon. He chose 'As long as the earth, mountains, the Sun, Moon and stars last, may Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva and the other gods remain on the śilā! Let this sacred spot be known by my name. Let all tīrthas be centered in the midst of Gayā which is five krośas in extent and in Gayāśiras which is one krośa and do good to people. May all the gods remain here in manifest forms (images &c.) and unmanifest forms (such as footprints &c.)! Those to whom śrāddha with piṇḍas is offered may go to the world of Brahmā and all grave sins like brāhmaṇa-murder be destroyed at once.' The gods said 'Let it be so.' Then Brahmā gave to the brāhmaṇas Gayā (with its extent of five krośas), 55 villages, well-furnished houses, desire-yielding cow and trees, a river flowing with milk, golden wells, heaps of food, but enjoined on them not to beg from any one else. But the brāhmaṇas, greedy as they were, performed a sacrifice for Dharma in Dharmāraṇya and begged him for fees. Then Brahmā came, cursed them and took away everything from them. When the brāhmaṇas bewailed that they had been deprived of everything and their livelihood should be provided for, Brahmā said that they would live on the charity of pilgrims to Gayā and those who would honour them would be honouring Brahmā.

Chap. 107 deals with the story of the *śilā*[1491] that was placed on the head of Gayāsura for making it stable. Dharma had a daughter called Dharmavratā. Dharma could not find a bridegroom worthy of her virtues and accomplishments and asked her to perform *tapas* for the purpose. She performed severe austerities (subsisting only on air) for ten thousand years. Marīci, one of the mind-born sons of Brahmā, once saw her and asked her to become his wife. Dharmavratā asked him to request her father Dharma. Marīci approached Dharma who

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1490. वायु. 105. 60 mentions why Viṣṇu is called आदिगदाधर 'आद्यया गदया भीतो यस्माद्दैत्यः स्थिरीकृतः। स्थित इत्येव हरिणा तस्मादादिगदाधरः॥' q. by त्रिस्थली॰ p. 338. In वायु. 109. 13 also a similar derivation is given.

1491. The story of the Silā is briefly narrated in the Agnipurāṇa also (chap. 114. 8–22), often using the very words that occur in the Vāyupurāṇa.

gave her in marriage to Marīci, who took her to his hermitage and had one hundred sons from her. Once Marīci being tired lay down for sleep and asked Dharmavratā to shampoo his feet. While she shampooed his feet Brahmā (her father-in-law) came there. She left off shampooing her husband's feet and got up to receive with honour her husband's father. In the meanwhile Marīci awoke and not seeing his wife cursed her to be a śilā (stone slab) as she disobeyed his order by giving up the shampooing of his feet. She being innocent of any fault got angry and was about to curse Marīci but said 'Mahādeva will curse you'. She, standing in the midst of Gārhapatya fire, performed *tapas* and Marīci also did the same. The gods led by Indra got anxious as usual and went to Viṣṇu who asked her to choose a boon. She prayed that the curse pronounced by her husband be annulled. The gods said that Marīci being a great sage the curse could not be annulled and asked her to choose some other boon. She said that she should be a śilā more holy than all rivers, sages and gods and that all tīrthas should stand in the slab of stone, that those who would bathe in the tīrthas on the śilā and offer piṇḍas and śrāddha should be able to go to *brahmaloka*, that all holy rivers like the Ganges should always remain in her. The gods conceded what she prayed for and said that when she would become stable on the head of Gayāsura, they would all stand on the śilā.

Chap. 108 presents numerous divergences in the Mss. In the Ānandāśrama edition its contents briefly are: The śilā was placed on the head of Gayāsura and therefore there was union of two very holy objects, on which Brahmā performed Aśvamedha and when the gods came to receive their share of the sacrificial offerings the śilā said to Viṣṇu and others 'promise that you would remain on the śilā and would bring about the release of pitṛs'. The gods agreed and they stayed on the śilā in the form of images and foot-prints. As the śilā was placed on the back of the head of the asura the hill was called Muṇḍapṛṣṭha (lit. the back of the head) which gave Brahmaloka to pitṛs. Then the chapter speaks of a hill called Prabhāsa, of Rāmatīrtha near the place where the great river (Phalgu) and Prabhāsa hill meet, the hermitage of Bharata, of Mataṅgapada, of the *bali* to be offered to Yamarāja and Dharmarāja and to the dogs of Yama, viz. Śyāma and Śabala, of the Udyantaka hill near the left of Śilā, of Agastya-kuṇḍa, and numerous other holy places such as Gṛdhrakūṭa hill, the her-

mitage of Cyavana, the river Punaḥpunā, Krauñca-pada, Janārdana on Bhasmakūṭa.

The story of Gayāsura has puzzled Mitra and subsequent writers. Mitra holds that nothing appears more absurd or stupid than the story of Gayāsura who, he emphasizes, is not a demon or a vicious monster, but a devout Vaiṣṇava ('Bodh-Gaya' pp. 15-16). The story of Gayāsura is not unique. The Purāṇas abound in stories that appear to modern minds absurd and puerile. Besides, there were several asuras like Prahlāda, Bāṇa (devotee of Śiva) and Bali (who was an exemplary and pious king and a worshipper of Viṣṇu) that were not monsters but good and devout persons, and yet fought with gods. For example, Kūrmapurāṇa (I. 16. 59-60 and 91-92) narrates that Prahlāda fought with Nṛsiṁha; the Padma (Bhūmikhaṇḍa 1.8) calls him a Mahābhāgavata but states that he first fought with Viṣṇu and entered Vaiṣṇavītanu; while Vāmanapurāṇa (chap. 7-8) speaks of his fight with Naranārāyaṇa. In Pali works (e. g. Aṅguttara-nikāya, part IV pp. 197-204) he is called Pahārāda and *asurinda* (asurendra). Vide Aṅguttara-nikāya (text) vol. IV p. 197. For Bali who was grandson of Prahlāda, a good king and a devotee of Viṣṇu, vide Brahmapurāṇa, chap. 73, Kūrma I. 17, Vāmana (chapters 77 and 92). For Bāṇa, son of Bali and the fight of Bāṇa helped by Śiva with Kṛṣṇa, vide Brahma chap. 205-206 and Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 33. 37-38.

According to Dr. Rajendralal Mitra (in 'Bodh-Gayā' pp. 14-18) the story of Gayāsura is an allegory of the vanquishing of Buddhism by Brahmanism. O' Malley thought (J. A. S. B. vol LXXII part 3 p. 7 for 1904) that the Gayāsura legend represents an amalgamation or compromise of Brahmanism with the popular demonolatry which preceded Brahmanism. Dr. Barua critisizes both theories and appears to hold (vol. I. pp. 40-41) that the idea underlying the legend is to impress on people's minds the high sanctity of the Gayā range of hills along the western bank of the river Phalgu, that Gayā figures nowhere in Buddhism, that Gaya [1492] or Namuci or Vṛtra is represented as a demon of darkness and as an enemy of Indra and that the Vedic word Trivikrama and the interpretation of Aurṇavābha are the nucleus of the legend of Gayāsura. From considerations of space it is not possible to discuss these

1492. It is not clear whence Dr. Barua derived his information that in the Veda Gaya is represented as a demon like Vṛtra. In the Ṛg. at least Gaya is not a demon like Vṛtra.

theories here. To my mind it appears that Gayā had become a famous *pitṛtīrtha* centuries before Christ and that the legend of Gayāsura is a *post facto* attempt to account for the sanctity of the place and the numerous shrines and holy places that had sprung up round Gayā.

Chap. 109 deals with the questions how Ādi-Gadādhara abided in manifest and unmanifest forms, how his *gadā* (mace) was produced and how the tīrtha called Gadālola became a destroyer of all sins. There was a powerful Asura called Gada, who, when Brahmā requested, gave up his bones to Brahmā. Viśvakarmā, at the desire of Brahmā, fashioned a wonderful mace out of the bones. In the times of Svāyambhuva Manu an Asura named Heti, son of Brahmā, performed severe austerities for thousands of divine years. He secured from Brahmā and other gods the boon that he could not be killed by gods, *daityas*, men or with such weapons as the discus of Kṛṣṇa and others. Heti conquered the gods and became Indra. The gods went to Hari and requested him to kill Heti. He asked for a powerful weapon and the gods gave him the mace manufactured from the bones of Gada and Viṣṇu killed Heti with the Gadā. This story about demon Heti is mentioned in Agni 114. 26–27 and Nāradīya (uttara) 47. 9–11. Hari is called Ādi-Gadādhara because[1492a] he was the first to wield that mace and stood on the śilā on the head of Gayāsura, supported by the Gadā, in order to make (the head of Gayāsura) stable. He shows himself in the form of hills viz. the Muṇḍapṛṣṭha hill, the Prabhāsa and other hills. These and Akṣayavaṭa, Phalgu and other rivers are the non-manifest forms of Ādigadādhara. The Viṣṇupada, Rudrapada, Brahmapada and other padas are the non-manifest and manifest forms of Gadādhara.[1493] The image of Gadādhara is purely a mani-

1492 a. Vide note 1490.

1493. The principal rivers, hills, padas are enumerated here in one place. Unless otherwise expressly mentioned the chapters and verses in this note refer to the वायुपुराण. The holy rivers are, फल्गु often called महानदी (अग्नि. 115, 25), घृतकुल्या, मधुकुल्या (these two, वायु 109, 17), मधुस्रवा (106. 75), अग्निधारा (from उद्यन्त hill, 108. 59), कपिला (108. 58), वैतरणी (105. 44 and 109, 17), देविका (112. 30), आकाशगङ्गा (अग्नि. 116. 5). Some of these are mere streams. The sacred hills and peaks are: गयाशिरस् (109, 36, अग्नि. 115. 26 and 44), मुण्डपृष्ठ (108. 12, 109. 14), प्रभास (108. 13 and 16, 109. 14), उद्यन्त (वनपर्व 84.93, वायु 108. 59, 109. 15), भस्मकूट (109. 15), अरविन्दक (109. 15), नागकूट (111. 22, अग्नि 115. 25), गृध्रकूट (109. 15), प्रेतकूट (109. 15),

(*Continued on the next page*)

fest form. Asura Heti was killed by Viṣṇu and went to Viṣṇuloka. When the body of Gayāsura was made stable Brahmā sang a hymn of praise to Viṣṇu who asked Brahmā to choose a boon. Brahmā said 'we (gods) shall not abide in the śilā without you, but shall remain therein together with you if you have a manifest form.'[1494] Viṣṇu said 'be it so' and Viṣṇu stood on Gayāśiras in the Ādigadādhara form and as Janārdana and Puṇḍarīkākṣa. Śiva also praised Viṣṇu (Vāyu 109. 43-50). The Vāyu speaks at several places of 'vyaktāvyakta' symbols of the deity (chap. 109. 20 and 43-45). What is meant is Viṣṇu is non-manifest in Phalgu, vyaktāvyakta in Viṣṇupada and manifest in images and statues (vide Tristhalīsetu p. 365, pratimāsvarūpī vyaktaḥ).

Chap. 110 deals with Gayāyātrā. To the east of Gayā is a great river (Phalgu). (If it is dry) one should dig a pit for water and take a bath, should perform *tarpaṇa* and śrāddha according to one's own recension of the Veda, but without *arghya* (water for showing respect) and āvāhana (invoking). In the after-

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(*Continued from the last page*)

आदिपाल (109. 15), क्रौञ्चपाद (109. 16), रामशिला, मेताशिला (110. 15, 108. 67), नग (108. 28), ब्रह्मयोनि (नारदीय II. 47. 54). The principal bathing places are: फल्गुतीर्थ (111. 13, अग्नि. 115. 25-26 and 44), रामतीर्थ (108. 16-18), शिलातीर्थ (108. 2), गदालोल (111. 75-76, अग्नि. 115. 69), वैतरणी (105. 44), ब्रह्मसरः (वनपर्व 84. 85, वायु 111. 30), ब्रह्मकुण्ड, (110. 8), उत्तरमानस (111. 2 and 22), दक्षिणमानस (111.6 and 8), रुक्मिणीकुण्ड, मेतकुण्ड, निःक्षारा (निःक्षीरा) पुष्करिणी (108.84), मतङ्गवापी (111. 24). The sacred sites are; पञ्चलोक, सप्तलोक, वैकुण्ठ, लोहदण्डक (all four, in 109. 16), गोप्रचार (111. 35-37 where there were mango trees established by ब्रह्मा), धर्मारण्य (111. 23), ब्रह्मयूप (अग्नि. 115. 39 and वनपर्व 84. 86). The sacred trees are; अक्षयवट (वनपर्व 84. 83, 95. 14, वायु 105. 45, 111. 79-81, अग्नि 115. 70-73), आम्र near गोप्रचार (111. 35-37), गृध्रकूटवट (108. 63), महाबोधितरु (111. 26-27, अग्नि 115. 37). The verse about the mango tree is famous 'एको मुनिः कुम्भकुशाग्रहस्त आम्रस्य मूले सलिलं ददानः। आम्रश्च सिक्तः पितरश्च तृप्ता एका क्रिया द्व्यर्थकरी प्रसिद्धा॥' वायु. 111. 37, अग्नि. 115. 40, नारदीय (उत्तर) 46. 7, पद्म, सृष्टिखण्ड 11.77. There are several other तीर्थs, such as फल्गीश, फल्गुचण्डी, अङ्गारकेश्वर (all in अग्नि. 116. 29) which are not mentioned here.

The पद (stone slabs with foot prints thereon) are: वायु. 111. 46-58 mention 16 by name and refer to others generally. अग्नि. 115. 48-53 mentions at least 13. The पदs mentioned by वायु: are विष्णु, रुद्र, ब्रह्म, काश्यप, दाक्षिणाग्नि, गार्हपत्य, आहवनीय, सभ्य, आवसथ्य, शक्र, अगस्त्य, क्रौञ्च, मातङ्ग, सूर्य, कार्तिकेय and गणेश. वायु. 111. 56 states that four out of these are most eminent viz. of काश्यप, विष्णु, रुद्र and ब्रह्मा. नारदीय (उत्तर) 46. 27 states that विष्णुपद and रुद्रपद are superior, but ब्रह्मपद is superior to all.

1494. Verses 2-3 and 4-5 of Vāyu 110 are quoted above in notes 1295 and 1264 respectively.

noon the pilgrim should go to the Pretaśilā, take a bath in the Brahmakuṇḍa, offer tarpaṇa to the gods and perform śrāddha of his sapiṇḍas on the Pretaśilā with the mantras set out in Vāyu (110. 10–12) and offer piṇḍas to his ancestors. In Aṣṭakās, in Vṛddhiśrāddha, at Gayā and on the anniversary of death, one may offer a śrāddha separately to one's mother but on all other occasions with her husband.[1495] To the sapiṇḍas other than one's paternal ancestors he should offer śrāddha to the south (of the place where he offers to his father &c.) viz. should spread kuśas and once offer water mixed with sesame and should offer them a piṇḍa made of barley flour and repeat the mantras (Vāyu 110. 21–22). The piṇḍas to be offered at Gayāśiras may be in size as[1496] big as one's closed hand, or an undried āmalaka (myrobalan) fruit or of the size of śamī leaves. By means of these he saves seven gotras viz. that of his father, of his mother, of his wife, sister, daughter, paternal aunt and maternal aunt. Water mixed with sesame and piṇḍas are offered to all persons on the maternal grandfather's side, to all bandhus, to all infants, to persons cremated or not cremated, to persons that were killed by lightning or robbers or that committed suicide in various ways and to those who may be undergoing torments of Hells of various kinds and those who have become beasts or birds or insects or trees owing to evil deeds (Vāyu 110, verses 30–55). The verses of most comprehensive character about offering water have been cited in n. 1237 p. 550 and on pp. 616–617 above.

Chap. 111 deals with the order in which the several tīrthas are to be visited. The full pilgrimage lasts for seven days. In chap. 110 it has been stated as shown above that on entering Gayā, a pilgrim takes a bath in the Phalgu water, performs tarpaṇa and śrāddha, then on the same day he goes to the Pretaśilā (which is a part of the Śilā as stated in Vāyu 108. 15) and performs a śrāddha there and offers piṇḍas with boiled rice and ghee (Vāyu 110.15). On doing

1495. अष्टकासु च वृद्धौ च गयायां च मृतेऽहनि । मातुः श्राद्धं पृथक् कुर्यादन्यत्र पतिना सह ॥ वायु. ॥ 110. 17 q. in. तीर्थप्र. p. 389 (reads अन्वष्टकासु), तीर्थचि. p. 298.

1496. मुष्टिमात्रप्रमाणं च आर्द्रामलकमात्रकम् । शमीपत्रप्रमाणं वा पिण्डं दद्या-द्गयाशिरे ॥ उद्धरेत्सप्त गोत्राणि कुलानि शतमुद्धरेत् ॥ पितुर्मातुः स्वभार्याया भगिन्या दुहितुस्तथा । पितृष्वसुर्मातृष्वसुः सप्त गोत्राः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ वायु. 110. 25–26. The त्रिस्थली° p. 327 explains 'अत्र मातृगोत्रं मातामहगोत्रम् । भार्यागोत्रं श्वशुरगोत्रम् । भगिनीदुहितृपितृष्वसृ-मातृष्वसॄणां गोत्राणि यत्कुले ता दत्तास्तदीयानि । एतेषामेव गोत्राणामेकोत्तरं शतं कुलं लक्षणया तत्पक्षाः पुरुषाः ॥'

this the persons for whom this is done become free from the position of *preta.* It is stated (in Vāyu 108. 17-22) that one should bathe in the Rāmatīrtha which is near the place where Phalgu meets the Prabhāsa hill. By bath in Rāmatīrtha and offering of śrāddha and piṇḍa there the persons for whom this is done become *pitṛs* (being already free from *pretatva* by the śrāddha on pretaśilā). On a hill on the south of Pretaśilā one should offer a *bali* (food offered with kuśa, sesame and water) to Yamarāja and Dharmarāja and to the two dogs Śyāma and Śabala. On the next day after entering Gayā (i. e. the 2nd day), the pilgrim should proceed to the Pretaparvata[1497] (Vāyu 110.8) and take a bath in the Brahmakuṇḍa and perform tarpaṇa, śrāddha and giving of piṇḍas mixed with sesame, ghee, curds and honey to his ancestors (father, grandfather &c.) with the mantras 'pitā pitāmahaścaiva' (Vāyu 110. 23-24). Then the pilgrim should offer on kuśas, water, sesame and piṇḍas to persons related in various ways with the mantras 'asmat-kule mṛtā ye ca &c., (Vāyu 110. 34-55). He should then invoke the gods to be witnesses to the fact of his having come to Gayā and become free from the debt to the ancestors (Vāyu 110. 59-60). It is stated in Vāyu 110.61 that at all sacred spots in Gayā the offering of piṇḍas should be done in the same way as at Pretaparvata[1498].

On the third day of entering Gaya one has to perform Pañcatīrthī rites[1499] (Vāyu 111. 1 ff.). The pilgrim first bathes in Uttaramānasa, offers tarpaṇa to gods, gives water and śrāddha and piṇḍas to his ancestors with the mantras (Vāyu 110. 21-24). The fruit of this rite is the inexhaustible gratification of the *pitṛs.* Then the pilgrim goes to the three tīrthas which constitute Dakṣiṇamānasa, viz. Udīcītīrtha (on the north), Kanakhala (in the middle) and Dakṣiṇamānasa

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1497. On प्रेतपर्वत and ब्रह्मकुण्ड, the त्रिस्थली° p. 355 remarks 'प्रेतपर्वतो गयातोऽपरस्यां दिशि गयातो गव्यूत्यधिकदूरस्थः। ब्रह्मकुण्डं प्रेतपर्वतमूल ईशानभागे।'.

1498. सर्वस्थानेषु चैवं स्यात्पिण्डदानं तु नारद। प्रेतपर्वतमारभ्य कुर्यात्तीर्थेषु च क्रमात्॥ वायु. 110. 61.

1499. The five तीर्थs are उत्तरमानस, उदीचीतीर्थ, कनखल, दक्षिणमानस and फल्गु. The त्रिस्थली° says (p. 360) that one has not to take a bath in each of these i. e. there are not five baths on this day. Phalgutirtha is the same as Gayāśiras and is defined in वायु 111. 22 'नागकूटाद्गृध्रकूटाद्यूपादुत्तरमानसात्। एतद्गयाशिरः प्रोक्तं फल्गुतीर्थं तदुच्यते॥'. The अग्निपु. (115. 25-26) differs 'नागाजनार्दनात्कूपाद्वटाच्चोत्तरमानसात्। एत ... च्यते॥'. गरुड. I. 83. 4 is 'नागाजना° ... तदुच्यते॥'. The त्रिस्थली° p. 359 reads मुण्डपृष्ठान्नगाधस्तात्फल्गुतीर्थमनुत्तमम्।.

(on the south). At each of these three there is a śrāddha. Then the pilgrim goes to the Phalgutīrtha, which is the best of all (Gayā) tīrthas. The pilgrim performs tarpaṇa and śrāddha with piṇḍas on Phalgu. This śrāddha at Phalgu results in *mukti* for the performer and also for those for whose benefit it is performed (muktir-bhavati kartṝṇām pitṝṇām śrāddhataḥ sadā, Vāyu 110. 13). It is stated that Phalgu is Ādi-Gadādhara himself in a fluid form.[1500] By bath in Phalgu and seeing Gadādhara a man saves himself, ten ancestors and ten descendants. Then he worships Gadādhara by a bath with *pañcāmṛta* after bowing[1500a] to Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Viṣṇu, Śrīdhara. On the 2nd day of the Pañcatīrthī rites (i. e. 4th day from entering Gayā) the pilgrim should repair to Dharmāraṇya which is so-called because Dharma performed a sacrifice there. Then the pilgrim should bathe in the Mataṅgavāpī (which is situated in Dharmāraṇya), then he should perform *tarpaṇa*, śrāddha and *piṇḍadāna* at the well called Brahmatīrtha and also in the space between Brahmatīrtha and Brahmayūpa; then bow to Brahmā and Dharmeśvara.[1501] He should bow to the Mahābodhi tree (i. e. the sacred *pippala*) and perform śrāddha also underneath it. Agni 115. 34-37 and Nāradīya (uttara) 45. 104 refer to these tīrthas. On the third day of the Pañcatīrthī rites (i. e. on 5th day from entering Gayā) the pilgrim should bathe in Brahmasaras and perform śrāddha with piṇḍas between the Brahmakūpa and the Yūpa (sacrificial post) raised by Brahmā when he performed a sacrifice. By this śrāddha the pilgrim saves his pitṛs.[1502] He should go round the Brahma-yūpa and bow

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1500. गङ्गापादोदकं विष्णोः फल्गुर्ह्यादिगदाधरः। स्वयं हि द्रवरूपेण तस्माद्गङ्गाधिकं विदुः॥ वायु. 111. 16.

1500 a. Pañcāmṛta consists of milk, curds, clarified butter, honey and sugar. With these the image of Gadādhara is to be bathed. Vide नारद (उत्तर) 43. 53 'पञ्चामृतेन च स्नानमर्चायां तु विशिष्यते.'

1501. Dr. Barua (in 'Gayā and Buddha-Gayā' vol. I. p. 22 note) holds that Dharma and Dharmeśvara refer to Buddha, while O'Malley (in J. A. S. B. vol. LXXII for 1904 part 3, p. 5) takes Dharma to mean Yama. I am inclined to agree with O'Malley. Padma, Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 11. 73, states that there are three araṇyas for piṇḍadāna viz. Puṣkarāraṇya, Naimiṣāraṇya and Dharmāraṇya.

1502. It may be noted that the three verses (Vāyu 111. 27-29) addressed to महाबोधितरु do not occur in त्रिस्थली॰ p. 361, which gives two other verses instead viz. चलद्दलाय वृक्षाय सर्वदा चलविष्णवे। बोधितत्त्वाय यज्ञाय अश्वत्थाय नमो नमः॥ एकादशोसि रुद्राणां वसूनामष्टमस्तथा। नारायणोसि देवानां वृक्षराजोसि पिप्पल॥. The त्रिस्थली॰ remarks that in some mss. even these two are not to be found.

to Brahmā. There are mango trees near Gopracāra established by Brahmā. By watering a mango with water from the Brahmasaras the pitṛs attain *mokṣa*. Here follows the verse ('eko muniḥ' &c.) quoted above (n. 1493). Then a *bali* should be offered to Yama and Dharmarāja, then to the two dogs of Yama, then he should offer a bali to crows and then bathe (in Brahmasaras). This is briefly a summary of Vāyu 111. 30–40. Some of these details are mentioned by Agni 115. 34–40 and Nāradīya (uttara) 46. Then on the 4th day of the Pañcatīrthī rites (i. e. 6th day from entrance into Gayā) the pilgrim should take an ordinary bath in the Phalgu and should then perform śrāddhas at the several *padas* on Gayāśiras which is near Phalgutīrtha. Gayāśiras extends from Krauñcapāda up to Phalgutīrtha. Śrāddha offered here (on Gayāśiras) becomes inexhaustible.[1503] Here Ādi-Gadādhara abides in the form of Viṣṇupada. By performing a śrāddha with piṇḍas on Viṣṇupada (which is a footprint on a slab deemed to be of Viṣṇu) the pilgrim saves one thousand families and takes them and himself to the blissful, inexhaustible and never-ending world of Viṣṇu. Then Vāyu 111. 47–56 deal with the rewards of śrāddhas performed at Rudrapada, Brahmapada and 14 other padas expressly named by it.[1504] 'For whomsoever by name a pilgrim offers a piṇḍa on Gayāśiras, that man, if in hell, goes to heaven and if in heaven he secures *mokṣa*.'

On the 5th day of the Pañcatīrthī rites (i. e. the 7th day from entering Gayā), the pilgrim should bathe in the sacred place called Gadālola.[1505] By performing śrāddha with piṇḍas at Gadālola he takes his pitṛs and himself to the world of Brahmā. Then at the Akṣayavaṭa he should perform a śrāddha

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1503. क्रौञ्चपादात्फल्गुतीर्थं यावत्साक्षाद्गयाशिरः। वायु. 111. 44. क्रौञ्चपाद is the hill मुण्डपृष्ठ as stated in वायु. 108. 75 'क्रौञ्चरूपेण हि मुनिर्मुण्डपृष्ठे तपोऽकरोत्। तस्य पादाङ्कितो यस्मात्क्रौञ्चपादस्ततः स्मृतः ॥.'

1504. The त्रिस्थली॰ p. 366 remarks that there is no separate śrāddha on Gayāśiras apart from the śrāddhas on Viṣṇupada and the other padas. गयाशिरसि यः पिण्डान्येषां नाम्ना तु निर्वपेत्। नरकस्था दिवं यान्ति स्वर्गस्था मोक्षमाप्नुयुः ॥ वायु. 111. 73. Agni. 115. 47 has the latter half. Gayāśiras is the centre of Gayā and the most holy spot in it.

1505. This tīrtha was so called because Ādi-Gadādhara washed his mace in the water there after smashing the head of demon Heti with it. हेत्यसुरस्य यच्छीर्षं गदया तद् द्विधा कृतम्। ततः प्रक्षालिता यस्मात्तीर्थे तत्र विशुद्धये। गदालोलमिति ख्यातं सर्वेषामुत्तमोत्तमम्। वायु 111, 75. गदालोल is in the stream of the river Phalgu.

and honour the (Gayā) brāhmaṇas established by Brahmā with offerings and food. When they are gratified gods together with pitṛs become gratified.[1506] Then the pilgrim should bow to the Akṣayavaṭa and worship it with a mantra and also bow to worship Prapitāmaha. Agni 115. 69–73 and Nāradīya (uttara) chap. 47 also refer to these.

The Tristhalīsetu (p. 368) remarks that the above are the fixed rites for seven days in Gayā, that other tīrthas may be visited according to one's convenience if one stays in Gayā for half a month or a month ; that the śrāddha at the Pretaśilā is to be the first and that at the Akṣayavaṭa is to be performed at the end,[1507] and that although there is variation between the order in which tīrthas are to be visited on the several days according to the Vāyupurāṇa, the Agnipurāṇa and other purāṇas, yet as the Vāyupurāṇa is most detailed as regards Gayā rites, the order therein should be followed and that one not knowing the order may visit the tīrthas in any order[1508] except Pretaśilā and Akṣayavaṭa. Gayāyātrā, chapter 112 of the Vāyupurāṇa, refers to king Gaya who performed a *yajña* and who got two boons, one about the restoration of the Gayā brāhmaṇas to favour and the other that Gayāpurī be named after him and who then went to Viṣṇuloka. Then it narrates the story of king Viśāla (verses 7–15) who being sonless performed piṇḍadāna on Gayāśīrṣa and thereby saved his three ancestors, got a son and also himself went to heaven. Then another story is told (verses 16–20) of a deceased person, who was in the condition of a *preta*, offering one-sixth of his property to a trader and asking him to perform Gayāśrāddha with the rest of his wealth and who on account of śrāddha at Gayā became free from the condition of *preta*.[1509] Then verses 20–60 mention several other tīrthas of Gayā such as Gāyatrītīrtha, Prācī-sarasvatītīrtha, Viśālā, Lelihāna, the

1506. Compare 'ये युष्मान्पूजयिष्यन्ति गयायामागता नराः। हव्यकव्यैर्धनैः श्राद्धै-स्तेषां कुलशतं व्रजेत्। नरकात्स्वर्गलोकाय स्वर्गलोकात्परां गतिम्।' अग्नि. 114. 39–40.

1507. संसारवृक्षशस्त्रायाशेषपापक्षयाय च। अक्षयब्रह्मदात्रे च नमोऽक्षयवटाय वै॥ कल्पे माहेश्वरा लोका येन तस्मात्पुराधरः। लिङ्गरूपोऽभवत्तं च वन्दे श्रीप्रपितामहम्॥ वायु 111. 83–84; श्राद्धं वटतले कुर्याद् ब्राह्मणानां च भोजनम्। एकस्मिन् भोजिते विप्रे कोटिर्भवति भोजिता। किं पुनर्बहुभिर्भुक्तैः पितॄणां दत्तमक्षयम्।... वटं वटेश्वरं नत्वा पूजयेत् प्रपितामहम्। अग्नि. 115. 71–73.

1508. क्रमतोऽक्रमतो वापि गयायात्रा महाफला। अग्नि. 115. 74 q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 368.

1509. Both the stories occur in अग्निपुराण 115. 54–63, नारदीय (उत्तर) 44. 26–50, गरुड. I 84. 34–43, and the first about king विशाल in वराहपुराण 7.12 ff.

hermitage of Bharata, Muṇḍapṛṣṭha, Ākāśagaṅgā, Vaitaraṇī and other rivers and sacred places. It winds up by saying that six Gayās confer *mukti* (by worship and piṇḍadāna at them) viz. Gayāgaja, Gayāditya, Gāyatrī (tīrtha), Gadādhara, Gayā and Gayāśiras.[1509a]

The Agnipurāṇa (chap. 116. 1–34) has a long list of tīrthas at Gayā that is quoted by the Tristhalīsetu pp. 376–378, which are passed over here.

Though the number of tīrthas at Gayā is very large, the majority of pilgrims do not visit them all. Visits to three places are absolutely necessary for every pilgrim to Gayā, viz. Phalgu river, Viṣṇupada and Akṣayavaṭa, at all of which worship has to be done with milk, water, flowers, sandalwood paste, *tāmbūla*, lighted lamp and piṇḍas to ancestors have to be offered. The Viṣṇupada temple is built over the footprint of Viṣṇu on the rock to the west of the river Phalgu. The old town of Gayā was built round Viṣṇupada and it is the largest and most important temple in Gayā. The footprint (about 16 inches in length) deemed to be God Viṣṇu's is inside an octagonal basin plated with silver. Pilgrims of all castes (except untouchables) surround the basin and cast their offerings inside the basin, though for a substantial payment the priests clear out all people, shut the door for a minute or two and allow a very orthodox or a rich person to make his offerings without being disturbed by anyone else. There are 45 *vedis* (or sacred places) at which the leisured pilgrim may offer piṇḍas in the Gayākṣetra which extends from about five miles to the north-west of Old Gayā town to about 7 miles south of it. Though the ancient Buddhist works and Fa Hien and Hiouen Thsang make a distinction between Gayā and Uruvilvā or Uruvelā where Buddha attained Enlightenment after six years of severe *tapas*, the Bodhi tree (Mahābodhitaru) was recognized by the Gayāmāhātmya as one of the sacred places which Hindu pilgrims should visit and is so regarded even now. When the Hindus appropriated Buddhist sacred places to themselves it is difficult to say. The Bodhi tree is the oldest historical tree in the world. A branch of it is said to have been transplanted to Ceylon in the times of the great Emperor Aśoka (about 250 B.C.)

1509 a. गयागजो गयादित्यो गायत्री च गदाधरः । गया गयाशिरश्चैव षड् गया मुक्तिदायिकाः ॥ वायु 112. 60 q. by तीर्थचि. p. 328 (reads षड्गयं मुक्तिदायकं), त्रिस्थली° p. 372. This occurs in नारदीय (उत्तर) 47. 39–40. गयागजः—probably refers to the pillar with the figure of an elephant near the Gadādhara temple at Gayā.

and at Kandy in Ceylon a *pippala* tree is even now shown as that transplanted tree or the successor of that branch. The Gayāśirsa[1510] is a set of rocky hills such as Gayāśirṣa, Muṇḍa-pṛṣṭha, Prabhāsa, Gṛdhrakūṭa, Nāgakūṭa, ranging over one krośa (about two miles).

It has been already stated above (p. 666) that the rites at the Akṣayavaṭa are the last in the pilgrimage to Gayā. The Gayāwal priest binds the thumbs or hands of the pilgrim with a garland of flowers and receives his fees. He gives sweetmeats to the pilgrim as *prasāda*, applies *tilaka* to the pilgrim's forehead, touches the pilgrim on his back, pronounces the word '*suphala*' (the pilgrimage has been fruitful or successful), declares that the pilgrim's ancestors have gone to heaven and blesses the pilgrim. It must be noted that there is a special class of priests called Dhāmin, who alone (and not the ordinary Gayāwals) have the right of officiating at five *vedis* viz. at Pretaśilā, Rāmaśilā, Rāmakuṇḍa, Brahmakuṇḍa and Kākabali, that are situated on or about the two hills Rāmaśilā and Pretaśilā (vide Bengal District Gazetteers, vol. 12 for Gayā p. 66). They are regarded as inferior in status to the regular Gayāwals.

One important question on which there is great divergence of views among the medieval digests is about the ancestors to whom śrāddha is to be offered at Gayā. In the Vāyu and other Purāṇas it is frequently said that he who performs śrāddha at Gayā becomes free from the debt due to the pitṛs[1511] or that what is offered to the pitṛs at Gayā, Dharmapṛṣṭha, Brahmasaras, or on the Gayāśirṣa and under the imperishable Vaṭa tree becomes inexhaustible. In most of these passages the plural of the word 'pitṛ' is used. Therefore it follows that śrāddha is to be offered in Gayā to three paternal ancestors. And on account of a verse attributed to Gautania,[1512] the three male maternal ancestors also are to be offered śrāddha. The difference arises with

1510. Gayāśiras and Gayā were according to Buddhist works well-known places in Buddha's days. Vide the Mahāvagga I. 21. 1 (S. B. E. vol. 13 p. 134) cited above (on p. 646) and Aṅguttara Nikāya (text) vol. IV p. 302 'एकं समयं भगवा गयायं विहरति गयासीसे'.

1511. श्राद्धकृद्यो गयाक्षेत्रे पितॄणामनृणो हि सः। वायु 105. 30; vide also वायु 108. 60 and 90, 109. 41; 'गयायां धर्मपृष्ठे च सरसि ब्रह्मणस्तथा। गयाशीर्षे वटे चैव पितॄणां दत्तमक्षयम्॥' नारदीय (उत्तर) 44. 54, गरुड I. 83 42–43. This last is ascribed to बृहस्पति by कल्पतरु (on तीर्थ) p. 167.

1512. पितरो यत्र पूज्यन्ते तत्र मातामहा अपि। अविशेषेण कर्तव्यं विशेषान्नरकं व्रजेत्॥ इति गौतमोक्तेः। त्रिस्थली° p. 349, quoted also in स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 56.

reference to the wives of these six male paternal and maternal ancestors. The Agnipurāṇa proposes an option (115. 10) that the *devatās* in Gayāśrāddha are nine or twelve. When they are to be nine, the śrāddha is for three paternal ancestors, three male ancestors of the mother and the wives of the latter three male ancestors, while there is a separate śrāddha for the mother, paternal grand-mother and paternal great-grandmother. If there are to be twelve devatās in Gayāśrāddha, then all the wives of the paternal ancestors and of maternal ancestors would be included in one śrāddha. Aparārka allowed an option (as in Agni) in Gayā-śrāddha.[1513] According to the Smṛtyarthasāra[1514] and Hemādri the Anvaṣṭakā-śrāddha and Gayāśrāddha for the paternal ancestors and that for the wives of these (i. e. mother, paternal grandmother &c.) must always be separate, but the śrāddha for the mother's paternal ancestors and their wives should be one (and therefore the *devatās* will be nine). Yama (verse 80) appears to hold that the mother, paternal grandmother and paternal great-grandmother are always to be associated with their respective husbands in śrāddha. Some held that the devatās of Gayāśrāddha were only six viz. the three male paternal ancestors and three male maternal ancestors.[1515] The Tri. S. ultimately remarks that the usage of the country should be the deciding principle. The Prajāpati-smṛti (183–184) has some rather contradictory views as to when there would be 12 or 9 or 6 devatās in a śrāddha. When there are twelve *devatās*, the *saṅkalpa* at the Pretaśilā-śrāddha which is the model of all the śrāddhas at the other sacred spots in Gayā (with suitable modifications) will be as noted below.[1516]

It should be noted that there are certain special characteristics of Gayāśrāddha. There is no tonsure (Vāyu 83. 18

1513. ततश्चान्वष्टकादित्रये स्त्रीणां श्राद्धं पृथगेव। गयामहालयादौ तु पृथक् सह वा भर्तृभिरिति सिद्धम्। अपरार्क p. 432; गरुड I. 84, 24 is 'श्राद्धं तु नवदैवत्यं कुर्याद् द्वादशदैवतम्। अन्वष्टकासु वृद्धौ च गयायां मृतवासरे॥.'

1514. तत्र मातृश्राद्धं पृथक् प्रशस्तम्। मातामहानां सपत्नीकमेव। स्मृत्यर्थसार pp. 59–60; vide त्रिस्थली° p. 349 for the view of हेमाद्रि.

1515. अत्र केचित्पितृवर्गमातामहवर्गरूपतया षड्दैवत्यमेवेत्याहुः।... अत्र सर्वत्र मूलवचनानि देशाचारतश्च व्यवस्थेति सामान्यविधानेनोक्तम्। त्रिस्थली° p. 349. रघुनन्दन in his तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व notes that this is the गौड view.

1516. ओम्। अद्यामुकगोत्राणां पितृपितामहप्रपितामहानाममुकामुकदेवशर्मणाम्, अमुकगोत्राणां मातृ-पितामही-प्रपितामहीनाममुकामुकदेवीनाम्, अमुकगोत्राणां मातामह-प्रमातामह-वृद्धप्रमातामहानाममुकामुकदेवशर्मणाम्, अमुकगोत्राणां मातामही-प्रमातामही-वृद्धप्रमातामहीनाममुकामुकदेवीनां प्रेतत्वविमुक्तिकामः प्रेतशिलायां श्राद्धमहं करिष्ये। तीर्थचि. p. 287. These twelve are specified in गरुडपुराण I. 84. 45–47.

and note 1485 above). One must honour the Gayāwals alone, and not other brāhmaṇas, however learned they may be; one should not consider the family or character or learning of Gayā brāhmaṇas (vide p. 579 above and note 1313). But it has to be remembered that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa[1517] did not accept this for all śrāddhas t Gayā, but only as to the śrāddha under the Akṣayavaṭa, since the Vāyu (111. 79–80) again refers under Akṣayavaṭa to the worship of Gayā brāhmaṇas and since following the maxim of 'caturdhākaraṇa' laid down in Jai. III. 1. 26–27 the later specific provision narrows down the wide words used in the earlier passage. At Gayā one could offer piṇḍa to oneself but without sesame.[1518] The Tri. S. (p. 350) observes (relying on Vāyu) that when a man offers a piṇḍa to himself, it should be in the hands of the image of Janārdana on Bhasmakūṭa[1519] and that the pilgrim to Gayā can offer a piṇḍa to himself only when it is certain that he has no son or other *adhikārin* for offering śrāddha. Further, any one related or unrelated, could offer a piṇḍa[1520] to anybody, as laid down in Vāyu 'Whether it is one's own son or the son of another (who offers), in whosesoever name a piṇḍa is let fall at Gayā, that man attains everlasting *Brahma.* It is desired that anyone may offer a piṇḍa to anybody after uttering that person's name and gotra and the latter reaches the highest goal.'

There are several works, printed and in mss., that deal with the procedure of Gayāśrāddha. There is the Gayāśrāddha-paddhati of Vācaspati printed at the Chandraprabha press, Benares city, the Tīrtha-yātrā-tattva of Raghunandana (which contains a Gayā-

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1517. गयायां तु निर्गुणा अपि तत्रत्या एव द्विजा भोज्या इति तु हेमाद्रिः। वटे तु ब्रह्मकल्पितान् विप्रान्भोजयेत्पूजयेच्च इत्यक्षयवटप्रकरणे पुनः श्रवणाच्चतुर्धाकरणोपसंहारन्यायेनाक्षयवटश्राद्धनियमो न गयाश्राद्धमात्रे। एवं च शिष्टाचारोऽप्युपपद्यत इति। त्रिस्थली° p. 352.

1518. आत्मनस्तु महाबुद्धे गयायां तु तिलैर्विना। पिण्डनिर्वपणं कुर्यात्तथा चान्यत्र गोत्रजाः॥ वायु. 83. 34 q. by त्रिस्थली° p. 350 from स्मृतिरत्नावली; vide also वायु. 105. 12 and अग्नि 115. 68 'पिण्डो देयस्तु सर्वेभ्यः सर्वैश्च कुलतारकैः। आत्मनस्तु तथा देयो ह्यक्षयं लोकमिच्छता॥'.

1519. जनार्दनो भस्मकूटे तस्य हस्ते तु पिण्डदः। आत्मनोऽप्यथवान्येषां सव्येनापि तिलैर्विना॥ जीवतां दधिसंमिश्रं सर्वे ते विष्णुलोकगाः॥ वायु. 108. 85; vide गरुडपुराण 'जनार्दनस्य हस्ते तु पिण्डं दद्यात्स्वकं नरः। एष पिण्डो मया दत्तो तव हस्ते जनार्दन। परलोकगते मह्यमक्षय्यमुपतिष्ठताम्॥'; compare नारद (उत्तर) 47. 62–65 for very similar verses.

1520. आत्मजोऽप्यन्यजो वापि गयाभूमौ यदा तदा। यन्नाम्ना पातयेत्पिण्डं तं नयेद्ब्रह्म शाश्वतम्॥ नामगोत्रे समुच्चार्य पिण्डपातनमिष्यते। येन केनापि कस्मैचित्स याति परमां गतिम्॥ वायु. 105. 14–15. Vide also वायु. 83. 38.

paddhati) published in Bengali characters. Then I consulted two mss. viz. the Gayā-śrāddha-paddhati of Raghunātha son of Mādhava (D. C. ms. No. 93 of 1891–95) and the Gayāśrāddha-vidhi of Vācaspati (D. C. No. 245 of 1887–91). The procedure in the Tīrthayātrā-tattva of Raghunandana is set out here briefly without actually citing in full the Vāyupurāṇa passages which it quotes profusely. Raghunandana appears to follow the Tīrthacintāmaṇi closely as some of the notes will show. After the pilgrim enters Gayā he should first make an appropriate saṅkalpa[1521] for a bath in Phalgu, take the clay from the river, apply it to his body and bathe. Then he should perform *tarpaṇa*[1522] to the twelve male and female ancestors (specified in note 1516 above). Then he should declare a saṅkalpa that he would perform Gayāśrāddha with the words 'Om! adyetyādi Gayātīrtha-prāpti-nimittaka-śrāddhamahaṃ kariṣye'. Then he should perform a *pārvaṇa-śrāddha* (described above pp. 485–505) excepting the *āvāhana* and *arghya* rites. If the pilgrim be unable to perform all the details of śrāddha, he may offer only piṇḍas. Then on the same day he should go to the Pretaśilā which adjoins the west bank of the river Phalgu and is to the north of Gayā and perform śrāddha there as follows: he should perform the purification of the ground, sit down on it, perform *ācamana*, face the south, wear the sacred thread in the *apasavya* form, recite the verses (Vāyu 110. 10–12 'Kavyavālo...śrāddhenānena śāśvatīm), contemplate on his pitṛs, perform prāṇāyāma, sprinkle water on the materials for śrāddha after remembering Puṇḍarīkākṣa (Viṣṇu), make the saṅkalpa (set out in note 1516). He should go through the whole procedure of śrāddha up to the payment of dakṣiṇā to brāhmaṇas. After this he should sit to the south of the altar (where he performed the śrāddha), should wear the sacred thread in the *apasavya* form, face the south, place on the ground three kuśas and after reciting the *mantra* (Vāyu 110. 10–12) should make an invocation once in the form of offering an *añjali* of water mixed with sesame, then honour the father with *pādya* (water for washing the feet), recite the two verses

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1521. ओम् । अद्येत्यादि अश्वमेधसहस्रजन्यफलविलक्षणफलप्राप्तिकामः फल्गुतीर्थे स्नानमहं करिष्ये ।. This is the सङ्कल्प in तीर्थचि. p 286 and तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व p. 2.

1522. रघुनन्दन sets out the formulas of tarpaṇa for Sāmavedins and Yajurvedins 'तत्रामुकगोत्रोऽस्मत्पिता अमुकदेवशर्मा तृप्यतामिदं तीर्थोदकं तस्मै स्वधा पितरं प्रीणयामीति सामगः । यजुर्वेदीयानाम् । ओं अमुकगोत्रपितरमुकदेवशर्मंस्तृप्यस्वैतत्ते तीर्थोदकं स्वधा पितरं प्रीणयामि । तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व p. 3. The first is set out by तीर्थचि. p. 286 also.

(Vāyu 110. 20–21 'ā brahma...tilodakam' with *om* prefixed), perform invocation as before of the father and others with water in folded hands and should offer a piṇḍa to his father of *pāyasa* or other material mixed with sesame, water and honey with the words 'Om, adya amuka-gotra pitar-amukadevaśarman, eṣa te piṇḍaḥ svadhā'. In this way he should offer piṇḍa to the remaining eleven devatās, viz. paternal grandfather and others (or eight or five according to usage). He should donate a fee according to his means. Then he should sit to the south of the place he so far occupied, spread on the ground kuśas having roots but with tips turned to the south, should repeat the mantras (Vāyu 110. 10–12), perform on those kuśas once an invocation in the form of an añjali of water mixed with sesame, repeat the two verses (Vāyu 110. 22–23 'Pitā pitāmaha...mupatiṣṭhatām' with om prefixed [1522a]) and should offer one piṇḍa made of one handful of barley flour mixed with sesame, kuśas, ghee, curds, water and honey to all the twelve devatās (ancestors) together. Then follows what is called *Ṣoḍaśīkarma*, which is as follows: Nineteen spots for piṇḍas should be made (each to the south of the preceding) and should be smeared with *pañcagavya* one after another; then he should spread over each kuśas with their tips to the south, should invoke on the kuśas the persons intended with the mantras (Vāyu 110. 30–32 'asmat-kule mṛtā......tilodakaiḥ'), should worship them by offering sandalwood paste and the rest, (and if he is performing the rite of ṣoḍaśī on a spot sacred to a specific deity then worship that deity also with an appropriate mantra), should then offer once as before an *añjali* of water mixed with sesame and offer piṇḍas beginning from the first spot, each piṇḍa being offered after reciting each of the 19 mantras (Vāyu 110. 34–55, omitting 110.44 'asipatra o', 110. 46 'anekayātanā-saṁsthāḥ ye nītā o', and treating 52–53 as one mantra and 54–55 as one mantra)[1522b]. He should offer 19 piṇḍas

1522 a. It should be noted that *om* is to be recited before each verse intended as mantra here and below.

1522 b. The Tir. C. (pp. 290–292) slightly differs. It does include Vāyu 110. 46 and treats the three verses (Vāyu 110. 51–53) as one mantra. It is difficult to understand why the writers of digests did not say that the śrāddhaṣoḍaśī should be performed with only 18 mantras from out of the 21 or 22 verses with option to the reciter. Where the mantras exceed the number required, Jaimini X. 5.14 states: 'अपूर्वासु तु संख्यासु विकल्पः स्यात्सर्वासामर्थवत्त्वात्.' Raghunandana reads the five verses (51–55) somewhat differently from the printed Vāyupurāṇa, though the sense is not much affected.

of the size already stated and made of the material already mentioned with the sacred thread in the *apasavya* form. Raghunandana explains that although there are nineteen piṇḍas still this is called śrāddhaṣoḍaśī as a technical term.[1523] It would be noticed that all the mantras refer to males in the words 'ye', 'te', 'tebhyaḥ'. So this is 'Puṁ-ṣoḍaśī.' There is a 'strī-ṣoḍaśī' also which only involves changing the words of the mantras in the masculine to words in the feminine gender as indicated in the Vāyupurāṇa itself.[1524] Otherwise there is no difference between the two (puṁṣoḍaśī and strīṣoḍaśī). The note below states the mode in which both males and females are to be invoked and gratified.

Water should be sprinkled over all piṇḍas three times with a vessel full of water mixed with sesame. The mantras repeated at the time are quoted below in the note.[1525] Then he prostrates himself on the ground and should dismiss (send away) them (the persons invoked) with the words 'O father and others! forgive me.' Then wearing the sacred thread in the *savya* form, he should sip water (perform *ācamana*) and recite with his face to the east the two mantras (Vāyu 110. 59–60 'sākṣiṇaḥ santu,' and 'āgatosmi Gayām'). If a pilgrim is unable to carry out all this lengthy procedure, he should at least offer piṇḍas on Pretaśilā, by making a saṅkalpa (like the one in note 1516 saying 'piṇḍadānam' for śrāddham'). He should wear the sacred thread in the *apasavya* mode and repeat the verses in Vāyu (110. 10–12 and 110. 59–60) and should perform according to his *sūtra* the various items such as drawing lines on the altar meant for placing piṇḍas, spreading kuśas, sprinkling down water on the piṇḍas, the offering of piṇḍas, re-sprinkling

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1523. ऊनविंशतौ षोडशत्वं पारिभाषिकं पञ्चाम्रवत्। तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व p. 8. When a person inquires of another how many mango trees or fruit the latter has got the latter may reply they are five, even if actually they may be six or seven.

1524. एतैश्च सर्वमन्त्रैस्तु स्त्रीलिङ्गानां समुद्य च। पिण्डान् दद्याद्यथापूर्वं स्त्रीणां मात्रादिकाक्रमात्। वायु. 110. 56 q. in त्रिस्थली॰ p. 356. स्त्रीषोडश्यां तु—अस्मत्कुले मृता ये चेत्याद्यावाहनमन्त्रादारभ्य मित्राणि सख्य इति पर्यन्तं सम्भवत्स्त्रीलिङ्गमूहनीयम्, अन्यत्तु पुंषोडशीवत् सर्वम्। तीर्थचि. p 292. So instead of the मन्त्र 'अस्मत्कुले मृता ये च गतिर्येषां न विद्यते' (वायु. 110. 34), in the स्त्रीषोडशी the मन्त्र will be अस्मत्कुले मृता याश्च गतिर्यासां न विद्यते। तासामुद्धरणार्थाय इमं पिण्डं ददाम्यहम्॥. त्रिस्थली॰ p. 357 refers to this स्त्रीषोडशी.

1525. ओम्। ये च वो येऽत्रास्मास्वासन् याश्च वो याश्चास्मास्वासन् ते चावाह्यन्तां तांश्चावाह्यन्ताम्। तृप्यन्तु भवन्तस्तृप्यन्तु भवत्यस्तृप्यत गोत्रान् पुत्रानभितर्पयन्तीरापो मधुमतीरिमाः। स्वधां पितृभ्योऽमृतं दुहाना आपो देवीरुभयास्तृप्यन्तु। तृप्यत तृप्यत तृप्यतेति। तीर्थचि. p 293, तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व pp. 10–11.

water, holding one's breath, loosening the knot of one's garment, offering a thread and sandalwood paste.

Then the pilgrim should descend from the hill (Pretaśilā) to the ground below and should bathe in the deep pool well-known as Rāmatīrtha [1526] (which is in the form of Prabhāsa-hrada) at the meeting place of the great river (Phalgu) with the Prabhāsa hill after making a saṅkalpa (as given in the foot-note) and after repeating the mantra 'janmāntaraśatam' (Vāyu 108. 18). He should then perform *tarpaṇa* and perform śrāddha or (if unable to offer śrāddha) offer only piṇḍas according to the procedure of his own gṛhyasūtra. He should offer as done in the Pretaśilā śrāddha twelve piṇḍas to the father and the others, the single inexhaustible piṇḍa and the ṣoḍaśi-piṇḍas. If he cannot go through all these, he may perform any one of them. Then he should make a saṅkalpa and should offer obeisance to Rāma with the mantra 'Rāma Rāma' (Vāyu 108.20). When a pilgrim performs this bath, śrāddha and piṇḍadāna his pitṛs become free from the condition of being *preta* (Vāyu 108. 21). Then he should perform obeisance to the refulgent Prabhāseśa (Śiva). He should offer obeisance to both Rāma and Prabhāseśa with the mantra 'āpastvamasi' (Vāyu 108. 22). Then he should offer a *bali* of boiled rice to Yama with the words 'this is a bali, om ! bow to Yama.' Then on a hill called Naga situated to the south of Prabhāsa hill and on the middle of Pretaśilā he should recite the verse 'dvau śvānau' (Vāyu 108. 30) and offer a bali made up of some kind of cooked food with the words 'this is a bali to Yamarāja and Bhramarāja (Dharma-rāja?); salutation.' This offering of bali is obligatory (on every pilgrim); the rest may be done according to one's ability. This finishes the rites on the first day (i. e. the day of entering Gayā).

On the 2nd day of entering Gayā the pilgrim should bathe in Phalgu, perform his daily duty of tarpaṇa and worship of gods and then in the afternoon bathe in Brahmakuṇḍa [1527] situated in the north-east corner which touches the root of Pretaparvata, that is at the distance of a gavyūti from Gayā and that (Brahmakuṇḍa) is situated to the north-west of Gayā.

1526. ओम्। अद्येत्यादि सायजन्मान्तरशतकृतदुष्कृतविलयकामोऽस्मिन्रामतीर्थे स्नानमहं करिष्ये। तीर्थचि. p. 294, तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व pp. 11-12. The मन्त्र 'जन्मान्तर०' (वायु. 108. 18) is quoted by both.

1527. The सङ्कल्प at ब्रह्मकुण्डस्नान is ओं अद्येत्यादि पित्रादीनां पुनरावृत्तिरहितब्रह्मलोकप्राप्तिकामः प्रेतपर्वते श्राद्धमहं करिष्ये। तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व p. 13.

The śrāddha performed here is believed to be performed on the altar of Brahmā (i. e. where Brahmā performed his Aśvamedha). Then he should with the face to the south throw on Pretaparvata barley grains mixed with sesame with the mantra 'ye kecit' (Vāyu 110. 63 q. both by Tīr. C. p. 297 and by Raghunandana) and offer an añjali of water mixed with sesame with the mantra 'ā-brahma' (Vāyu 110. 64).[1528]

On the third day after entering Gayā come the rites of Pañcatīrthī described above (pp. 663–666). The pilgrim bathes[1529] in the Uttaramānasa with the mantra 'uttare mānase snānam' (Vāyu 111. 2–3). He should offer one añjali with the verses (Vāyu 110. 20–21) and perform śrāddha. After this śrāddha he sits to the south of Uttara-mānasa, spreads *kuśas* with tips towards the south, offers water with sesame and offers to all together one piṇḍa of one handful of barley flour mixed with sesame, kuśas, honey, curds and water. Then he bows to and worships the Sun's image on Uttaramānasa with the mantra 'namostu bhānave' (Vāyu 111. 5). Then he repairs to Dakṣiṇamānasa in silence and there takes a bath in Udīcī tīrtha, in Kanakhala and then in Dakṣiṇamānasa with the mantra (Vāyu 111. 9–10) and then performs salutation and worship to Dakṣiṇārka, then makes a bow to Mauṇārka, then goes to Phalgu tīrtha situated to the east of Gadādhara and takes a bath and performs tarpaṇa and śrāddha there; then he worships Pitāmaha (with Vāyu 111. 19), visits Gadādhara and worships (with Vāyu 111.21), then again goes to the five tīrthas, at each of which he bathes and performs tarpaṇa. Then he bathes the image of Gadādhara with pañcāmṛta. Raghunandana notes that the bathing of Gadādhara with pañcāmṛta is obligatory, while the rest may be done according to one's ability. This finishes the rites of pañcatīrthī.

The various tīrthas to be visited after Pañcatīrthī have been mentioned above. It is not necessary to repeat them here. The special mantras from the Vāyupurāṇa cited by Raghu-

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1528. It may be stated once for all that there is a saṅkalpa appropriate to each bath, that a bath in a sacred place is followed by tarpaṇa, that śrāddha is performed as on *Pretaśilā with all details beginning from* invocation and ending with making the gods bear witness. Therefore these items will not be repeated hereafter and only the special provisions in each case will be pointed out.

1529. The सङ्कल्प is ओं अद्येत्यादि पापक्षयपूर्वक-सूर्यलोकादिसंसिद्धिपितृमुक्तिकाम उत्तरमानसे स्नानमहं करिष्ये.

nandana will alone be specified here. After bath and śrāddha at Mataṅgavāpī, the pilgrim should go to Mataṅgeśa to the north of Mataṅgavāpī and recite Vāyu 111. 25 (pramāṇaṃ devatāḥ santu &c.). When pouring water at the root of the mango tree established by Brahmā the pilgrim repeats Vāyu 111. 36 (āmram brahma-sarodbhūtam &c.). When bowing to Brahmā, the mantra is Vāyu 111. 34 (namo brahmaṇe &c.). The bali to Yama is offered with Vāyu 111. 38 (Yamarāja-dharmarājau &c.). The bali to the two dogs is to be given with the mantra (Vāyu 111. 39) and that to the crows with Vāyu 111. 40 (Aindra-vāruṇa-vāyavya &c.). As regards the *padas* the pilgrim should begin with Rudrapada and perform śrāddha there and then proceed to Viṣṇupada and worship Viṣṇu with five upacāras[1530] with the mantra 'Idam Viṣnur-vi cakrame' (Ṛg. I. 22. 17). To the south of the vedī of Viṣṇupada he should perform the śrāddhaṣoḍaśī (described above pp. 672-673) up to Vāyu 110. 60 (anṛṇosham-ṛṇatrayāt). About an ascetic, vide above p. 655.

Then Raghunandana briefly touches upon the śrāddhas to be performed at the several padas and remarks that the last śrāddha at the *padas* is that at Kāśyapapada. He prescribes Vāyu 111. 76 as the mantra for bath in Gadālola-tīrtha. Then he states that the śrāddha at the Akṣayavaṭa is to be performed on the north side of the Vaṭa near its bottom. He prescribes Vāyu 111. 82-83 (ekārṇave &c.) as the mantras for bowing to the Akṣayavaṭa. Further, he speaks of śrāddhas to be performed at several sub-tīrthas, such as Gāyatrī, Sarasvatī, Viśālā, the hermitage of Bharata, Muṇḍapṛṣṭha. Then he prescribes that the pilgrim should cross the Vaitaraṇī (situated to the east of the Devanadī which is near Bhasmakūṭa) with the mantra (Vāyu 105. 44, yāsau Vaitaraṇī nāma &c.). After referring to several other tīrthas such as Gopracāra, Ghṛtakulyā, Madhu-kulyā, Raghunandana recommends that the pilgrim should visit Pāṇḍuśilā (which is in Campakavana near Pitāmaha) and perform śrāddha there. He notes that the four rivers and streams called Ghṛtakulyā, Madhukulyā, Devikā and Mahānadī[1531] (Phalgu) are called Madhusravā when they meet the Śilā (Vāyu

1530. For the five upacāras, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 729-730.

1531. In the वायुपुराण when speaking of गया the word महानदी occurs frequently (as in 112. 30, 110. 6), but it refers to फल्गु. On वायु. 110. 6 (ततो गयाप्रवेशे च पूर्वतोस्ति महानदी। तत्र तोयं समुत्पाद्य स्नातव्यं निर्मले जले॥) the त्रिस्थली० p. 352 observes 'महानदीति फल्गुवा एव नामधेयम्। तोयं समुत्पाद्येति शुष्कनद्यां वालुकाखननेन तोयमुत्पाद्य।'.

112.30) and a bath, tarpaṇa and śrāddha thereon yield immense results. Then are mentioned several other tīrthas such as Daśāśvamedha, Mataṅgapada, Makha-kuṇḍa (near Udyanta parvata), Gayākūṭa. Raghunandana winds up by providing that on Bhasmakūṭa the pilgrim should place with his right hand in the hand of Janārdana a piṇḍa mixed with curds (but without sesame) and on doing so recite five verses (Vāyu 108. 86–90,[1532] 'eṣa piṇḍo mayā' &c.). Then Raghunandana quotes sixteen verses about Mātṛṣoḍaśī (which do not occur in Vāyupurāṇa and are passed over here).

We have to distinguish between Gayākṣetra, Gayā and Gayāśiras or Gayāśīrṣa. The Vāyu, Agni and Nāradīya all assert that Gayākṣetra is five krośas[1533] (in extent) and Gayāśiras is one krośa. It had become the fashion to speak of famous tīrthas like Kāśī and Prayāga as pañcakrośa. But so far as the Vāyupurāṇa is concerned the Gayākṣetra is about 13 miles in length from Pretaśilā to Mahābodhi tree as shown above. Gayā is said to be two krośas and a half in extent in all directions from Muṇḍapṛṣṭha[1534]. Gayāśiras is smaller than Gayā and is identified with Phalgutīrtha (vide note 1499). Gayā and Gayasīsa (Pāli for Gayāśīrṣa) are well known to ancient Buddhist texts (Mahāvagga I. 21. 1 in S. B. E. XIII p. 136, Aṅguttaranikāya, text vol. IV. p. 302). Vide n. 1510.

Four of the most important and holy tīrthas have been dealt with at some length so far. It is not possible in the space allotted to the section on tīrthas to pursue the same procedure as regards other famous tīrthas. It is proposed to devote a few pages to each of half a dozen or more tīrthas and then to give a somewhat comprehensive list of tīrthas with a few references in the case of each. But before proceeding further reference must be made to certain popular groupings of tīrthas. There is a group of seven cities that are deemed to be very holy and

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1532. Raghunandana reads the five verses somewhat differently from the printed Vāyupurāṇa, though the sense is not much affected.

1533. पञ्चक्रोशं गयाक्षेत्रं क्रोशमेकं गयाशिरः। वायु. 106. 65, अग्नि. 115. 42, नारदीय (उत्तर) 44. 16.

1534. मुण्डपृष्ठाच्च पूर्वस्मिन् दक्षिणे पश्चिमोत्तरे। सार्धं क्रोशद्वयं मानं गयेति परिकीर्तितम्॥ वायुपुराण q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 342. The printed वायु (105. 28–29 'मुण्डं कुर्याच्च पूर्वस्मिन्') appears to have a corrupt reading.

the bestowers of *mokṣa*.[1535] They are Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā (i. e. Haridvāra), Kāśī, Kāñcī, Avantikā (i. e. Ujjayinī), Dvārakā. In some works it is Kāntī and not Kāñcī that is mentioned. Badarīnātha, Jagannātha Purī, Rāmeśvara and Dvārakā—these four are styled Dhāma. There are said to be twelve Jyotirliṅgas of Śiva, according to the Śivapurāṇa viz. Somanātha[1536] in Saurāṣṭra, Mallikārjuna on Srīśaila hill (in Karnul District and about 50 miles from the Krishna station on the G. I. P. Railway), Mahākāla (in Ujjayinī), Parameśvara in Oṁkāra-kṣetra (an island in the Narmadā), Kedāra in the Himālayas, Bhīmāśaṅkara (north-west of Poona at the source of the Bhīmā river) in Ḍākinī, Viśveśvara in Banaras, Tryambakeśvara on the banks of the Gautamī i. e. Godāvarī (near Nasik), Vaidyanātha in Citābhūmi, Nāgeśa in Dārukāvana, Rāmeśvara in Setubandha and Ghṛṣṇeśa in[1537] Śivālaya (i. e. the modern shrine at the village of Elura,

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1535. अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची ह्यवन्तिका। एताः पुण्यतमाः प्रोक्ताः पुरीणामुत्तमोत्तमाः॥ ब्रह्माण्ड IV. 40. 91 ; काशी कान्ती च मायाख्या त्वयोध्या द्वारवत्यपि। मथुरावन्तिका चैता सप्त पुर्योऽत्र मोक्षदाः॥ स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड, 6. 68 ; काञ्च्यवन्ती द्वारवती काश्ययोध्या च पञ्चमी। मायापुरी च मथुरा पुर्यः सप्त विमुक्तिदाः॥ काशीखण्ड 23. 7 ; अयोध्या...वन्तिका। पुरी द्वारवती ज्ञेया सप्तैता मोक्षदायिकाः॥ गरुडपुराण (प्रेतखण्ड) 38. 5–6. In the स्कन्द, नागरखण्ड 47. 4 कान्ती occurs as capital of Rudrasena and in Brahmāṇḍa III. 13. 94–97 Kāntipurī is described as possessing a place for Vyāsa's contemplation, a Kumāradhārā and Puṣkariṇī. If the reading कान्ती is to be accepted there are divergent views about its location, some holding it to be the ancient name of Khatmandu the capital of Nepal, while A. G. identifies it with Kotival 20 miles north of Gwalior.

1536. पृथिव्यां यानि लिङ्गानि तेषां संख्या न विद्यते।...सौराष्ट्रे सोमनाथं च श्रीशैले मल्लिकार्जुनम्। उज्जयिन्यां महाकालमोङ्कारे परमेश्वरम्॥ केदारं हिमवत्पृष्ठे डाकिन्यां भीमशङ्करम्। वाराणस्यां च विश्वेशं त्र्यम्बकं गौतमीतटे॥ वैद्यनाथं चिताभूमौ नागेशं दारुकावने। सेतुबन्धे च रामेशं घुश्मेशं (घृष्णेशं?) च शिवालये। द्वादशैतानि नामानि प्रातरुत्थाय यः पठेत्। सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तः सर्वसिद्धिफलं लभेत्। शिवपुराण IV. 1. 18, 21–24. There is divergence of views about the identification of some of these, viz. about ओङ्कार (Dey p. 5), वैद्यनाथ (Dey p. 50 showing it is either Deoghar in the Santal Pargana or in Paralīgrāma near Satara), दारुकावन (Dey, pp. 53–54). Each ज्योतिर्लिङ्ग has an उपलिङ्ग (vide शिवपुराण IV. I. 34. 42). The बृहन्नारदीयपुराण (पूर्वार्ध) I. 6 51 has 'काशीविश्वेश्वरं लिङ्गं ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं तदुच्यते। तद् दृष्ट्वा परमं ज्योतिराप्नोति मनुजोत्तमः॥' Vide 'the Cave Temples of India' by Fergusson and Burgess p. 367 n. 1. In *JBBRAS*, vol. X. pp. 4–6 the verses about the twelve Jyotirliṅgas and their locations are set out from morning Stotra.

1537. For Ghṛṣṇeśvara or Gṛṣṭāneśvara at the village Elura, vide A. S. W. I. vol. III pp. 82–83. The famous Kailāsa temple at Ellora is not the Ghṛṣṇeśvara liṅga.

7 miles from Devagiri or Daulatabad). The Śivapurāṇa (Koṭidrudra-saṁhitā) chap. 1 names the twelve Jyotirliṅgas and chapters 14-33 narrate the legends connected with the twelve liṅgas. The Skandapurāṇa I (Kedārakhaṇḍa) chap. 7 verses 30-35 enumerate several liṅgas including most of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas. The Bārhaspatyasūtra (edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas) mentions eight great tīrthas each of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śakti, that yield all *siddhis* [1537a].

1537 a. अष्ट वैष्णवक्षेत्राः। बदरिका-सालग्राम-पुरुषोत्तम-द्वारका-बिल्वाचल-अनन्त-सिंह-श्रीरङ्गाः। अष्टौ शैवाः। अविमुक्त-गङ्गाद्वार-शिवक्षेत्र-रामेयमुना (?)-शिवसरस्वती-मध्य-शार्दूल-गजक्षेत्राः। शाक्ता अष्टौ च ओग्घणि-जाल-पूर्ण-काम-कोल्ल-श्रीशैल-काञ्ची-महेन्द्राः। एते महाक्षेत्राः सर्वसिद्धिकराश्च। बार्हस्पत्यसूत्र III. 119-126.

CHAPTER XV

KURUKṢETRA AND SOME OTHER FAMOUS TĪRTHAS

KURUKṢETRA (25 miles east of Ambala) is a very sacred tract, the history of which is lost in the mists of antiquity. In the Ṛgveda X. 33. 4 there is a reference to a king Kuruśravaṇa, son of Trasadasyu.[1538] The Atharva-veda mentions a Kauravya husband (probably a king) who had a talk with his wife.[1539] In the times of the Brāhmaṇas Kurukṣetra had become a very holy land. The Śat. Br. (IV. 1. 5. 13) narrates the legend that the gods performed a sacrifice in Kurukṣetra and at first excluded the two Aśvins from any share in it (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 275). The Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā (II. 1. 4., devā vai sattramāsata Kurukṣetre) and the Tai. Br. (V. 1. 1., devā vai sattram-āsata teṣām Kurukṣetraṁ vedir-āsīt) also say that the Gods performed *a sattra* in Kurukṣetra. The idea underlying these passages appears to be this. The Vedic people of the Brāhmaṇa period held *yajñas* to be the dharma *par excellence*, as stated in Ṛg. X. 90. 16 (yajñena yajñam-ayajanta devāstāni dharmāṇi prathamānyāsan). Kurukṣetra was the centre of Vedic culture in the Brāhmaṇa period and sacrifices must have been performed there on a large scale. Hence it was called dharmakṣetra and as gods were supposed to have attained their position by what men believed to be dharma (*yajña*, *tapas* &c.) it is stated that gods performed sattras in Kurukṣetra. The same Brāhmaṇa mentions a Kauravya king Bahlika Prātipīya (XII. 9. 3. 3, S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 269). The Tai. Br. (I. 8. 4. 1) informs us that the Kuru-Pañcālas went towards the east in winter (*śiśira*) and to the west in summer which was the worst season. The references in the Ait. Br. are far more instructive. The legend about Kavaṣa in which Sarasvatī helps the sage has already been referred to above (p. 559 n. 1254). The Ait. Br. (8. 1 or II. 19) calls that place, where Sarasvatī came rushing, 'Parisaraka'. In another place the Ait. Br. tells us that in its time Nyagrodha (Ficus India) was called Nyubja in Kuru-

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1538. कुरुश्रवणमावृणि राजानं त्रासदस्यवम्। मंहिष्ठं वाघतामृषिः॥ ऋ. X. 33. 4. कुरुश्रवण may mean literally 'heard or famous in the land of Kuru'.

1539. कुलायन् कृण्वन् कौरव्यपतिर्वदति जायया। अथर्ववेद 20. 127. 8.

ksetra.[1540] Elsewhere the Ait. Br. speaks of the countries of the Kurus and Pañcālas together with the Vaśa-Uśīnaras (38. 3 = VIII. 14). The Tai. Ā. narrates [1541] that the gods performed a *sattra* and Kurukṣetra was their altar (for the sattra). The southern side of that Vedi (i. e. Kurukṣetra) was Khāṇḍava, the northern side was Tūrghna, the hinder part was Parīṇah, and the country of Maru (desert) was the rubbish pit. This shows that Khāṇḍava, Tūrghna and Parīṇah were border parts of Kurukṣetra and the Maru district was somewhat away from Kurukṣetra. The Śrautasūtras of Āśv. XII. 6, Lāṭyāyana X. 15 ff. and Kātyāyana [1542] 24. 6. 5 ff closely follow Tāṇḍya and other Brāhmaṇas and mention several holy places at which parts of the Sārasvata sattras were performed such as Plakṣa Prasravaṇa where Sarasvatī starts, the Vaitandhava-hrada of Sarasvatī, the tract called Parīṇah in Kurukṣetra, Yamunā flowing through the country of Kārapacava and the country of Triplakṣāvaharaṇa.

In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (I. 10. 1 ff) occurs the story of Uṣasti Cākrāyaṇa who, when the Kuru country was struck by hailstorms, lived with his very young wife in Ibhyagrāma and went begging for food.

The Nirukta (II. 10) explains that [1543] Devāpi and Śantanu mentioned in Ṛgveda X. 98. 5 and 7 were historical persons and were brothers, sons of Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa, a king of Kuru. Pāṇini (IV. 1. 151 and IV. 1. 172) explains the formation of the word Kauravya from 'Kuru', the first in the sense of '*apatya*', the second in the sense of 'king.'[1544]

1540. तत्रैताश्चमसाम्युब्जंस्ते न्यग्रोधा अभवन् न्युब्जा इति हाप्येनानेतर्ह्याचक्षते कुरुक्षेत्रे ते ह प्रथमजा न्यग्रोधानां तेभ्यो हान्येऽधिजाताः। ऐ. ब्रा. 35.4 = VII. 30.

1541. देवा वै सत्रमासत।...तेषां कुरुक्षेत्रं वेदिरासीत्। तस्यै खाण्डवो दक्षिणार्ध आसीत्। तूर्घ्नमुत्तरार्धः। परीणज्जघनार्धः। मरव उत्करः। तै. आ. V. 1.1. Is तूर्घ्न an older form of स्रुघ्न? स्रुघ्न, modern Sugh on the old Jumnā, is about 40 miles from Thanesar and 20 miles to north-west of Saharanpur.

1542. Vide कात्या. श्रौ. 'शम्यापासे शम्यापासे वसन्तो यजमानाश्च यन्ति दक्षिणेन तीरेण। दृषद्वत्यप्ययेऽपोनप्त्रियश्चरुः। अग्नये कामायेष्टिः प्लक्षे प्रास्रवणे। अवभृथमभ्यवयन्ति यमुनां कारपचवं प्रति। अपरं न्यर्णे नैतन्धवेऽग्निमिन्धीत। कुरुक्षेत्रे परीणहि स्थलेऽग्न्याधेयमन्वारम्भणीयान्तं भवति। एत्य च दृषद्वतीतीरेण। अवभृथमभ्यवयन्ति यमुनां त्रिप्लक्षावहरणं प्रति।' 24.6. 5–7, 10,33–34, 38–39. Similar sūtras occur in लाट्यायनश्रौत X.15.1, X. 17. 12, X. 18.13, X. 19.1, 4–5, 8–9. कात्यायनश्रौत XXIV. 6. 33 refers to the 2nd year and XXIV. 6.34 to the third year of the सारस्वतसत्र.

1543. तत्रेतिहासमाचक्षते। देवापिश्चार्ष्टिषेणः शन्तनुश्च कौरव्यौ भ्रातरौ बभूवतुः। निरुक्त II. 10.

1544. कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः। कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्यः। पा. IV. 1. 151 and 172.

The Mahābhārata frequently speaks of the high sanctifying virtues of Kurukṣetra. It appears that the territory to the south of Sarasvatī and to the north of Dṛṣadvatī was included in Kurukṣetra and [1545] that those who resided therein were as if residents of paradise. Kurukṣetra appears to be called Brahmāvarta in Vanaparva 86.6. According to the Vāmanapurāṇa Kurujāṅgala is [1546] the country between the Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī, while Manu (II. 17, 18) defines Brahmāvarta as the country created by God between the two divine rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī, states that Brahmarṣideśa which is slightly less (in holiness) than Brahmāvarta comprises Kurukṣetra, the countries of Matsya, Pañcāla and Śūrasena. From these passages it is clear that Brahmāvarta is the holiest country in Āryāvarta and that Kurukṣetra was almost like it; we have seen that in the times of the Brāhmaṇas the most sacred Sarasvatī flowed through Kurukṣetra and that the place where Sarasvatī disappeared in the desert was called Vinaśana and was itself a very holy place. Originally the land called Kurukṣetra is said to have been the *Vedi* (sacrificial altar)[1547] of Brahmā, then it came to be called Samantapañcaka (or syamanta-in some passages) when Paraśurāma made five pools of the blood of kṣatriyas in revenge for his father's murder, which were subsequently turned into holy pools of water by the blessings of his pitṛs and lastly it came to be called Kurukṣetra when king Kuru, son of Saṁvaraṇa[1548], ploughed the land with a golden plough for seven *krośas* all round. Kurukṣetra is so called after king Kuru. Kuru is said

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1545. दक्षिणेन सरस्वत्या दृषद्वत्युत्तरेण च। ये वसन्ति कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविष्टपे॥ वनपर्व 83.3. The same verse is वनपर्व 83. 204-205.

1546. सरस्वतीदृषद्वत्योरन्तरं कुरुजाङ्गलम्। वामन 22.47; सरस्वतीदृषद्वत्योर्देवनद्योर्यदन्तरम्। तं देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं प्रचक्षते॥ कुरुक्षेत्रं च मत्स्याश्च पञ्चालाः शूरसेनकाः॥ एष ब्रह्मर्षिदेशो वै ब्रह्मावर्तादनन्तरः॥ मनु. II. 17 and 19. The extent of countries varied from age to age. पञ्चाल was divided into North and South. At the time of Buddha the capital of Pañcāla was Kanoj. Śūrasena is the country of which Mathurā was the capital. अनन्तरः may mean 'slightly less than' or 'not inferior to or not different from.' The verse सरस्वतीदृषद्वत्योः occurs in नारदीय (उत्तर) chap. 64.6.

1547. आद्यैषा ब्रह्मणो वेदिस्ततो रामह्रदः स्मृता। कुरुणा च यतः कृष्टं कुरुक्षेत्रं ततः स्मृतम्॥ वामन 22. 59-60. According to वामन 22. 18-20 there are five vedis of Brahmā viz. समन्तपञ्चक (उत्तरा), प्रयाग (मध्यमा), गयाशिरः (पूर्वा), विरजा (दक्षिणा), पुष्कर (प्रतीची). Vide वामन 22.20 and पद्म IV. 17.7 for the form स्यमन्तपञ्चक.

1548. According to the विष्णुपुराण the genealogy is अजमीढ-ऋक्ष-संवरण-कुरु, about whom it says 'य इदं धर्मक्षेत्रं कुरुक्षेत्रं चकार' (IV. 19. 74-77).

to have asked of Indra the boon that the territory he ploughed might be 'Dharmakṣetra' (domain of righteousness) and that those who may bathe or die there may reap a rich harvest of merit[1549]. The war between Kurus and Pāṇḍavas was fought there. It is spoken of as 'Dharmakṣetra' in the opening verse of the Bhagavad-gītā. Kurujāṅgala is said to be a very fit country for śrāddha in Vāyu (77. 93) and Kūrma II. 20. 33 and 37. 36-37. In the 7th century the Chinese traveller Hiouen Thsang speaks of the country, the capital of which was Sthāṇvīśvara (modern Thanesar which is the heart of Kurukṣetra) as the 'land of religious merit' (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. I p. 184).

The extent of Kurukṣetra is said to be five *yojanas* in radius (in Vanaparva and the Vāmana Purāṇa)[1550]. A somewhat corrupt verse occurs in the Mahābhārata and some purāṇas[1551] about the limits of Kurukṣetra viz. the territory between Tarantu and Kārantuka and between Macakruka (image of a *yakṣa*) and the Rāma-hradas (pools made by Paraśurāma)—this is Kurukṣetra, Samantapañcaka and the northern vedi of Brahmā. The result is that Kurukṣetra is referred to under various names viz. Brahmasaras, Rāmahrada, Samantapañcaka, Vinaśana, Sannihatī (vide T. Pr. p. 463). For the boundaries of Kurukṣetra, vide Cunningham's A. S. R. of India, vol. XIV pp. 86-106 where he notes that Kurukṣetra was 30 miles to the south of Ambala and 40 miles to the north of Panipat. In the remote past Kurukṣetra was the centre of

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1549. यावदेतन्मया कृष्टं धर्मक्षेत्रं तदस्तु वः। स्नातानां च मृतानां च महापुण्यफलं त्विह। वामनपुराण 22. 33-34. Compare Salyaparva 53. 13-14.

1550. वेदी प्रजापतेरेषा समन्तात्पञ्चयोजना। कुरोर्वै यज्ञशीलस्य क्षेत्रमेतन्महात्मनः॥ वनपर्व 129. 22; समाजगाम च पुनर्ब्रह्मणो वेदिमुत्तराम्। समन्तपञ्चकं नाम धर्मस्थानमनुत्तमम्॥ आसमन्ताद्योजनानि पञ्च पञ्च च सर्वतः॥ वामनपु. 22. 15-16. The नारदीय (उत्तर chap. 64. 20) states 'पञ्चयोजनविस्तारं दयासत्यक्षमोद्गमम्। स्यमन्तपञ्चकं तावत्कुरुक्षेत्रमुदाहृतम्॥.'

1551. तरन्तुकारन्तुकयोर्यदन्तरं रामह्रदानां च मचक्रुकस्य। एतत्कुरुक्षेत्रसमन्तपञ्चकं पितामहस्योत्तरवेदिरुच्यते॥ वनपर्व 83. 208, शल्यपर्व 53. 24. पद्म. I. 27. 92 (reads तरण्डकारण्डकयोः), q. by कल्पतरु (on तीर्थ) p. 179 (from the महाभारत). वनपर्व 83. 9-15 and 200 show that मचक्रुक was a यक्ष appointed as one of the द्वारपालs of कुरुक्षेत्र by God Viṣṇu. Should we not separate the first word as तरन्तुक and अरन्तुक? In the नारदीय (उत्तर chap. 65. 24) we have रन्तुक as a sub-tīrtha under कुरुक्षेत्र. Vide तीर्थप्रकाश pp. 464-465 for explanation of this verse. A. G. p. 334 quotes this verse. In Archaeological Survey Reports for India vol. II p. 215 Cunningham quotes the verse as रत्नुकारन्तुकयोर्यदन्तरं° and remarks that Ratnuka is the Ratan *Jaksha* (यक्ष) at the north-east corner of the circuit of Kurukṣetra, four miles to the east of Thanesar.

all the activities and the culture of the Vedic people. Gradually the Vedic people spread towards the east and south and the country between the Ganges and Jumnā and later on Videha (or Mithilā) became the centres of Indian culture.

For reasons of space it is not possible to dwell at length on the greatness and sanctity of Kurukṣetra as described in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Vanaparva 83 starts by saying that all beings that are in Kurukṣetra are freed from all sins and that he also who always says 'I shall go to Kurukṣetra, and I shall reside in Kurukṣetra' is freed from sins [1552]. 'In this world there is no place holier than this. Even the particles of dust driven from Kurukṣetra by the wind take a great sinner to the highest goal' [1553]. Even the Ganges is compared to Kurukṣetra (vide note 1324 'Kurukṣetrasamā Gaṅgā'). The Nāradīya avers [1554] that planets, constellations and stars are subject to the danger of falling down (from the sky) in course of time, but in the case of those that die in Kurukṣetra there is no falling on the earth again (i. e. they would not be born again).

It is a remarkable fact that though the Vanaparva in chap. 83 enumerates several tīrthas on the Sarasvatī and in Kurukṣetra, they do not at all tally with the tīrthas mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas and the Śrautasūtras (except Vinaśana which is mentioned in Vanaparva 83.11 and probably Saraka which may be identified with Parisaraka of the Ait. Br.). This means that the Vanaparva account of Sarasvatī and Kurukṣetra is later by some centuries than that in the Śrautasūtras. The Nāradīya (uttara, chap. 65) names about one hundred tīrthas in Kurukṣetra. It is not possible to set out all of them. But a few words may be said about some of them. First comes the lake called Brahmasaras or Pavana-hrada (Vanaparva 83. 85, Vāmana 49. 38-41, Nāradīya, uttara 65. 95) on

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1552. ततो गच्छेत राजेन्द्र कुरुक्षेत्रमभिष्टुतम्। पापेभ्यो विप्रमुच्यन्ते तद्गताः सर्वजन्तवः॥ कुरुक्षेत्रं गमिष्यामि कुरुक्षेत्रे वसाम्यहम्। य एवं सततं ब्रूयात् सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते॥ वनपर्व 83. 1-2. The commentator नीलकण्ठ furnishes a fanciful derivation of कुरुक्षेत्र (on वनपर्व 83. 6) 'कुत्सितं रौतीति कुरु पापं तस्य क्षेपणात् त्रायते इति कुरुक्षेत्रं पापनिवर्तकं ब्रह्मोपलब्धिस्थानत्वात् ब्रह्मसदनम्'. 'सम्यक् अन्तो येषु क्षत्रियाणां ते समन्ता रामकृतरुधिरोदह्रदाः, तेषां पञ्चकं समन्तपञ्चकम्. Vide ती. प्र. p. 463.

1553. नातःपरतरं पुण्यं भूमेः स्थानं भविष्यति। ... पांसवोपि कुरुक्षेत्रे वायुना समुदीरिताः। अपि दुष्कृतकर्माणं नयन्ति परमां गतिम्॥ शल्य 53. 17, 22 q. in कल्प० (on तीर्थ) p 178. The verse पांसवोपि also occurs in वनपर्व 83. 3.

1554. ग्रहनक्षत्रताराणां कालेन पतनाद्भयम्। कुरुक्षेत्रमृतानां तु न भूयः पतनं भवेत्॥ नारदीय II. 64. 23-24, वामन 33. 16 (last pāda is पतनं नैव विद्यते).

which Kuru stayed as an ascetic. A. G. (pp. 334–335) remarks that the lake is 3546 feet long east to west and 1900 feet wide north to south. The Vāmanapurāṇa (22. 50–55) describes it at some length and says that it was half a *yojana* in extent. Cakratīrtha (mentioned by Vāmanapurāṇa 42. 5, 57. 89 and 81. 3) is popularly supposed to be the place where Kṛṣṇa took up the discus for attacking Bhīṣma. Vyāsasthalī[1555] (named in Vanaparva 84. 96, Nāradīya, uttarārdha 65. 83 and Padma I. 26. 90–91) is the same as modern Basthali, 17 miles to the south-west of Thanesar where Vyāsa resolved to die on the loss of his son. Asthipura (Padma, Ādi. 27. 62) is on the west of Thanesar and south of Aujasaghāṭ where the bodies of the warriors killed in the Great Bhārata war were cremated. Cunningham in Archaeological Survey Reports of India vol. II. p. 219 states that Cakratīrtha is the same as Asthipura and that in Alberuni's time it was the most famous shrine in Kurukṣetra. Pṛthūdaka on the Sarasvatī is very highly spoken of in Vanaparva 83. 142–149. 'They say[1556] that Kurukṣetra is holy, that Sarasvatī is holier than Kurukṣetra, that the sacred spots (on Sarasvatī) are holier than the river Sarasvatī and that Pṛthūdaka is holier than all the other tīrthas on Sarasvatī. There is no tīrtha that is better than Pṛthūdaka'. The Śalyaparva[1557] remarks that whoever, while intently engaged in repeating holy texts, abandons his life at Pṛthūdaka on the northern bank of the Sarasvatī would not be troubled by death next day (i. e. he would be free from birth and death). The Vāmanapurāṇa (39. 20 and 23) calls it Brahmayonitīrtha. Pṛthūdaka is modern Pehova in the Karnal District in Panjab, 14 miles to the west of Thanesar. Vide E. I. vol. I. p. 184 for the Pehova inscription from the temple of Garibnath dated in *saṁvat* 276 (of the Harṣa Era) i. e. 882–883 A. D., which records the agreement of certain pious horse-dealers to impose on themselves and their customers certain

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1555. सरस्वत्या विनशनं प्लक्षप्रस्रवणं शुभम् । व्यासतीर्थमिति ख्यातं मैनाकश्च नगोत्तमः ॥ कूर्म. II. 37. 29; vide ब्रह्माण्ड III. 13. 69 for a similar verse.

1556. पुण्यमाहुः कुरुक्षेत्रं कुरुक्षेत्रात्सरस्वती । सरस्वत्याश्च तीर्थानि तीर्थेभ्यश्च पृथूदकम् ॥ पृथूदकात्तीर्थतमं नान्यत्तीर्थं कुरूद्वह ॥ वनपर्व 83. 147, शान्तिपर्व 152. 11 (first verse), पद्म (आदि. 27. 33, 34, 36) q. by कल्प० (on तीर्थ) pp. 180-181. The वामनपुराण 22. 44 says 'तस्यैव मध्ये बहुपुण्ययुक्तं पृथूदकं पापहरं शिवं च । पुण्या नदी प्राङ्मुखतां प्रयाता जलौघयुक्तस्य सुता जलाढ्या ॥.'

1557. सरस्वत्युत्तरे तीरे यस्त्यजेदात्मनस्तनुम् ॥ पृथूदके जप्यपरो नैनं श्वो मरणं तपेत् । शल्यपर्व 39. 33-34; वामनपुराण 39. 19 has the same verse (last pāda is read as नैतस्य मरणं भवेत्).

taxes and tithes for the benefit of some priests and temples, one of which was the temple of Viṣṇu in his Yajñavarāha *avatāra* built at Pṛthūdaka.

The Vāmanapurāṇa (34. 3 ff) and Nāradīya (uttarārdha 65. 4–7) enumerate seven forests existing in Kurukṣetra as very holy and as destroyers of all sins, viz. Kāmyaka, Aditivana, Vyāsavana, Phalakīvana, Sūryavana, Madhuvana and Sītāvana. Vide A. S. R. for India, vol. 14 pp. 90–91 for the *vanas*. In the Śalyaparva (chap. 38) it is said that the world is encompassed by seven Sarasvatīs, then they are enumerated and their locations are specified viz. Suprabhā (in Puṣkara, where Brahmā engaged in a great sacrifice remembered her, verse 13), Kāñcanākṣī (in the Naimiṣa forest, v. 19), Viśālā (invoked by Gaya in the Gayā country, verses 20–21), Manoramā (in Auddālaka's yajña in Uttarakosala, verses 22–25), Sureṇu (in Ṛṣabhadvīpa in Kuru's yajña, verses 26–27), Oghavatī (called by Vasiṣṭha in Kurukṣetra, verses 27–28), Vimalodā (when Brahmā again performed a yajña in the Himālaya). In the Vāmanapurāṇa 34. 6–8 seven rivers in connection with Sarasvatī are said to be very holy (but nine are actually enumerated) viz. Sarasvatī, Vaitaraṇī, Āpagā, Gaṅgā-Mandākinī, Madhusravā, Ambunadī, Kauśikī, Dṛṣadvatī and Hiraṇvatī.

Kurukṣetra was also called Sannihatī or Sannihatyā. Vide those words in the list of tīrthas. The Vāmanapurāṇa (32. 3–4) says that Sarasvatī springs from a plakṣa tree, that after piercing many hills it enters Dvaitavana. Vāmana (32. 6–22) contains a eulogy of Sarasvatī by Mārkaṇḍeya. Alberuni (Sachau, vol. I. p. 261) states that the river Sarasvatī falls into the sea at the distance of a bowshot east of Somnāth. There is a small but holy stream called Sarasvatī, that rises in the Mahikantha hills and after crossing the south-east corner of Palanpur Agency passes by Siddhapura and Pāṭan, flows underground for some miles and then enters the Runn of Cutch (Bom. G. vol. V. p. 283).[1557a]

MATHURA

Till now it has not been possible to trace an express Vedic reference to Mathurā, the chief city of the country of Śūrasena. But its existence from at least the 5th century B. C. appears

1557a. Vide A. S. R of India, vol 14 pp 97–106 for an exhaustive list of tīrthas in Kurukṣetra.

to rest on firm ground. It is stated in the Aṅguttaranikāya (I, 167, ekam samayam āyasmā Mahākaccāno Madhurāyam viharati Gundāvane) and Majjhima (II. 84 same words) that Mahākaccāyana, a famous disciple of Buddha, assiduously preached in Mathurā the principles of his Master. Megasthenes appears to have known Mathurā and its connection with Heracles[1558] (Hari-Kṛṣṇa ?). The word 'Māthura' (meaning a resident of Mathurā, or born in or coming from Mathurā) occurs in Jaimini's Pūrva-mīmāṅsā-sūtra.[1559] Though Pāṇini's sūtras do not expressly mention Mathurā, the latter is included in the Varaṇādi-gaṇa (Pāṇ. IV. 2. 82). Pāṇini is, however, aware of Vāsudeva and Arjuna (IV. 3. 98), the Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi clans of Yādavas to which Kṛṣṇa belonged (IV. 1. 114) and probably knew the name Govinda (III. 1. 138 and vārtika 'gavi ca vindeḥ sañjñāyām'). Mathurā is several times mentioned by the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali who[1560] in a famous passage refers to dramatic representations, paintings and stories which depict the destruction of Kaṁsa by Vāsudeva. He also cites a quarter of a verse about the killing of Kaṁsa by Vāsudeva as a well-known past event. Whether the town Śaurya mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya on Vārtika 2 on Pāṇini II. 4.7 (Śauryam ca Ketavatā ca Śaurya-Ketavate) is the same as Mathurā is doubtful, even though the Uttarādhyayanasūtra speaks of Mathurā as Śauryapura (S. B. E. vol. 45 p. 112). The Ādiparva (221. 46) indicates that Mathurā was famed for excellent cows

1558. Vide McCrindle's 'Megasthenes and Arrian' p. 201 where it is said that Heracles was held in special honour by the Saurasenoi tribe (Sūrasena) which possessed two large cities, Mathurā and Kleisobora (Kṛṣṇapura?), while Ptolemy calls it 'Modoura of the gods' (vide McCrindle's 'Ancient India as described by Ptolemy', ed. of 1927, p. 124).

1559. स्याद्योगाख्या हि माथुरवत्। जै. I. 3. 21 on which शबर says यतो दृश्यते मथुराया अभिप्रस्थितो माथुर इति मथुरायां वसन् मथुराया निर्गतश्च. The तन्त्रवार्तिक (p. 251) finds fault with the words underlined.

1560. न ह्येको देवदत्तो युगपत्स्रुघ्ने च भवति मथुरायां च। महाभाष्य vol. I, pp. 18, 19 and 244; सत्यप्यर्थेऽपि वै वृत्तिर्भवति तद्यथा। मथुरायामिव मथुरावत्। पाटलिपुत्र इव पाटलिपुत्रवत्। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 192 (on पा. I. 2. 1) and vol. III. p. 299 (on पा. VII. 2. 62, वार्तिक 3). Vide note 1409 above where माथुर cloth is said to be inferior to काशिक cloth and my paper on 'Ancient cities and towns mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya' JBBRAS vol. 27 pp. 39–42 (1951) for other references. ये तावदेते शोभनिका नामैते प्रत्यक्षं कंसं घातयन्ति प्रत्यक्षं च बलिं बन्धयन्तीति।... केचित्कंसभक्ता भवन्ति केचिद्वासुदेवभक्ताः। महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 36 on पा. III. 1. 26 and वार्तिक 15; प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये इति किमर्थम्। जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः। महाभाष्य (vol. II, p. 119 on पा. III, 2. 111).

in those days. When Haṁsa and Dimbhaka, brave commanders of Jarāsandha, drowned themselves in the Jumnā and when Jarāsandha sorrowfully went to Magadha Kṛṣṇa says 'we shall again joyfully reside in Mathurā' (Sabhāparva 14. 41-45). Ultimately Kṛṣṇa is said to have left Mathurā owing to the constant attacks of Jarāsandha and established the Yādavas in Dvārakā[1561] (Sabhāparva, 14. 49-50 and 67). The Brahmapurāṇa, on the other hand, states that the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas on the advice of Kṛṣṇa left Mathurā through the fear of Kālayavana. Vide also Vi. V. 23. 8-15. The Vāyu (88. 185) states that Śatrughna, the brother of Rāma, killed the demon Lavaṇa, son of Madhu and established Mathurā in Madhuvana while the Rāmāyaṇa (Uttara-kāṇḍa 70. 6-9) informs us that Śatrughna took twelve years to make Mathurā a fine and prosperous city. In the Ghaṭa-jātaka (Fausböll, vol. IV. pp. 79-89 No. 454) Mathurā is called Uttara Madhurā (to distinguish it from Madhurā of the Pāṇḍyas in the south) and the story of Kaṁsa and Vāsudeva is narrated, which differs in some material points from the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. In the Raghuvaṁśa XV.28 it is mentioned as Madhurā and as founded by Śatrughna. Hiouen Thsang states that in Mathurā there existed in his day three *stūpas* built by Aśokarāja, that there were in Mathurā five Deva temples, 20 *saṅghārāmas* (Buddhist convents) with 2000 Buddhist priests (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. I. p 179). James Allan (in 'Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India' 1936, p. CXVI) states that the coins of the Hindu kings of Mathurā cover the period from the beginning of the 2nd century B. C. to the middle of the first century B. C. For some ancient coins from Mathurā, the Cambridge History of India, vol. I. p. 538 and plate V (No. 5-10) may be referred to. An interesting and informative work is 'Mathurā' by F.S. Growse (2nd ed. 1880). Inscriptions contribute important evidence about the history and antiquity of Mathurā.[1562] The famous inscription of Khāravela (E. I. vol. XX. at p. 79) includes among the exploits of that king of Kaliṅga the retreat of the Yavana king Dimita to Madhurā (i. e. Mathurā). Several

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1561. वयं चैव महाराज जरासन्धभयात्तदा। मथुरां सम्परित्यज्य गता द्वारवतीं पुरीम्॥ सभा 14. 67; ततो वृष्ण्यन्धकाः कृष्णं पुरस्कृत्य महामतिम्। समेता मन्त्रयामासुर्जरासन्धभयात्तदा। कृत्वा विनिश्चयं सर्वे पलायनमरोचयन्। विहाय मथुरां रम्यां मानयन्तः पिनाकिनम्। कुशस्थलीं द्वारवतीं निवेशयितुमीप्सवः॥ ब्रह्म 14. 54-56.

1562. Vide Dr. B. C. Law's learned paper on 'Mathurā in Ancient India' in J. A. S. of Bengal, vol. XIII (for 1947) pp. 21-30.

Inscriptions of such Kuṣāṇa rulers as Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and others relating to Mathurā have been published of which the following may be mentioned: Inscription on a Nāga image at Mathurā of 'Mahārāja-rājātirāja Kanikkha' in *saṁvat* 8 (E. I. vol. 17. p. 10)[1563]; the Mathurā pedestal Inscription of Kaniṣka in the 14th year (E. I. vol. 19 p. 96); inscription on the pedestal of the image of a seated Bodhisattva at Mathurā in the reign of Huviṣka in *saṁvat* 33 (E. I. vol. 8 pp. 181–182); Inscription of a king Vāsu (rest of the name lost) of the year 74 (E. I. vol. 9 p. 241) and of the time of Śoṇḍāsa (E. I. vol. 9 p. 246); seven Brāhmī inscriptions from Mathurā and its vicinity (E. I. vol. 24 pp. 194–210). There is further an interesting inscription recording the dedication of a stone slab in the temple of Nāgendra Dadhikarṇa by Nandibala and other sons of some actor (Śailālaka) brothers of Mathurā (E. I. vol. I. at p. 390). From the Viṣṇu-purāṇa VI. 8. 31 it follows that an image of Hari had been installed in Mathurā before that purāṇa was composed. The Vāyupurāṇa[1564] informs us in a prophetic vein that seven Nāga kings will rule over Mathurā, Prayāga, Sāketa and Magadha before the Guptas. Alberuni's India (vol. II. p. 147) states that Māhurā (Mathurā) is crowded with brāhmaṇas.

From the above brief historical sketch it would appear that Mathurā was, five or six centuries before Christ, a flourishing city where the epic Hinduism prevailed, that later on Buddhism and Jainism dominated it, that there must have been a revival of Hinduism under the Nāga and Gupta emperors, that in the 7th century A. D., when Hiouen Thsang wrote, Hinduism and Buddhism were equally prominent and that in the 11th century A. D. it was completely dominated by the Brahmanic faith.

The Agnipurāṇa furnishes the strange information that Bharata at the command of Rāma killed three crores of the sons of Śailūṣa in the city of Mathurā[1565]. Mathurā has been

1563. The generally accepted date for Kaniṣka is 78 A. D. Vide Journal of the Bihar and Orissa R. Society, vol. 23 (1937) pp. 113–117 (by Dr. A. Banerji–Sastri).

1564. नव नाकास्तु (नागास्तु?) भोक्ष्यन्ति पुरीं चम्पावतीं नृपाः। मथुरां च पुरीं रम्यां नागा भोक्ष्यन्ति सप्त वै। अनुगङ्गं प्रयागं च साकेतं मगधांस्तथा। एतान् जनपदान्सर्वान् भोक्ष्यन्ते गुप्तवंशजाः॥ वायु 99. 382–83, Br. III. 74. 194. Vide Jayaswal, 'History of India' (150–350 A. D.) pp. 3–15 for the Nāga dynasty.

1565. अभूत्पूर्वं मथुरा काचिद्रामोक्तो भरतोवधीत्। कोटित्रयं च शैलूषपुत्राणां निशितैः शरैः॥ शैलूषं दुष्टगन्धर्वं सिन्धुतीरनिवासिनम्। अग्नि 11. 8–9. शैलूष also means an

(*Continued on the next page*)

the centre of Kṛṣṇa worship and of Bhāgavatism for over two thousand years. The Varāha-purāṇa devotes about one thousand verses to the greatness of Mathurā and its sub-tīrthas (chap. 152–178). The Bṛhan-nāradīya, chapters 79–80, Bhāgavata X and Viṣṇu-purāṇa V–VI devote much space to Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, Mathurā, Vṛndāvana, Govardhana and Kṛṣṇa's exploits there.

For want of space only a few verses about Mathurā will be set out here. The Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 29. 46–47) says 'Yamunā gives mokṣa when united with Mathurā; Yamunā gives rise to great merit in Mathurā and when united to Mathurā it bestows devotion to Viṣṇu'. In the Varāhapurāṇa (152. 8, 11) Viṣṇu says 'There is no place either in the nether regions or on the earth or in mid air as dear to me as Mathurā. Mathurā is a famous kṣetra of mine that confers *mukti*; no place is to me higher than it. It is my birth-place and it is lovely, commendable and dear to me'. The Padma says 'Māthuraka is a name extremely dear to Viṣṇu'. The Harivaṁśa contains a fine description of Mathurā, one verse from which may be quoted here 'Mathurā is the hump (i. e. the most eminent spot) of Madhyadeśa, it is simply the abode of the goddess of wealth, it is the horn (i. e. the most prominent part) of the earth, there is nothing like it and it is endowed with abundant wealth and agricultural produce'.[1566]

The tract round about Mathurā is said to be 20 yojanas in extent and the city of Mathurā was in its midst[1567]. The Varāhapurāṇa and the Nāradīya (uttarārdha) chapters 79–80 mention numerous tīrthas in and about Mathurā. It is not possible to enumerate them here. A few important ones will be noticed briefly. Both Varāha (chap. 153 and 161 6–10) and Nāradīya (uttarārdha 79. 10–18) mention twelve forests near Mathurā viz. Madhu, Tāla, Kumuda, Kāmya, Bahula, Bhadra,

(*Continued from the last page*)

actor. Has this anything to do with a dispute between the followers of Bharata, the reputed author of the Nāṭyaśāstra, and other actors? The Nāṭyaśāstra chap. 17. 47 (G.O.S.) prefers the dialect of Sūrasena for dramas. Vide my 'History of of Sanskrit Poetics' p. 40 (1951).

1566. तस्मान्माथुरकं नाम विष्णोरेकान्तवल्लभम्। पद्म. IV. 69. 12; मध्यदेशस्य ककुदं धाम लक्ष्म्याश्च केवलम्। शृङ्गं पृथिव्याः स्वालक्ष्यं प्रभूतधनधान्यवत्॥ हरिवंश, विष्णुपर्व 57. 2–3.

1567. विंशतिर्योजनानां तु माथुरं परिमण्डलम्। तन्मध्ये मथुरा नाम पुरी सर्वोत्तमोत्तमा॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 79. 20–21.

Khādira, Mahāvana, Lohajaṅgha, Bilva, Bhāṇḍīra and Vṛndāvana. There are also 24 upavanas enumerated by Growse on 'Mathurā' (p. 76) which are not mentioned by the Purāṇas but only by later works. Vṛndāvana [1568] was to the north-west of Mathurā on the Yamunā and was five yojanas in extent (Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 6. 28–40, Nāradīya, uttarārdha 80. 6, 8 and 77). It was the scene of Kṛṣṇa's adventures and love-making. The Padma IV. 69. 9 speaks of it as a portion of Vaikuṇṭha on the earth. The Matsya (13. 38) identifies Rādhā in Vṛndāvana as Devī Dākṣāyaṇī.[1569] In Kālidāsa's day it had great fame. In Raghuvaṁśa VI, while describing Suṣeṇa of the Nīpa family, king of Śūrasena, Vṛndāvana is said to be no less charming than Caitraratha, the park of Kubera (verse 50). Then there is the Govardhana [1570] hill, which Kṛṣṇa lifted up on his little finger to afford shelter for seven days to the cowherds and their cattle against the heavy rains sent down by Indra (Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 11. 15–25). It is stated in the Varāhapurāṇa (164. 1) that Govardhana is about two yojanas from Mathurā to its west. This appears to be tolerably correct as at present it is 18 miles from Vṛndāvana. The Kūrma (I. 14. 18) says that the very ancient king Pṛthu performed austerities here. The details given in the Hari-vaṁśa and the Purāṇas are sometimes confused and misleading. For example, in the Harivaṁśa (Viṣṇuparva 13. 3) it is stated that Tālavana is to the north of Govardhana on the Yamunā, while it is south-east of Govardhana. Kālidāsa refers to the caverns of Govardhana (Raghuvaṁśa 6. 51). Gokula is the same as Vraja or Mahāvana, where

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1568. The पद्म (पाताल 75. 8–14) puts an esoteric interpretation on कृष्ण, गोपीs and कालिन्दी. The गोपालक्यः are योगिनीs, कालिन्दी is सुषुम्ना, कृष्ण is सर्वव्यापक and so on.

1569. Dey (p. 42) regards the identity of the modern Vṛndāvana which is only 6 miles from Mathurā (in the opposite direction to Gokula) with the ancient Vṛndāvana described in the Purāṇas as extremely doubtful on several grounds, the most cogent being that ancient Vṛndāvana and Mathurā appear to have been situated on opposite sides of the Yamunā, while modern Vṛndāvana and Mathurā are on the same side of the river. But the references he gives for this last statement viz. Viṣṇupurāṇa 5. 18. 33 and Bhāgavatapurāṇa X. 39. 34 do not in my opinion bear out what he says. The Nāradīya (II. 80. 6–7) appears to say that Vṛndāvana is near Govardhana and along the Yamunā and Nandigrāma.

1570. यमी पुण्या नदी यत्र पुण्यो गोवर्धनो गिरिः । तत्किं वृन्दावनात्पुण्यमरण्यं भुवि विद्यते ॥ कलिकालमयभीतानां विषयासक्तचेतसाम् । नान्यद् वृन्दावनात्सेव्यमस्ति लोकेष्वपि त्रिषु ॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 80. 104–105.

Kṛṣṇa was brought up in his early childhood by Nand-gopa who removed his habitation from Gokula to Vṛndāvana out of fear of what Kaṁsa might do. The great Vaiṣṇavite saint Caitanya visited Vṛndāvana (Caitanya-caritāmṛta canto 19 and 9th Act of the drama Caitanyacandrodaya, both by Kavikarṇapūra or Paramānandadāsa). In the 16th century Vṛndāvana became a centre of Caitanya's *bhakti* movement owing to the strenuous efforts and learned writings of the *Gosvāmins* of Vṛndāvana, particularly Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva. Vide Prof. S. K. De's 'Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal' (1942) pp. 83–122. Vallabhācārya, who was a contemporary of Caitanya founded new Gokula, one mile to the south of Mahāvana in imitation of the ancient Gokula. Caitanya and Vallabhācārya met at Vṛndāvana (vide Manilal C. Parekh's work on Vallabhācārya p. 161). The old temples of Mathurā met the same fate at the orders of Aurangzeb as the temples of Banaras.[1571]

The Sabhāparva (319. 23–25) narrates that Jarāsandha threw his mace from Girivraja (Rājgir in Bihar, the ancient capital of Magadha) and it fell in Mathurā at the distance of 99 yojanas before Kṛṣṇa and the place where it fell was thence called *Gadāvasāna.* I have not come across this name anywhere else.

Growse describes in chap. IX pp. 222 ff. the temples of Vṛndāvana and in chap. XI Govardhana, Barsān, the birthplace of Rādhā, and Nandgaon. Vide also 'Picturesque India' by W. S. Caine pp. 253 ff. for Mathurā and neighbouring holy places.

PURUṢOTTAMATĪRTHA (JAGANNĀTHA)

Much has been written about Puruṣottamatīrtha or Jagannātha, both in Sanskrit and in English. The following works in English may be consulted by those who desire to make a thorough study of the sacred place; W. W. Hunter's 'Orissa'

1571. Vide Elliott and Dowson's 'History of India as told by its own historians' vol. VII p. 184, where a passage from the 'Ma-Asir-i-Ālamgiri' is translated to the effect that "Aurangzeb commanded the destruction of the Hindu temple at Mathurā known by the name of 'Debra Kesu Rai' (which according to that work had been built at a cost of 33 lakhs of rupees) and soon that stronghold of falsehood was levelled with the ground and on the same spot was laid the foundation of a vast mosque."

vol. I. pp. 81–167, Rajendralal Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa' vol. II. pp. 99–144, R. D. Banerji's 'History of Orissa' (in two volumes, 1930), Gazetteer on Puri, vol. XX pp. 409–412.

There are four most important tīrthas in Orissa, viz. Bhuvaneśvara (or Cakratīrtha), Jagannātha (or Śaṅkha-kṣetra), Koṇārka (or Padma-kṣetra), Yajpura or Jajpur (Gadākṣetra). The first two are still held in high esteem, while the last two are altogether neglected.

Among the Purāṇas, Purushottama-tīrtha is extensively dealt with in the Brahma (chap. 41–70, about 1600 verses), in the Bṛhannāradiya (uttarārdha chap. 52–61, 825 verses). Among digests, the Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati that devotes nearly one-third of the work to Puruṣottama-tīrtha (pp. 53–175) and that quotes about 800 verses from the Brahmapurāṇa on Puruṣottama, Raghunandana's Puruṣottama-tattva (which is brief and mostly based on the Brahmapurāṇa) and the Tīrthaprakāśa (pp. 561–594) may be mentioned. It is worthy of note that the Kalpataru (composed about 1110–1120 A. D.) does not describe Puruṣottama-tīrtha in its Tīrthakāṇḍa, though it speaks of a few little known tīrthas like Lohārgala, Stutasvāmin and Kokāmukha.

Raghunandana in his Puruṣottama-tattva quotes a verse[1572] (which as printed is corrupt) from the Ṛgveda that from the context appears to be addressed to some evil spirit (*alakṣmī*) and means 'O evil spirit with a wicked looking chin (or that art difficult to be killed)! Have recourse to that far-off wood in the sea, that has no connection with human beings and go to distant lands with it'. Then he states that the Atharvaveda has a similar verse. Probably following Sāyaṇa's inter-

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1572. तथा 'आदौ यद्दारु प्लवते सिन्धोः पारे अपूरुषम्। तदालभस्व दुर्हनो तेन याहि परं स्थलम्।' अस्य व्याख्या सांख्यायनभाष्ये। आदौ विप्रकृष्टदेशे वर्तमानं ... अपूरुषं निर्मातृरहितत्वेन तदालभस्व दुर्हनो हे होतः ...। अथर्ववेदेऽपि। आदौ ... सिन्धोर्मध्ये अपूरुषम्। तदा ... स्थलम्। अत्रापि तथैवार्थः। मध्ये तीरे। पुरुषोत्तमतत्त्व (Jiv. vol, II. p. 563). The first verse is really Ṛg. X. 155.3 अदो ... अपूरुषम्। तदा रभस्व दुर्हणो तेन गच्छ परस्तरम्॥'. सायण takes this vedic verse as referring to पुरुषोत्तम in the words यद्दारु दारुमयं पुरुषोत्तमाख्यं देवताशरीरं ... हे दुर्हणो दुःखेन हननीय केनापि हन्तुमशक्य हे स्तोतः आरभस्व अवलम्बस्व उपास्स्वेत्यर्थः'. सायण mentions a predecessor's interpretation of this verse viz. that it is addressed to an evil spirit (alakṣmī) and asks it to resort to a boat or a log of wood (as a scapegoat) and to go to a far-off region where there are no human beings. This interpretation is natural and suits the context very well I could not trace the verse in the Atharvaveda.

pretation, Raghunandana connects this Ṛgveda verse with Puruṣottama, the image of which is made of wood.

It would be proper to set out as briefly as possible the story of Jagannātha contained in the Brahmapurāṇa. In Bharatavarṣa there is a country called Oṇḍra situated on the shores of the southern ocean, which extends northwards from the sea up to Viraja-maṇḍala[1573] (chap. 28. 1-2). In that country there is a holy place, destroyer of sins and bestower of *mukti*, surrounded on all sides by sand and ten yojanas in extent (chap. 42. 13-14). There is the famous shrine of Puruṣottama in the country of Utkala the whole of which is very holy owing to the favour of the all-pervading Jagannātha (chap. 42. 35-37). Men who reside in Utkala are blessed like gods since Puruṣottama resides there. Chapters 43 and 44 narrate the story of Indradyumna who ruled at Avantī (Ujjayinī) in Mālava (modern Mālvā). He was a very pious, learned and good king who after reading all Vedas, śāstras, epics, purāṇas and Dharmaśāstras came to the conclusion that Vāsudeva was the highest Deity, started from his capital Ujjayinī with a vast army, servants, priests and artisans and came to the shores of the southern sea, saw the kṣetra of Vāsudeva, ten yojanas in breadth and five yojanas in length and encamped there. Formerly there was a Vaṭa tree on the shores of the southern sea near which there was an image of Puruṣottama or[1574] Jagannātha made of sapphire, which became embedded in sand and was concealed by creepers and plants. King Indradyumna performed Aśvamedha there, erected a great temple (prāsāda) and was anxious to establish a suitable image of Vāsudeva in the temple. In a dream the king saw Vāsudeva who told him to go alone to the shore in the morning and cut the Vaṭa tree growing just on the water line with an axe. The king did so in the morning and then two brāhmaṇas (who were really Viṣṇu and Viśvakarmā) appeared. Viṣṇu told the king that his associate (Viśvakarmā) will manufacture the image. Three images of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā were made and given to the king and Viṣṇu further conferred the boon that the pool called

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1573. Virajākṣetra extends a little beyond Jājpur on the river Vaitaraṇī in Orissa. On 'Kaliṅga, Oḍra and Utkala' vide R. D. Banerji's 'History of Orissa' vol. I. pp. 42-58.

1574. उत्तमः पुरुषो यस्मात्तस्मात्स पुरुषोत्तमः॥ ब्रह्म. 45.52; अस्मिन्नायतने पुण्ये विख्याते पुरुषोत्तमे। इन्द्रनीलमयी श्रेष्ठा प्रतिमा सार्वकामिकी॥ 45.71; इन्द्रनीलमयो विष्णुर्यत्रास्ते वालुकावृतः। अन्तर्धानगतं मत्वा ततो विष्णुपुरं व्रजेत्॥ ब्रह्म 58.3.

Indradyumna (where the king bathed at the end of his Aśvamedha) will be known by the king's name, that whoever took a bath once in it would go to Indraloka, and that whoever offered piṇḍas on the bank of the pool would save 21 ancestors of his family. Then the king established the three images in the temple built by him.[1575] The Skandapurāṇa contains a Puruṣottamamāhātmya in a sub-section called Utkala-khaṇḍa in its section Vaiṣṇava-khaṇḍa, where the story of Indradyumna is given with some variations.

Stripping this story of the supernatural, it appears probable that the holy place Puruṣottama was called Nīlācala in very ancient times, that Kṛṣṇa worship was introduced from Northern India at that place, and that three images of wood were established in comparatively early times. It may be stated here that in the Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad[1576] an Indradyumna is named among a host of cakravartins. The Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 35. 27) makes a brief and colourless reference to Puruṣottama (tīrtham Nārāyaṇasyānyat-nāmnā tu Puruṣottamam). Rajendralal Mitra ('Antiquities of Orissa') surmises that there were three periods in the history of the Puruṣottama-kṣetra, viz. early Hindu period, the Buddhist period and the Vaiṣṇava period (after the 5th century A. D. when Buddhism began to wane). He notices that from about the 7th century A. D. considerable temple records on palm leaves exist, but that the temple records for the Buddhist period are untrustworthy (p. 104) and that there are indications that Purī was probably a place of Buddhist sanctuary (p. 107). The indications of the existence

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1575. Vide Hunter's Orissa vol. I. pp. 89–94 for a somewhat different account based on Kapilasaṁhitā, the most important points of which are that Viṣṇu shows to Indradyumna as His image a log of wood thrown up by the ocean, that the images were being fashioned by the divine carpenter, that it was ordered that no one was to see them till they were ready and that in spite of this, the queen insisted on seeing them when they had been chiselled only up to the waist and when only stems stood in the place of the arms for the images of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, while the image of Subhadrā had no arms at all. The present images are to this day in the same condition. The images are described by Rajendralal Mitra in 'Antiquities of Orissa' II, pp. 122–123. The story of इन्द्रद्युम्न occurs in नारदीयपुराण, उत्तरार्ध 52. 41–93, 53–57, 58. 1–21, 60–61. नारदीय agrees very closely with the Brahmapurāṇa and seems to have borrowed its text from the latter.

1576. परेऽन्ये महाधनुर्धराश्चक्रवर्तिनः केचित् सुद्युम्नभूरिद्युम्नेन्द्रद्युम्नकुवलयाश्वयौवनाश्ववध्र्यश्वाश्वपतिशशबिन्दुहरिश्चन्द्राम्बरीषननक्तुसर्यातिययात्यनरण्योक्षसेनादयः। मैत्रायण्युप. I. 4.

of Buddhism in Orissa are the existence of Aśoka's rock edicts on the Dhauli Hill (C. I. I. vol. I pp. 84–100), the existence of many caves of the Buddhist period on the Khaṇḍagiri range about five miles to the west of Bhuvaneśvara, the procession of the car of Jagannātha which resembles the procession of Buddha's Tooth relic as described by Fa Hien (Hunter's Orissa, vol. I. p. 131–132) and the three crude wooden images of Kṛṣṇa, Subhadrā and Balarāma which are hardly found anywhere else and which correspond to the three peculiarities of Buddhism viz. Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. Vide Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa,' vol. II. pp. 122–126 (where he gives wood-cuts showing the figures of the images and comparing them with Buddhist symbols and Cunningham's 'Ancient Goegraphy of India' pp. 510–511 (the remarks in which appear to me far-fetched). In J. R. A. S. vol. 18 at p. 402 (new series) Sewell thinks that the celebrated image of Jagannātha was originally one of the Triśūlas or developed Taurus symbols.

At present the sacred enclosure of Jagannātha is a square surrounded by a massive stone wall 20 feet high, 652 feet long and 630 feet broad with 120 temples containing various forms of God, 13 being temples of Śiva, some more of Pārvatī and a temple of the Sun. This clearly shows the catholicity of Jagannātha. Almost every form of Hindu faith is represented here. Even the Brahmapurāṇa gives expression to this tolerant view when it says that the holy Puruṣottama-kṣetra forbids all the wranglings between Śaivas and the devotees of Viṣṇu.[1576a] The great Pagoda of Jagannātha has four chambers, the first being the Hall of Offerings (bhoga-mandira), the 2nd the pillared hall for music and dance (the *naṭa* mandira), the third the audience hall where pilgrims assemble (the Jaganmohana mandira) and the 4th the inner sanctuary. The great Pagoda of Jagannātha has a conical tower 192 feet high surmounted by a *cakra*[1577] and a flag. The

1576 a. शैवभागवतानां च वादार्थप्रतिषेधकम्। अस्मिन्क्षेत्रवरे पुण्ये निर्मले पुरुषोत्तमे॥ शिवस्यायतनं देव करोमि परमं महत्। प्रतिष्ठेय तथा तत्र तव स्थाने च शङ्करम्॥ ततो ज्ञास्यन्ति लोकेऽस्मिन्नेकमूर्ती हरीश्वरौ। प्रत्युवाच जगन्नाथः स पुनस्तं महामुनिम्॥... नावयोरन्तरं किंचिदेकभावौ द्विधा कृतौ॥ यो रुद्रः स स्वयं विष्णुर्यो विष्णुः स महेश्वरः। ब्रह्मपुराण 56. 64–66 and 69–70.

1577. The *cakra* surmounting the temple is mentioned in the Brahma-purāṇa itself 'यात्रां करोति कृष्णस्य श्रद्धया यः समाहितः। सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तो विष्णुलोकं व्रजेन्नरः॥ चक्रं दृष्ट्वा हरेर्दूरात् प्रासादोपरि संस्थितम्। सहसा मुच्यते पापान्नरो भक्त्या प्रणम्य तत्॥ chap. 51. 70–71 = नारदीय (उ.) 55. 10–11.

temple is situated at the distance of about seven furlongs from the sea shore and stands on a mound about 20 feet above the level of the surrounding ground, the mound being dignified by being called Nīlagiri (the blue hill). There is a large gate-way on each side of the enclosure, that on the east being the most magnificent. On each side of the entrance there is a colossal crouching lion and hence the door-way is called siṁha-dvāra (lion gate).

There are certain peculiar features of the great shrine of Jagannātha. In the first place, in the court of Jagannātha and outside the Lion Gate no distinction of caste[1578] is observed. Jagannātha is the god of all people. The second special feature is that the holy rice cooked as offering to Jagannātha is regarded as so sanctified that all barriers of caste are transcended, so much so that a Purī priest will receive the holy food even from a low caste Hindu. The feeling is that cooked rice when once placed before Jagannātha never ceases to be pure. Hence the *Mahāprasāda* is dried, is taken to all parts of India and at the periodical śrāddhas among Vaiṣṇavas a grain of this holy rice is invariably put on the cake as the most sacred article that can be offered to the Manes (vide Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa', vol. II p. 199). The third special feature of Jagannātha is the car festival (*rathayātrā*) which is the most important of the 24 high[1578a] festivals at Purī. The festival is described at length by Hunter in his 'Orissa', vol. I. pp. 131-134. The car festival starts on the 2nd day of the bright half of Āṣāḍha. The car of Jagannātha is about 45 feet in height, 35 feet square and is supported on 16 wheels of 7 feet diameter with 16 spokes and has Garuḍa as a crest; the 2nd car is that of Subhadrā, which is a little smaller than Jagannātha's car, resting on 12 wheels with 12 spokes in each and having a *padma* (lotus) as a crest; the 3rd car is that of Balarāma resting on 14 wheels with 14 spokes in each wheel and has Hanūmān for crest. The cars are drawn by pilgrims and hired labourers from the temple to

1578. Hunter in 'Orissa' (vol. I. pp. 135-136) notes that only 21 classes and castes (including Christians and Mahomedans) are excluded, they being mostly flesh-eating and animal-life destroying castes. Even the washerman and the potter whom Hunter includes in the list are allowed to enter the outer court.

1578a. विद्यानिवास (in the middle of 15th century A.D. in Bengal) wrote a work called द्वादशयात्राप्रयोगप्रमाण on 12 festivals in 12 months connected with जगन्नाथ (vide No. 2429 in MM. Haraprasad Sastri's Cat. of mss. vol. III.)

the country-house of Jagannātha (which is about two miles away) amidst the shouts and emotional songs of thousands of pilgrims. Owing to the references in English literature to the car of Jagannātha it is supposed by many that pilgrims used to throw themselves before the car in a religious frenzy and were killed. But there is hardly any truth in these suppositions. There might have been a few accidental deaths. Hunter in 'Orissa' (vol. I. pp. 133–34) scouts this idea of suicide under the car and Rajendralal observes (in 'Antiquities of Orissa', vol. II. p. 99) 'No Indian divinity has a more unenviable notoriety in English Literature than Jagannātha. It is certain, nevertheless, that human conception has never realized a more innocent and gentle divinity than Jagannātha and the tenets of his votaries are the very reverse of sanguinary or revolting. Never was opprobrium more unjustly cast on an inoffensive object than in this instance and none merited it less'. On the 10th day of the bright half begins the return of the car from the country house.

According to Rajendralal Mitra the oldest temple in Purī is that of Alābukeśvara built by Lalāṭendu Kesarī (623–677 A. D.), the builder of the tower of Bhuvaneśvara; the next oldest is Mārkaṇḍeśvara and next comes the great temple of Jagannātha (vol. II. p. 112). Manmohan Chakravarti in his paper on the 'date of Jagannātha temple in Purī' (J. A. S. B., vol. 67 for 1898, part 1 pp. 328–331) quotes two verses from the Gaṅgavaṁśa copper plates of Orissa which state that Gaṅgeśvara alias Coḍagaṅga built the great temple of Puruṣottama[1579]. As Coḍagaṅga's coronation took place in śake 999 (i. e. 1078 A. D.) according to M. M. Chakravarti, he put forward the view that the *prāsāda* of Jagannātha was built about 1085–1090 A. D. Dr. D. C. Sirkar (in 'God Puruṣottama at Purī' J. O. R., Madras vol. 17 pp. 209–215) points out that the celebrated Oriya Chronicle *Mādalā-pāñjī* attributes the construction of Puruṣottama Jagannātha not to Coḍagaṅga but to his great-grandson Anaṅga-bhīma III, who also installed an image of Puruṣottama in a temple at Vārāṇasī-Kaṭaka (modern Cuttack)

1579. प्रासादं पुरुषोत्तमस्य नृपतिः को नाम कर्तुं क्षमस्तस्येत्याद्यनृपैरुपेक्षितमयं चक्रेऽथ गङ्गेश्वरः ॥. These verses establish that the shrine of Puruṣottama existed long before the date of the inscription and that the kings who preceded Coḍagaṅga did not care to build a befitting temple. It appears that Coḍagaṅga built only the minor sanctum and the Jaganmohana i. e. the first maṇḍapa (vide R. D Banerji's 'History of Orissa' vol. I. p. 251).

which was desecrated by Sultan Firuz Shah (vide Elliot and Dowson's 'History of India', vol. III. pp. 312–315). These Gaṅga kings built magnificent temples at Bhuvaneśvara (ancient Ekāmra), Koṇārka and Purī, which are the finest surviving specimens of North Indian Hindu Architecture. Mitra ('Antiquities of Orissa' vol. II. pp. 109–110) and Hunter ('Orissa' vol. I pp. 100–102) note that Anaṅga-bhīma wanted to eclipse the grand tower of Bhuvaneśvara and renovated the temple of Jagannātha in *śake* 1119 (i. e. 1198 A. D.).[1580]

The temple of Jagannātha has an army of attendants They are divided into 36 orders and 97 classes. At the head was the Raja of Khurdha who called himself the 'sweeper of Jagannātha' (vide Hunter's 'Orissa', vol. I. p. 128).

As in Banaras, so here also there are five important tirthas,[1581] viz. the pool of Mārkaṇḍeya, the Vaṭa tree (identified with Kṛṣṇa), Balarāma, the sea and Indradyumna pool. A few words may be said here about each. The story of Mārkaṇḍeya is narrated in Brahmapurāṇa, chapters 52–56 and in Nṛsiṁha-purāṇa 10.21 ff (briefly). In chap. 56. 72–73 Viṣṇu asks Mārkaṇḍeya to build a temple of Śiva to the north of Jagannātha and to construct a sacred pool which thenceforward was to become known as 'Mārkaṇḍeya's pool'. The Brahmapurāṇa provides that the pilgrim should bathe in Mārkaṇḍeya's pool, dip his head thrice, utter a mantra (chap. 57. 3–4), then he should perform *tarpaṇa*, go to the temple of Śiva (called Mārkaṇḍeyeśvara) and worship him with the Mūlamantra[1582] viz. 'Om namaḥ Śivāya', then with another mantra called Aghora and a Paurāṇic mantra. The pilgrim should, after a bath in Mārkaṇḍeya's pool and visit to the temple of Śiva, repair to the sacred Vaṭa, circum-ambulate it

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1580. 'शकाब्दे रन्ध्रशुभ्रांशुरूपनक्षत्रनायके । प्रासादं कारयामासानङ्गभीमेन धीमता ॥. Vide Mitra's work vol. II. p. 110 and 'History of Orissa' by R. D. Banerji vol I. p. 248 for the date of Coḍagaṅga's accession taken from his own inscription of śake 1003 (1081 A. D).

1581. मार्कण्डेयं वटं कृष्णं रौहिणेयं महोदधिम् । इन्द्रद्युम्नसरश्चैव पञ्चतीर्थीविधिः स्मृतः ॥ ब्रह्म 60. 11.

1582. मूलमन्त्रेण संपूज्य मार्कण्डेयस्य चेश्वरम् । अघोरेण च भो विप्राः प्रणिपत्य प्रसादयेत् ॥ त्रिलोचन नमस्तेऽस्तु नमस्ते शशिभूषण । त्राहि मां त्वं विरूपाक्ष महादेव नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ब्रह्म. 57. 7–8 = नारदीय (उ.) 55. 18–19. The ती. चि. p. 88 states that the अघोरमन्त्र is 'ओं अघोरेभ्यो घोरेभ्यो घोरतरेभ्यः, सर्वेभ्यः सर्वसर्वेभ्यो नमस्तेऽस्तु रुद्ररूपेभ्यः'.

thrice, worship it with the mantra[1583] noted below. **It may be noted that the Brahmapurāṇa 157.17 expressly states that the Vaṭa is Viṣṇu Himself in that form (nygrodhākṛtikam Viṣṇum praṇipatya).** The Vaṭa is also styled Kalpavṛkṣa (Brahma 57. 12, 60. 18). The pilgrim should bow to Garuḍa standing in front of Kṛṣṇa and then worship Kṛṣṇa, Saṅkarṣaṇa and Subhadrā with mantras. The mantras for Saṅkarṣaṇa are verses 22–23 of Brahmapurāṇa chap. 57 and that for Subhadrā is chap. 57. 58.[1584] The mantra to be used in the worship of Kṛṣṇa is either of 12 syllables (oṃ namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya) or of eight syllables (oṃ namo Nārāyaṇāya). Brahmapurāṇa chap. 57 verses 42–51 specify the various rewards of seeing Kṛṣṇa with devotion and wind up by promising mokṣa.[1585] A bath in the sea at Purī is always commendable, but particularly on the Full Moon day (Brahma 60. 10). Brahma chap. 62 deals at length with the bath in the sea (the whole of it except one verse being quoted by Tīr. C. pp. 126–128). The Indradyumna pool has been mentioned above (pp. 694–95). The pilgrim has to bathe in the Indradyumna pool, perform *tarpaṇa* for gods, sages and *pitṛs* and offer piṇḍas to his ancestors (chap. 63. 2–5).

In the Govindapur stone Inscription of the poet Gaṅgādhara (E. I. vol. II, p. 330) of *śake* 1059 i. e. (1137–38 A. D.) there is a clear reference to Puruṣottama.[1586]

The Brahmapurāṇa chap. 66 speaks of the Guṇḍicāyātrā for seven days on the bank of the Indradyumna pool in a *maṇḍapa* where reside (temporarily) Kṛṣṇa, Saṅkarṣaṇa and Subhadrā. The Tīr. C. which quotes the whole of that chapter (pp. 157–159), calls it Guṇḍikā, while in the drama Caitanya-

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1583. ओं नमोऽव्यक्तरूपाय महाप्रलयकारिणे। महद्रसोपविष्टाय न्यग्रोधाय नमोऽस्तु ते॥ अमरस्त्वं सदा कल्पे हरेश्चायतनं वट। न्यग्रोध हर मे पापं कल्पवृक्ष नमोऽस्तु ते॥ ब्रह्म. 57. 13–14 = नारदीय (उ.) 55. 24–25 (with slight variations).

1584. नमस्ते सर्वगे देवि नमस्ते शुभसौख्यदे। त्राहि मां पद्मपत्राक्षि कात्यायनि नमोऽस्तु ते॥ ब्रह्म. 57. 58 = नारदीय (उ.) 55. 64.

1585. किं कार्यं बहुभिर्मन्त्रैर्मनोविभ्रमकारकैः। ओं नमो नारायणायेति मन्त्रः सर्वार्थसाधकः॥ ब्रह्म. 60. 24 = नारदीय (उ.) 56. 35 ; किं चात्र बहुनोक्तेन माहात्म्ये तस्य भो द्विजाः। दृष्ट्वा कृष्णं नरो भक्त्या मोक्षं प्राप्नोति दुर्लभम्॥ ब्रह्म. 57. 51 = नारद (उ.) 55. 57.

1586. गत्वा श्रीपुरुषोत्तमं (भग)वतो दृष्टः प्रतिष्ठापदं पारावारतटे पटीयसि लसद्ब्रह्मप्रहानेहसि। सर्वस्वं विततार तर्पितपितृस्तोमः करोल्लासितैस्तोयैर्यः पिहितस्य पर्वणि विधोः साहाय्यमाप क्षणम्॥ *verse* 12 *of* E. I. II. at p. 334.

candrodaya [1587] it is styled Guṇḍicā at the very beginning. It appears that Guṇḍicā is the summer house of Jagannātha about two miles from the great Temple. The word is probably derived from *guṇḍi*, which means a thick log of wood in Bengali and Uriya (vide Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa', vol. II. pp. 138–139) and has reference to the legend of a log of wood that Indradyumna found floating in the sea.

It may be noted that religious suicide at Puruṣottama is referred to in Brahmapurāṇa: [1588] 'those who give up their body (life) in Puruṣottama-kṣetra after mounting up the Vaṭa tree or do so between the Vaṭa and the ocean reach without doubt mokṣa. A man abandoning life, either intentionally or unintentionally, either on his way to Puruṣottama or in the cemetery or in the country house (of Jagannātha) or in the streets (of Jagannātha) or even anywhere else there secures mokṣa. Therefore men desiring mokṣa should by all means give up life at that holy place '.

The Brahmapurāṇa winds up by saying ' it is thrice [1589] true that that kṣetra (Puruṣottama) is the greatest and highest

1587. सूत्रधारः। भगवतः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्य गुण्डिचायात्रायां ... गजपतिना प्रतापरुद्रेणादिष्टोस्मि।... सोयं नीलगिरीश्वरः सविभवो यात्रा च सा गुण्डिचा। चैतन्यचन्द्रोदय I. (B. I. series). The metre requires that the first two syllables in the name of the Yātrā should be गुण्डि and चा and वा may have been easily confused by the copyists of mss. The नारदीय (उ.) chap. 61.40 ff quotes the whole of ब्रह्म chap. 66 but reads गुण्डिचा. The ब्रह्मपुराण reads 'सप्ताहं सरसस्तीरे तत्र राजन् भविष्यति। गुडिवा (गुण्डिचा?) नाम यात्रा मे सर्वकामफलप्रदा॥ ये मां तत्रार्चयिष्यन्ति श्रद्धया मण्डपे स्थितम्। सङ्कर्षणं सुभद्रां च विधिवत्सुसमाहिताः॥ ... न तेषां दुर्लभं किञ्चित् फलं यस्य यदीप्सितम् 166. 8-9 and 12. Some writers such as Nilāmbaradāsa in his 'Deul-tola' state that Guṇḍicā was the name of Indradyumna's queen (Mahtab's 'History of Orissa' p. 161). I owe this last reference to the kindness of Dr. Raghavan of Madras University.

1588. देहं त्यजन्ति पुरुषास्तत्र ये पुरुषोत्तमे। कल्पवृक्षं समासाद्य मुक्तास्ते नात्र संशयः॥ वटसागरयोर्मध्ये ये त्यजन्ति कलेवरम्। ते दुर्लभं परं मोक्षं प्राप्नुवन्ति न संशयः॥ पथि श्मशाने गृहमण्डपे वा रथ्याप्रदेशेष्वपि यत्र कुत्र। इच्छन्ननिच्छन्नपि तत्र देहं संत्यज्य मोक्षं लभते मनुष्यः॥ तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन तस्मिन् क्षेत्रे द्विजोत्तमाः। देहत्यागो नरैः कार्यो सम्यङ्मोक्षाभिकाङ्क्षिभिः॥ ब्रह्म 177. 16, 17, 24, 25. The first three are quoted by ती. चि. p. 175.

1589. सत्यं सत्यं पुनः सत्यं क्षेत्रं तत्परमं महत्। पुरुषाख्यं सकृद् दृष्ट्वा सागराम्भःसमाप्लुतम्। ब्रह्मविद्यां सकृज्ज्ञात्वा गर्भवासो न विद्यते। ब्रह्म 70. 3-4 (= नारद, उत्तरार्ध 52. 25-26) quoted in ती. चि. p. 56 which reads सागराम्भःसकृत्प्लुतम् and remarks 'एतत्क्षेत्रदर्शनस्य, सागराम्भसि मरणस्य, तथा ब्रह्मविद्याबोधस्य च प्रत्येकं गर्भवासाभावः फलमित्यर्थः.'

tīrtha. A person has not to lie again in the womb after once visiting Puruṣottama which is laved by the waters of the sea or by once attaining the knowledge of *brahma*.

The great Vaiṣṇava saint, Caitanya, settled permanently at Purī in 1515 A. D. at the age of thirty and spent eighteen years there till 1533 (when he died). He appears to have made a great impression on the Gajapati king Pratāparudradeva, ruler of Orissa (1497–1540 A. D.). In the drama Caitanyacandrodaya of Kavikarṇapūra the king is shown to be so anxious for meeting the saint that he declares that he would die if the gracious glance of the saint did not fall on him.[1990] This should be attributed to the inveterate habit of gross exaggeration rampant in most Sanskrit writers, particularly amongst devotees and followers of great saints. Caitanya came to be worshipped along with Viṣṇu as a deity in Purī and Orissa (vide Hunter's 'Orissa' vol. I. p. 109). Kavikarṇapūra in his drama (8th Act) makes Sārvabhauma say that there is no distinction between God Jagannātha and Caitanya, the only difference being that Jagannātha is 'dārubrahma' (Godhead manifested in a wooden image) and Caitanya is 'narabrahma' (Godhead in human form).[1591] The Caitanyacaritāmṛta (a poem) of Kavikarṇapūra in cantos 14–18 deals with the devotional and ecstatic life of Caitanya at Purī and presents a vivid picture of Ratha and other festivals of Jagannātha in which Caitanya took a prominent part. I agree with Dr. S. K. De that there is no satisfactory evidence to show that Pratāparudra was actually converted into the new faith ('Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal' p. 67).

One regrettable feature of the great temple of Jagannātha is the existence of some obscene and lascivious sculptures that disfigure the walls of the temple and the presence of dancing girls with rolling eyes, to which pointed reference is made by all writers, particularly European ones (vide, for example, Indian Antiquary vol. I. p. 322, Hunter's 'Orissa', vol. I pp. 111, 135). The presence of dancing girls is a legacy from the past. The Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 65) in describing the special *snāna* (bath) festival of Jagannātha on the full moon day of

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1590. अतःपरं चेत्स न वीक्षते मां न धारयिष्ये बत जीवनं च। चैतन्यचन्द्रोदय 5th Act p. 187.

1591. 'भगवन्, जगन्नाथस्य भवतश्च कृष्णचैतन्यत्वमविशिष्टमेव तथाप्यस्ति कश्चिद्भेदः। असौ दारुब्रह्म भवान् नरब्रह्म।' सार्वभौम in चैतन्यचन्द्रोदय 8th Act p. 167.

Jyeṣṭha mentions, along with the beating of drums and the music of the flute and the lute and the chanting of holy Vedic mantras, handsome veśyas as *chowrie*-bearers in front of the images of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa.[1592]

NARMADĀ

Next to the Ganges the most sacred rivers of India are the Narmadā and the Godāvarī. A few words about each of these may be said here.

An express reference to the Narmadā has not so far been traced in the Vedic Literature. The Śatapatha Br. (XII. 9. 3. 1) refers to one Revottaras who was a Pāṭava Cākra and sthapati (a chief) and whom the Sṛñjayas expelled (SBE. vol. 44 p. 269)[1593]. Revā is another name for Narmadā[1594] and it is possible to say that Revottaras was named after Revā. A *vārtika* on Pāṇ. IV. 2. 87 derives the word Mahiṣmat (as the name of a country) from 'Mahiṣa'. This is generally identified with Māhiṣmatī (on the Narmadā). So the name Narmadā was probably known to the author of the Vārtikas (about the middle of the 4th century B. C.). The Raghuvaṁśa VI. 43 speaks of Māhiṣmatī as the capital of Anūpa on the bank of the Revā (i. e. Narmadā).

The Narmadā is frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata and some of the Purāṇas. The Matsya (chapters 186–194, 554 verses), Kūrma (Uttarārdha, chapters 40–42 verses 189), Padma Ādikhaṇḍa (chap. 13–23, 739 verses, most of which are the same as in the Matsya) deal with greatness of Narmadā and the tīrthas thereon[1594a]. The Matsya (194. 45) and Padma (Ādi-khaṇḍa 21. 44) state that from the place where the Narmadā falls into the sea up to the Amara-kaṇṭaka mountain (where it rises) there are ten crores of sacred places, while the Agni-purāṇa (113. 2) and Kūrma II. 40. 13 raise the number to 60 crores and 60 thousand. The Nāradīya (uttarārdha chap. 77)

1592. मुनीनां वेदशब्देन मन्त्रशब्दैस्तथापरैः। नानास्तोत्ररवैः पुण्यैः सामशब्दोपबृंहितैः। श्यामैर्वेश्याजनैश्चैव कुचभारावनामिभिः। पीतरक्ताम्बराभिश्च माल्यदामावनामिभिः॥... चामरै रत्नदण्डैश्च वीज्येते रामकेशवौ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 65. 15, 17, 18.

1593. रेवोत्तरसमु ह पाटवं चाक्रं स्थपतिं सृञ्जया अपरुरुधुः। शतपथब्रा. XII. 9. 3. 1.

1594. रेवा तु नर्मदा सोमोद्भवा मेकलकन्यका। अमरकोश.

1594 a. It may be noted that the earliest extant digest, viz. Kalpataru on tīrthas (pp. 198–205) quotes verses only from the Matsyapurāṇa, chapter 186–189 (in all about 70 verses on Narmadā) and from no other source.

says (verse 1) that there are 400 principal tīrthas on both banks of the Narmadā, but from Amara-kaṇṭaka three crores and a half (verses 4 and 27–28).[1595] The Vanaparva (in chap. 188. 103 and chap. 222.24) mentions the Narmadā along with the Godāvarī and other rivers of the south. In the same parva (chap. 89. 1–3) it is stated that the holy Narmadā is in the Ānarta country[1596], that it is endowed with *priyaṅgu* creepers and mango groves, that it has strings of Vānīra fruit, that it flows to the west and that all the holy places in the three worlds come for a bath to the Narmadā. The Matsya and Padma declare[1597] that the Ganges is holy in Kanakhala, the Sarasvatī in Kurukṣetra, but the Narmadā is holy everywhere whether in a village or in a forest and that the Narmadā purifies the sinner by its very sight while the waters of the Sarasvatī do so by three baths (on three days), of the Yamunā (by baths) in seven days and of the Ganges by a single bath. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (85.8) in enumerating a list of tīrthas that are eminently fit for śrāddha includes the banks of the Narmadā throughout the whole length among them. The Narmadā is said[1598] to have started from the body of Rudra which is a poetic way of saying that it rises from Amarakaṇṭaka that is said to be the abode of God Maheśvara and his spouse (Matsya 188.91). The Vāyupurāṇa declares that the holy Narmadā, the best of rivers, is the daughter of the pitṛs and the śrāddhas offered on it become inexhaustible[1599]. The Matsya and Kūrma both say

1595. Though रेवा and नर्मदा are generally used as synonyms it is found that the भागवतपुराण in V. 19. 18 enumerates them separately (तापी रेवा सुरसा नर्मदा) and the वामनपुराण (13. 25 and 29–30) states that the Revā springs from विन्ध्य and नर्मदा from ऋक्षपाद. सार्धत्रिकोटितीर्थानि गदितानीह वायुना। दिवि भुव्यन्तरिक्षे च रेवायां तानि सन्ति च। नारदीय (उ.) 77, 27–28; vide note 1268 above for similar eulogy of the Ganges.

1596. Ānarta appears to be the ancient name of Gujarat and Kathiawar together. In the Udyogaparva Dvārakā is called Ānarta-nagarī (7. 6). As Narmadā is said to flow through Ānarta it must be supposed that in the times of the Great Epic Ānarta included both southern Gujarat and Kathiawar.

1597. पुण्या कनखले गङ्गा कुरुक्षेत्रे सरस्वती। ग्रामे वा यदि वारण्ये पुण्या सर्वत्र नर्मदा॥ त्रिभिः सारस्वतं तोयं सप्ताहेन तु यामुनम्। ग्रामे वा यदि वारण्ये पुण्या सर्वत्र नर्मदा॥ मत्स्य. 186. 10–11 = पद्म, आदिखण्ड 13.6–7 = कूर्म II. 40. 7–8. Vide note 1271 above and compare नारदीय (उत्तरार्ध 77. 30–31) for the 2nd verse.

1598. नर्मदा सरितां श्रेष्ठा रुद्रदेहाद्विनिःसृता। तारयेत्सर्वभूतानि स्थावराणि चराणि च॥ मत्स्य 190. 17 = कूर्म II. 40. 5 = पद्म (आदि. 17. 13).

1599. पितृणां दुहिता पुण्या नर्मदा सरितां वरा। तत्र श्राद्धानि दत्तानि अक्षयाणि भवन्त्युत॥ वायु 77. 32.

that the river Narmadā has a course of complete 100 yojanas and its breadth is two yojanas[1600]. Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar seizes upon the length of 100 yojanas and says (on p. 199 note 4 of his edition of Kalpataru on Tīrtha in G. O. S.) that the Matsya is very accurate, since the length of the Narmadā is now found to be about 800 miles. But he forgets that the breadth is said to be two yojanas (i. e. 16 miles on the scale for a yojana adopted by him). It is not shown how and where (except at the mouth if at all) the Narmadā is 16 miles in breadth in its long course. Both Matsya and Kūrma state that the Narmadā is (rises) from Amarakaṇṭaka which is to the western side of the country of Kaliṅga.[1601]

The Viṣṇupurāṇa provides that if a man repeats day and night and whenever he has to go inside a dark place the mantra 'Salutation to Narmadā in the morning! salutation to Narmadā at night! O Narmadā! salutation to you; save me from poisonous serpents' [1602] he has no danger from serpents.

It is stated in the Kūrma and the Matsya that a man who commits suicide by entering fire or water or by fasting (on some of the tīrthas on the Narmadā or on Amarakaṇṭaka) does not return (to this saṁsāra).[1603]

The Narmadā is mentioned as Namados by Ptolemy (p. 102). One of the earliest inscriptional references to it occurs in the Eran stone pillar Inscription of Budhagupta in 165 of Gupta era i. e. 484–85 A. D. Vide C. I. I. vol. III. at p. 89.

Several rivers are mentioned as falling into the Narmadā such as Kapilā (on the south bank, Matsya 186. 40, Padma I. 13. 35), Viśalyā (Matsya 186. 46 = Padma II. 13. 35–39), Eraṇḍī (Matsya 191. 42–43, Padma I. 18. 44), Ikṣu-nādī (Matsya 191. 49, Padma I. 18. 47), Kāverī (Matsya 189. 12–13,[1604] Padma I. 16. 6).

1600. योजनानां शतं सार्धं श्रूयते सरिदुत्तमा। विस्तारेण तु राजेन्द्र योजनद्वयमायता॥ कूर्म II. 40. 12 = मत्स्य 186. 24–25. The अग्नि also (113. 2) gives the same measurements.

1601. कलिङ्गदेशपश्चार्धे पर्वतेऽमरकण्टके। पुण्या च त्रिषु लोकेषु रमणीया मनोरमा॥ कूर्म. II. 40. 9, मत्स्य. 186. 12.

1602. नर्मदायै नमः प्रातर्नर्मदायै नमो निशि। नमोस्तु नर्मदे तुभ्यं त्राहि मां विषसर्पतः॥ विष्णुपुराण IV. 3. 12-13.

1603. अनाशकं तु यः कुर्यात्तस्मिंस्तीर्थे नराधिप। गर्भवासे तु राजेन्द्र न पुनर्जायते पुमान्। मत्स्य. 194. 29–30; परित्यजति यः प्राणान् पर्वतेऽमरकण्टके। वर्षकोटिशतं सार्धं रुद्रलोके महीयते॥ मत्स्य. 186. 53–54.

1604. The northern branch of the Narmadā where the island Oṁkāra is situated is called Kāverī (Bom. G. vol. 9 p. 295). Vide in the list under Oṁkara.

Many sub-tīrthas are enumerated, out of which two or three may be mentioned here. One is Maheśvara-tīrtha (i. e. Oṁkāra) from where Rudra is said to have burnt down with an arrow the three cities of Bāṇāsura (Matsya 188. 2 ff, Padma I. 15. 2 ff), Śukla-tīrtha (highly praised in Matsya 192. 3 ff about which it is said that the *rājarṣi* Cāṇakya [1605] attained perfection there), Bhṛgutīrtha (at the very [1606] sight of which a man becomes free from sin, a bath in which leads to heaven and death at which ensures non-return to *saṁsāra*), the Jāmadagnya-tīrtha (where the Narmadā [1607] falls into the sea and where Lord Janārdana secured perfection). The mountain Amarakaṇṭaka is a tīrtha that dispels all sins including brāhmaṇa-murder and it is one yojana all round in extent (Matsya 189. 89, 98). The most important place on the Narmadā is, however, Māhiṣmatī, about the exact location of which scholars have differed. The general consensus of opinion is that Māhiṣmatī is to be identified with Oṁkāra Māndhātā, an island in the Narmadā about 40 miles south of Indore. It has a long history. Moggaliputta Tissa is said in Buddhist works to have sent missionaries to several countries in the reign of Aśoka (about 247 B. C.), one of which was sent to Mahiṣamaṇḍala. Dr. Fleet in his paper ' Mahiṣamaṇḍala and Māhiṣmatī ' (in J. R. A. S. for 1910 pp. 425–447) assigns cogent reasons for identifying Mahiṣamaṇḍala and Māhiṣmatī. Māhiṣmatī was well-known to the Mahābhāṣya, [1608] from a passage in which it follows that by a forced march a person starting from Ujjayinī could reach Māhiṣmatī the next morning. Kālidāsa describes it as surrounded by Revā (Raghuvaṁśa VI. 43). Māhiṣmatī is mentioned as being on

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1605. शुक्लतीर्थं महापुण्यं नर्मदायां व्यवस्थितम्। चाणक्यो नाम राजर्षिः सिद्धिं तत्र समागतः॥ मत्स्य. 192. 14 = पद्म. I, 19. 13–14 (reads चाणिक्यो). शुक्लतीर्थ is about 10 miles to the east of Broach. राजर्षिः probably means here राज्ञः ऋषिः and not राजा चासौ ऋषिश्च.

1606. उपासते भृगोस्तीर्थे तुष्टो यत्र महेश्वरः।...दर्शनात्तस्य तीर्थस्य सद्यः पापात्प्रमुच्यते।...तत्र स्नात्वा दिवं यान्ति ये मृतास्तेऽपुनर्भवाः॥ मत्स्य. 193 49–50, 52.

1607. ततो गच्छेच्च राजेन्द्र नर्मदोदधिसङ्गमम्॥ जामदग्न्यमिति ख्यातं सिद्धो यत्र जनार्दनः॥ मत्स्य. 194. 34–35.

1608. चित्रीकरणे प्राप्यर्थे कृदन्ताण्णिज् वक्तव्यः।... उज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सूर्योद्गमनं सम्भावयते सूर्यमुद्गमयतीति। महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 10 (चित्रीकरणे प्रापि) on पा. III. 1. 26. चित्रीकरणे means when surprise or wonder is to be conveyed. It is surprising if a man were to say that starting from Ujjayinī on foot he would reach Māhiṣmatī the next day at sunrise. The distance between the two would be more than 60 miles.

the Narmadā or Revā in Udyogaparva 19. 23–24, 166. 4, Anuśāsana 166. 4, Bhāgavata X. 79. 21, Padma II. 92: 32.

Another ancient city is Bharukaccha or Bhṛgukaccha (modern Broach) for which the entry in the list may be consulted.

GODĀVARĪ

No mention of Godāvarī has so far been found in the Vedic Literature. In Buddhist works there are traditions about Bāvarī, who was a purohita of Mahākosala and then of Pasenadi, who resided in Assaka's territory in the vicinity of Alaka on the Godāvarī and who is said to have sent several disciples to Buddha at Śrāvastī (vide Suttanipāta, S. B. E. vol. X part 2 pp. 184 and 187). The *Vārtika* 'Saṅkhyāyā nadī-godāvarībhyām ca' on Pāṇ. V. 4.75, expressly mentions Godāvarī and has in view 'Saptagodāvara'. The two Epics and Purāṇas contain numerous references to it. The Vanaparva[1609] mentions it as a holy river in the south, abounding in gardens and full of water and resorted to by hermits performing austerities. The Araṇyakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa (13.13 and 21) speaks of the country well-known as 'Pañcavaṭī' frequented by herds of deer which is near the Godāvarī and about two yojanas from Agastya's hermitage. It is in the Brahmapurāṇa that the Godāvarī and the subsidiary tīrthas on it have been lauded at great length in chapters 70–175. The Tīrthasāra (a part of Nṛsiṁhaprasāda) quotes about 60 verses from chapters 89, 91, 106, 107, 116–118, 121, 122, 128, 131, 144, 154, 159, 172 of the Brahmapurāṇa, which fact shows that the chapters on Gautamī in the present Brahmapurāṇa were part of the Brahmapurāṇa at least some centuries before 1500 A. D. Vide my paper in J.B.B.R.A.S. for 1917 p. 27–28. The Brahmapurāṇa generally refers to the Godāvarī as Gautamī.[1610] It is stated by the Brahmapurāṇa that the Ganges to the south of the Vindhya mountain is called Gautamī and to its north Bhāgīrathī. The Godāvarī is said to be 200 yojanas long and there are three crores and a half of

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1609. यस्यामाख्यायते पुण्या दिशि गोदावरी नदी। बह्वारामा बहुजला तापसाचरिता शिवा॥ वनपर्व 88.2; इतो द्वियोजने तात बहुमूलफलोदकः। देशो बहुमृगः श्रीमान् पञ्चवट्यभिविश्रुतः।... गोदावर्याः समीपे च मैथिली तत्र रंस्यते॥ रामायण III. 13. 13 and 21.

1610. विन्ध्यस्य दक्षिणे गङ्गा गौतमी सा निगद्यते। उत्तरे सापि विन्ध्यस्य भागीरथ्यभिधीयते। ब्रह्म. 78. 77 q. in तीर्थसार p. 45.

tīrthas on it.[1611] Daṇḍakāraṇya is said to be the seed (source or cause) of dharma and *mukti* and the country embraced by the Gautamī is specially the holiest.[1612] A verse occurring in several purāṇas states 'These countries (of Madhyadeśa) are immediately next to the mountain Sahya: thereon is Godāvarī and that country is the most charming in the whole world. There is Govardhana there which is (like) Mandara and Gandhamādana'.[1613] Brahmapurāṇa (chapters 74–76) narrates how Gautama brought the Ganges from the matted hair of Śiva to Brahmagiri where he had his hermitage and how Gaṇeśa helped in the task by means of a ruse. The Nāradapurāṇa (uttarārdha 72) narrates that no rain fell for 12 years while Gautama practised *tapas*, that owing to famine all sages came to Gautama's hermitage, that he brought Gaṅgā to his hermitage, that he sowed śāli grains in the morning and reaped the crop by midday, that this went on till there was plenty of rain and crops, that Śiva appeared to him, that Gautama prayed that Śiva should stay near his hermitage and that hence the hill on which Gautama had his hermitage came to be called Tryambaka (verse 24). Varāha (71. 37–44) also says that Gautama brought Jāhnavī to Daṇḍaka and the river became Godāvarī. The Kūrma (II. 20. 29–35) mentions a long list of rivers and other sacred places and winds up by saying that the Godāvarī is pre-eminently a place for performing śrāddha. It is stated in the Brahmapurāṇa that for the removal of all kinds of distress two alone are declared (as the means) viz. the holy river Gautamī or Śiva who is full of compassion.[1614] The Brahmapurāṇa describes about a hundred tīrthas on the Godāvarī, such as Tryambaka (79. 6), Kuśāvarta (80, 1–3), Janasthāna (88. 1), Govardhana (chap. 91), Pravarāsaṅgama

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1611. तिस्रः कोट्योऽर्धकोटी च योजनानां शतद्वये। तीर्थानि मुनिशार्दूल सम्भविष्यन्ति गौतम। ब्रह्म० 77. 8–9.

1612. धर्मबीजं मुक्तिबीजं दण्डकारण्यमुच्यते। विशेषाद्गौतमीश्लिष्टो देशः पुण्यतमोऽभवत्॥ ब्रह्म० 161.73.

1613. सह्यस्यानन्तरे चैते तत्र गोदावरी नदी। पृथिव्यामपि कृत्स्नायां स प्रदेशो मनोरमः॥ यत्र गोवर्धनो नाम मन्दरो गन्धमादनः। मत्स्य. 114. 37–38 = वायु 45. 112–113 (reads सह्यस्य चोत्तरार्धे तु and नाम सुरराजेन निर्मितः) = मार्कण्डेय 54. 34–35 = ब्रह्माण्ड II. 16. 43 (सह्यस्य चोत्तरान्तेषु and तत्र गोवर्धनं नाम पुरं रामेण निर्मितम्). ब्रह्म 27. 43–44 read सह्यस्य चोत्तरे यस्तु and गोवर्धनपुरं रम्यं भार्गवस्य महात्मनः।.

1614. सर्वदुःखापनोदाय द्वयमेव प्रकीर्तितम्। गौतमी वा पुण्यनदी शिवो वा करुणाकरः॥ ब्रह्म. 124. 93.

(106) and Nivāsapura[1615] (106. 55), Vañjarāsaṅgama (159) but they have to be passed over from considerations of space. A few words must, however, be said about Nasik, Govardhana, Pañcavaṭī and Janasthāna. Nasik must have existed at least 200 years before Christ. An Inscription on one pillar of the railing at Bharhut *stūpa* (about 200 B. C.) records the gift of Gorakṣitā of Nasik, the wife of Vasuka.[1616] This is the earliest certain historical reference to Nasik discovered so far. The Mahābhāṣya[1617] speaks of Nāsikya as a city. The Vāyu-purāṇa (45.130) mentions Nāsikya as a country. The Nasik Inscriptions in the Paṇḍuleṇā caves (Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 pp. 544–639 and E. I. vol. VIII pp. 59–96 edited by Senart) establish that Nasik was a prosperous place in the centuries before and after Christ. Ptolemy (about 150 A. D.) mentions Nasika (Ptolemy p. 156). It is not possible for reasons of space to go into the detailed history of Nasik, its bathing places and pools, its temples, pilgrimages and rites of worship. For these one may consult the Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 16 (for Nasik District). That volume states that there are about 60 temples in Nasik (pp. 503–512) and 16 in Pañcavaṭī and one the left bank of the Godāvarī (pp. 512 ff.). But hardly any really old temple has survived. In 1680 A. D. twenty-five temples at Nasik were destroyed by the Deccan Viceroy of Aurangzeb. Almost all the large temples that adorn Nasik were built during the times of the Peshwas of Poona (1750–1818). Three temples are specially worthy of mention, viz. the the Rāmji temple in Pañcavaṭī and Nāro Shankar's temple (or Bell temple) on the left bank of the Godāvarī near the first crossing and that of Sundara-nārāyaṇa in Āditwar Peth at Nasik (p. 503). The Sītā-gumphā (Sītā cave) in Pañcavaṭī close to some very old and tall Banyan trees that are believed to have sprung from the five trees that gave the name to the

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1615. शिवशक्त्योर्यतस्तस्मिन्निवासोऽभूत्सनातनः। अतो वदन्ति मुनयो निवासपुरमित्यदः। प्रवरायाः पुरा देवाः सुप्रीतास्ते वरान् ददुः॥ ब्रह्म. 106. 53–54. निवासपुर is Newasa on the Pravarā which falls into the Godāvarī at the sacred place called Toka. The great Marathi poet and saint Jñāneśvara wrote his commentary on the Gitā at Newasa.

1616. Vide Bharhut stūpa (by Cunningham) p. 138 'नासिक-गोरखितय थभो दानं वसुकस भारियाय' (No. 87).

1617. नासिक्यं नगरमिति सङ्काशादिषु पाठः करिष्यते। महाभाष्य vol III. p. 42 on पा. VI. 1. 63. सङ्काश occurs as one among many gaṇas in पा. IV. 2. 80. नासिक्य is derived from नासिका (nose) and was probably so named because the nose of Śūrpaṇakhā was cut off by Lakṣmaṇa there,

place is a much frequented place. Not far from the Sītā-gumphā is the temple of Kāḷā Rāma, one of the finest modern temples in Western India. There are numerous bathing places and sacred pools (*kuṇḍas*) between Govardhana (6 miles to the west of Nasik) and Tapovana (1½ miles to south-east of Nasik). Vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 pp. 522-526. The holiest spot in Nasik is the Rāmakuṇḍa near the left bank of the Godāvarī where it takes its first bend to the south. For the Kāḷārāma daily services and the rites pilgrims have to perform at Nasik, vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 pp. 517-518 and 529-531 respectively. Rāmanavamī is one of the great religious festivals at Nasik.

Govardhana town occurs several times in the long and famous Nasik Inscription of Uṣavadāta (No. 10 in Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 p. 569-70).[1618] As regards Pañcavaṭī the place still goes by the same name. It is to be noted that in the Rāmāyaṇa III. 13. 13 Pañcavaṭī is styled a *deśa* (country). Janasthāna was in Daṇḍakāraṇya according to the Śalyaparva 39. 9-10, Rām. III. 21. 19-20, Nāradīya-purāṇa II. 75. 30 and Agni 7. 2-3[1619] and Pañcavaṭī was part of Janasthāna. Janasthāna is said to be four yojanas in extent, and it is further stated that it was so called because kings of the Janaka line secured *mukti* there through the favour of the Godāvarī.[1620]

A bath in the Godāvarī when Jupiter enters the sign of Leo has been regarded even up to the present day as very

1618. Nasik Cave Inscription No. 20 is नासिककनं धंभिकगामस दानं (gift of Dhambhika village by the inhabitants of Nasik). Vide Bom. G. vol. XVI. p. 590, E. I. vol. VIII at p. 72. Inscription No 22 is सादवाहनकुले कन्हे राजिनि नासिककेन समणेन महामातेण लेण कारितं 'this cave was caused to be constructed by the great minister who is (now) a śramaṇa, an inhabitant of Nasik, in the reign of king Kṛṣṇa of the Sātavāhana family.' Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 592. These two are the oldest inscriptions in the Pāṇḍuleṇā caves dating from at least 100 B. C. राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामात्रा दीनीकपुत्रेण उषवदातेन ... भरुकच्छे दशपुरे गोवर्धने शोर्पारगे च चतुःशालावसथप्रतिश्रय-प्रदेन...पिण्डीतकावडे गोवर्धने सुवर्णमुखे शोर्पारगे च चरकपर्षद्भ्यः ...द्वात्रिंशन्नालिगेरमूल-सहस्रप्रदेन गोवर्धने त्रिरश्मिषु पर्वतेषु धर्मात्मना इदं लेणं कारितम्। Ins. No. 10 in Bom. G. vol. 16 pp. 569-70 and E. I. vol. VIII at p. 78. गोवर्धन is at present a village near Nasik. Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 636 for a note on गोवर्धन.

1619. (रामः) धनुः खड्गं च संप्राप्य दण्डकारण्यमागतः॥ जनस्थाने पञ्चवट्यां स्थितो गोदावरीतटे। अग्नि 7. 2-3.

1620 तथा जनकराजानो बहवस्तत्र कर्मणा॥ मुक्तिं प्रापुर्महाभागा गौतम्याश्च प्रसादतः। ततः प्रभृति तत्तीर्थं जनस्थानेति विश्रुतम्॥ जनकानां यज्ञसदो जनस्थानं प्रकीर्तितम् चतुर्योजनविस्तीर्णं स्मरणात् सर्वपापनुत्॥ ब्रह्म. 88. 22-24.

meritorious.[1621] The Brahmapurāṇa says that three crores and a half of tīrthas that exist in the three worlds come for a bath in the Gaṅgā when Jupiter is in Leo and that bathing in the Bhāgīrathī (every day) for sixty thousand years (is equal) to bathing only once in the Godāvarī when Jupiter is in the Zodical sign Leo.[1622] It is stated in the Varāhapurāṇa that when a man repairs to the sacred Godāvarī in *siṁhastha* year, takes a bath and offers *tarpaṇa* (and śrāddha) to his pitṛs the latter go to heaven if they are in hell and they attain final release if they are already denizens of heaven. Jupiter is in Leo for one year once in twelve years. Crowds of pilgrims throng at Nasik in their thousands from all parts of India in the *siṁhastha* year.

KAÑCĪ (modern Conjeeveram).

Kāñcī is one of the seven holy cities of India (vide p. 678 n. 1535 above) and one of the most ancient towns in southern India. If we rely on the tradition recorded by Hiouen Thsang who stayed in Kāñcī about 640 A. D. it would follow that Buddha frequented the region around Kāñcīpura and that Kāñcī had a *stūpa* about 100 feet high built by Aśokarāja (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. II. p. 230). Hiouen Thsang informs us that Kāñcī was 30 *li* (or about 5½ miles) in circuit, that in his day there were eighty Deva temples and that there were many heretics called Nirgranthas (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. II. pp. 228-229). The next important datum is the mention of Kāñcī-puraka (resident of Kāñcīpura) in the Mahābhāṣya on Vārtika 26 to Pāṇ. IV. 2. 104 (Kielhorn, vol. II. p. 298). Several early records relating to the ancient history of the Pallavas of Kāñcī (of about 250 to 350 A. D.) have been published, such as the Mayidavoḷu plates of Yuvamahārāja Śiva-skandavarman (E. I. vol. VI p. 84), the Hirahadagalli Inscription of the 8th year (E. I. vol. 1. p. 2), and the Talgunda Pillar Inscription of Kadamba Kākusthavarman (E. I. vol. VIII p. 24). The

1621. अत्र सिंहस्थे गुरौ गोदावरीस्नानं कन्यागते कृष्णास्नानं महापुण्यम्। गोदावर्यां यात्रिकाणां मुण्डनोपवासावावश्यकौ न तु तत्तीरवासिनाम्॥ धर्मसिन्धु p. 7.

1622. तिस्रः कोट्योऽर्धकोटी च तीर्थानि भुवनत्रये। तानि स्नातुं समायान्ति गङ्गायां सिंहगे गुरौ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि भागीरथ्यवगाहनम्। सकृद्गोदावरीस्नानं सिंहयुक्ते बृहस्पतौ॥ ब्रह्म० 175. 83-84 ; vide also ब्रह्म. 152. 38-39; सिंहस्थे च गुरौ तत्र यो गच्छति समाहितः। स्नात्वा च विधिना तत्र पितॄंस्तर्पयते तथा॥ स्वर्गं गच्छन्ति पितरो निरये पतिता यदि। स्वर्गस्थाः पितरस्तस्य मुक्तिभाजो न संशयः॥ वराह 71. 45-46.

Allahabad Praśasti of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions ed. by Fleet p. 7) states that Samudragupta vanquished Viṣṇugopa, king of Kāñcī (Kāñceyaka), in the first half of the 4th century A. D. In the 'Maṇimekhalai' there is an elaborate description of the town of Kāñcī where Maṇimekhalai ultimately attained to enlightenment (vide S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's 'Manimekhalai in its historical setting' p. 20). It is not necessary for the present purpose to refer to the numerous inscriptions about the Pallavas and Kāñcī and the large number of papers contributed to learned Journals. Reference may, however, be made to the careful and scholarly work 'History of the Pallavas of Kāñcī' by R. Gopalan (1928), which brings together all relevant data published up to the date of its composition.

Let us now turn to some passages from the Purāṇas about Kāñcī. The Brahmāṇḍa asserts:[1623] 'The two cities of Kāśī and Kāñcī are the two eyes of Lord Śiva; Kāñcī is a famous Vaiṣṇava *kṣetra* but it also brings about the presence of Śiva'. It is stated in the Bārhaspatya-sūtra (III. 124) that Kāñcī is a Śākta-kṣetra and in the Devībhāgavata (VII. 38. 8) it is said to be a Devīsthāna called Annapūrṇā. The Vāmana-purāṇa [1624] observes: the Jāti is the best among flowers, Kāñcī the best among towns, Rambhā among women, the householder among persons of (the four) āśramas, Kuśasthalī is the best among cities and Madhyadeśa among all countries.

Kāñcī is full of temples and shrines. The most famous are the Vaikuṇṭha Perumal temple of Viṣṇu and the Śaiva temple of Kailāsanātha built by Pallava Rājasiṁha. This latter has a large hall supposed to contain 1000 columns.[1625] There is an old Jaina temple also.

PANDHARPUR

This is one of the most popular places of pilgrimage in the Bombay State. Hundreds of thousands of pilgrims visit it

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1623. नेत्रद्वयं महेशस्य काशी-काञ्चीपुरद्वयम्। विख्यातं वैष्णवक्षेत्रं शिवसांनिध्यकारकम्॥ ब्रह्माण्ड IV. 19. 15.

1624. पुष्पेषु जाती नगरेषु काञ्ची नारीषु रम्भाश्रमिणां गृहस्थः। कुशस्थली श्रेष्ठतमा पुरेषु देशेषु सर्वेषु च मध्यदेशः॥ वामन. 12. 50. Vide 'South Indian Inscriptions' vol. I. pp. 8-24 for Inscriptions in Pallava characters of the 6th century A. D. in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcī.

1625. W. S. Caine in his 'Picturesque India' p. 491 remarks that the pillars are only 540 when counted.

every year. The Bombay Gazetteer vol. 20 (for Sholapur District) devotes pp. 415–482 to Pandharpur. This sacred place cannot claim very great antiquity. On the materials so far available it is difficult to decide when the shrine of Viṭhobā was established, but there is sufficient evidence to enable one to say that it was certainly in existence in the middle of the thirteenth century A. D.[1626] The Padmapurāṇa (Uttara-khaṇḍa 176. 56–58) mentions the image of Viṭṭhala Viṣṇu on the bank of the Bhīmarathī which has only two arms and is called Bindu-mādhava. The difficulty is about the date of this part of the Padmapurāṇa. In my opinion it is a late addition and cannot be placed earlier than about 1000 A. D. The modern town of Pandharpur lies along the right bank of the Bhīmā river. The chief temple in Pandharpur is that of Viṭhobā in the centre of that part of the town which is considered holy. The Bombay Gazetteer vol. 20 describes at some length (pp. 417–424) the main temple of Viṭhobā and its adjoining parts. Behind the temple of Viṭhobā is the temple of Rakhumāī, the consort of Viṭhobā. There is a large staff of priests and attendants in the temple of Viṭhobā, the chief of whom are those called Badves (who are the most numerous body of the staff and who once claimed to be owners of the temple, but who are now held to be the trustees and guardians of the temple property and of the god's jewels under a scheme of management framed by the High Court of Bombay).[1627] Except the Badves all

1626. Vide Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's 'Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism' pp. 87–89.

1627. In *Gangaram Babaji Badve* v. *Baji Shankar and others*, Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court for 1891 p. 182 at p. 186 the High Court declared that the Badwes are not owners of the temple, idol and property and that they are the chief priests, managers, overseers and guardians of the idol, the temple and the property belonging thereto and that they are bound to keep order and to bid the *Sevādhāris* perform the duties which belong hereditarily to those priests. In *Sakharam Bhimaji Benare and others* versus *Gangaram Babaji Badve and others*, Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court for 1896 p. 644, the position set out above was accepted by both sides and a scheme of management was framed by the High Court (pp. 649–651) which provided for the creation of a Viṭhobā Fund, for the appointment of a committee of management consisting of five Badves to be elected every year, for the keeping of accounts by the Badves, and for the auditing of these accounts by a Devasthan committee and declared that any cash offering exceeding Rs. 500 was not to be appropriated by the Badves for their own use, but was to be expended for ornaments for the image and to be added to the Vithobā fund, if not so required.

other attendants are called *sevādhāris* and they are of various grades, viz. the *pujāris* (who take the principal part in the worship of the God), *Benaris* [1628] (who repeat mantras and hymns at different services), *paricārakas* (who bring in a large silver dish the water with which the pujāri washes the image of the God and brings the lamp for waving it before the image at the evening and night services), *haridās* (who sings generally five verses in honour of the god at the morning, evening and night services), the *dingres* (who hold a mirror before the God at the early morning service after the god has been dressed and before the lights are waved), the *divtes* (the torch-bearers) who hold a lighted torch when the last night ceremonies are over and carry the slippers of the god in torch-light processions three times a year on the Full Moon days of Āṣāḍha and Kārtika and on the *Dasrā* night), the *dange* (who stands with a silver or gold-plated mace outside the ante-chamber at the morning, evening and night services). The goddess Rakhumāī has only one set of priests known as *Utpāls*, of whom there are over a hundred families.

The Bombay Gazetteer describes at length (pp. 427-430) the ordinary and special services in the temple of Viṭhobā which are passed over here. Their essence is that the god is treated as if he were some high human person requiring bath, dress, songs, sleep against fatigue and so on. One thing, however, may be noticed that no women singers or dancers are connected with this temple of Viṭhobā in contradistinction to many temples in the Deccan and South India.

The image of Viṭṭhal or Viṭhobā in the temple is about three feet and nine inches high and together with its base seems to be cut out of one block of trap. Its rough appearance is probably due to the effect of time. The image is standing with its arms *akimbo* and hands resting on the hips; the left hand holds a conch and the right a *cakra* (discus). On the image are carved but so slightly as to be hardly noticeable except on close examination a waist cloth and round the waist a waist-band the end of which hangs on the right thigh. The ornaments consist of a necklace and in the long ears are ear-rings which touch the shoulders. On the head is a long round-topped cap. Mr.

1628. In *Gangaram Babaji and others* v. *Narayan Annaji*, Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court for 1891 p. 148 the High Court laid down with minuteness the rights, privileges and duties of the Benaris (the hymnists).

Kantak, the writer of the note on Pandharpur in the Bombay Gazetteer vol. 20, remarks (p. 424): "The dress and ornament of the image belong to a (time) little later than the Guptas, probably not later than the 5th or 6th century after Christ. As far as is known no other existing Vaiṣṇava temple in India has an image of Viṣṇu like the Pandharpur image, but there are two similar images of the third century after Christ in the Udayagiri brahmanical caves near Bhilsā ...... Like the Pandharpur image these are both standing figures with arms *akimbo* and hands resting on the hips and a conch and discus in the hands". Formerly pilgrims used to embrace the image and also touched the feet of the image. But since about 1873 the feet alone are allowed to be touched.

The Bombay Gazetteer (vol. 20 p. 431, note 2) states that the image of Viṭhobā was removed to various places at different times to save it from sacrilege by fanatic Moslem invaders and rulers. About 500 yards east of Viṭhobā's temple in the bed of the Bhīmā river is the temple of Puṇḍlik, one of the most favourite places of worship in Pandharpur. This last temple is not that of a god. It only marks the spot where Puṇḍlik, a great devotee of Viṭṭhal, spent his last days and died. Puṇḍlik was probably a brāhmaṇa from Pandharpur, originally an undutiful son who ill-treated his parents, but who later repented on seeing the dutiful cobbler Rohidās, changed his ways and became a very dutiful son, so much so that tradition says that god Viṭhobā came to visit him. Viṭhobā and Puṇḍlik have become so much coupled together that all pilgrims before beginning to dine and on other occasions shout the cry 'Puṇḍalīka varade Hari Viṭṭhal' [1629]. The Bom. G. vol. 20 (pp. 432-434) describes the temple of Puṇḍlik and narrates the traditional story about him.

1629. The writer in Bom. G. vol. 20 translates the words पुण्डलीकवरदे हरि विठ्ठल as 'O! Puṇḍalīka, grant us a boon, Hari Vithal!'. This translation does not appear to me to be correct. The cry is also in the form 'पुण्डलीकवरदा हरि विठ्ठल' (which is the correct one). In my opinion हरि विठ्ठल is only a vocative and the correct form is पुण्डलीकवरदा (for ०वरद) and the whole cry means 'O Hari Viṭhal! that didst grant a boon to Puṇḍalika'. Mr. A. K. Priyolkar kindly pointed out to me an *abhanga* from श्री ज्ञानेश्वरमहाराजांची गाथा (ed. by Śrī Vināyakbuwā Sākhare, 1927) which runs as follows 'रखुमादेवीवर तो। पुण्डलीकवरद तो गे बाई॥' (p. 48) and another of Kānhopātrā (from 'Śrī-santa-gāthā' edited by Śrī Nānāmahārāja Sākhare, śake 1831) 'अगा पुण्डलीकवरदा। अगा विष्णु तूं गोविंदा॥' (p. 142).

Pages 434–468 of Bom. G. vol. 20 describe the several temples and shrines at Pandharpur such as those of Viṣṇupada, Trimbakeśvara, Candrabhāgā, Janābai's cell, which are all passed over here. The river Bhīmā is styled Candrabhāgā within Pandharpur limits and its water is believed to possess sin-purifying power.

Several important and controversial questions arise in relation to Viṭhobā's temple at Pandharpur; viz. the date when the image of Viṭhobā was installed in the temple at Pandharpur, whether the present image is an old one or a substitute, what the ancient name of Pandharpur was, the derivation of the word 'Viṭṭhal'. As regards the first question it may be stated that there is not enough evidence to establish with certainty the time when the image was established.[1630] But some of the items of evidence may be briefly set out here. In I. A. vol. 14 pp. 68-75 Prof. K. B. Pathak published an inscription on a copper-plate found at Beṇḍigere (about eleven miles south-east from Belgaum), the inscription being dated in *śake* 1171 (1249 A. D.), in which Pandharpur is called Pauṇḍarīkakṣetra on the Bhīmarathī (at p. 74) and Viṭhobā is called Viṣṇu and which records the grant of a village in Veṇugrāma district (Belgaum) to a number of brāhmaṇas by a minister of Yādava king Kṛṣṇa (or Kanhara in the inscription) in the presence of god Viṣṇu (p. 74) i. e. before the image of Viṣṇu or Viṭṭhala. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in 'Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism &c.', (p. 88) and in 'History of the Deccan' (2nd ed. p. 115–6) refers to an inscription on stone dated *śake* 1192 (1270 A. D.) in Pandharpur itself, in which Bhānu, son of Keśava, is represented as having performed the Aptoryāma sacrifice in Pāṇḍuraṅgapura 'on account of which crowds and Viṭṭhala were greatly pleased'. There is another earlier inscription in the temple of Viṭhobā on three sides of a stone beam in a *sopā* beyond the *maṇḍapa* (porch) of 16 pillars, the script being Devanāgarī and the language being partly Sanskrit and partly Canarese. It was issued in *śake* 1159 (1237 A. D.) by Hoysala king Someśvara and records the grant of an agrahāra to God Viṭṭhaladeva who resides in a great village called Paṇḍarage situated on the Bhīmarathī river and who

1630. Besides the Sholapur Gazetteer (Bom. G. vol. 20) the following may be consulted. *I. H. Q.* vol. 11 pp. 771–778 (paper by Prof. B. A. Saletore on 'the Antiquity of Pandharpur'), Mr. G. H. Khare's *monograph* in Marāthī on 'श्रीविठ्ठल आणि पंढरपूर'), and Dr. Krishna's Archaeological *Survey Reports of Mysore for 1929* pp. 197–210.

made the heart of sage (*muni*) Puṇḍarīka expand (with devotion). Vide Bom. G. vol. 20 pp. 419–420 and pp. 4–6 of Mr. Khare's monograph (on medieval references). The Mysore Archaeological Survey Report for 1929 (pp. 197–210) publishes a copper-plate inscription issued by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Avidheya which records a grant of Pāṇḍaraṅga-pallī and four other villages situated to the east of Mahādeva hill to a brāhmaṇa named Jayad-viṭṭha. This grant was confirmed about 820 A. D. by Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Śarvarasa (i. e. Amoghavarṣa I). The editor Dr. Krishna is of opinion that the date of the inscription must be 516 A. D. (*ibid.* p. 203). Therefore the important conclusion follows that Pandharpur was known to Canarese people as Paṇḍarage and was also called Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī. This inscription does not expressly refer to god Viṭṭhala, but the donee's name Jayad-viṭṭha contains the part Viṭṭha which is most probably an early form of Viṭṭhala.

In a work called 'Viṭṭhalabhūṣaṇa' [1631] by one Gopālācārya about eleven verses are quoted from Hemādri on Tīrtha which are quoted below [1632]. Briefly they state: an excellent tīrtha ex-

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1631. This was printed in *śake* 1808 (1886–87 A. D.) at the Bombay City Press. For Puṇḍlik's story, vide Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 433.

1632. तीर्थहेमाद्रौ—भैम्याश्चैव तटे देवि दक्षिणे तीर्थमुत्तमम्। अस्ति क्षेत्रं वैष्णवं च सर्वोत्कृष्टं सुदुर्लभम्। पौण्डरीकमिति ख्यातं तत्तीर्थं क्षेत्रपूजितः। पाण्डुरङ्गश्च तत्रास्ते मूर्तिमान् देवसत्तमः। पुष्करात्त्रिगुणं पुण्यं केदारात् षड्गुणं भवेत्। वाराणस्या दशगुणमनन्तं श्रीगिरेरपि। षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विष्णुदेवतदर्शनात्। तत्फलं लभते मर्त्यः सकृदेव हि तत्फलम्। अष्टाविंशतिमे कल्पे द्वापरान्ते च षण्मुख। पुण्डरीक इति ख्यातस्तपस्तेपे सुदारुणम्। भक्त्या पित्रोश्च शुश्रूषां कुर्वन्मुनिवरः सदा। तस्यैवं कुर्वतः पूजां पित्रोरहरहः प्रिये। परितुष्टोऽभवद्देवो गोपीजनमनःप्रियः। गोवर्धनगिरौ रम्ये चारयन् गोगणं विभुः। गोयष्टिं धारयन्यत्नाच्छ्रोत्रोज्ज्वलितकङ्कणम्। नानारत्नप्रभोद्भासि-शिक्यमौलिविराजितः। अतीव सुन्दरः सौम्यो रत्नाङ्कितमहाङ्गदः। विम्बासाम्यातिसौम्येन मुञ्जसूत्रेण वेष्टितः। त्रिवृत्तेनातुकालेन कटिबद्धेन (कटिबन्धेन?) राजितः। कटिमालम्ब्य तिष्ठन्वै त्रिवृद्वलया च संयुतः। तत्रैव कूर्मपुराणे। पुण्डरीकं महातीर्थं ब्राह्मणैरुपसेवितम्। तत्राभिगम्य युक्तात्मा पुण्डरीकफलं लभेत्॥

I am highly obliged to Pandit Balacharya Khuperkar of Kolhapur for sending to me these verses from the copy in his possession. In the T. S. p. 7 the verse पुण्डरीकं महातीर्थं is quoted from the Kūrmapurāṇa; on p. 9 of T.S. verses भैम्याश्चैव...तत्फलम् are quoted from the Skandapurāṇa, as also verses अष्टाविंशतिमे ...संयुतः occur on pp. 12–13 of the Tīrthasāra with a few variant readings such as वेत्रोद्वेल्लितकङ्कणः (which is a very good variant for छत्रो...कङ्कणम् and शाकिमौलिविराजितः for शिक्य॰ and विम्बसम्यातिसौम्येन for विम्बासाम्यातिसौम्येन. In a ms. of पौण्डरीकमाहात्म्य kindly lent to me by Pandit Lakṣmaṇaśāstri of Wai 'अन्तःसूत्रेण वेष्टितः काञ्चिबन्धेन राजितः' and बुधकाञ्चिकयमज्ञाभ्यामुरुभ्यां चारुशोभितः are the readings. In a ms. of पाण्डुरङ्गमाहात्म्य in the possession of Pandit Khuperkar, the same verses occur with a few additions. That ms.

(*Continued on the next page*)

ists on the southern bank of the river Bhaimī and there is also a rare but fine image there; it is called Pauṇḍarīka-kṣetra and the greatest of gods viz. Pāṇḍuraṅga worshipped by the whole kṣetra resides there. It is three times holier than Puṣkara, six and ten times holier than Kedāra and Vārāṇasī respectively. Puṇḍarīka practised severe austerities at the end of Dvāparayuga in the 28th Kalpa and always devotedly attended upon his parents. God Kṛṣṇa who was making a herd of cows graze on Govardhana hill became pleased with him for his devotion to his parents, Kṛṣṇa who wields a stick for driving cows, who has bracelets rendered bright by (the colour) of the umbrella [1633] (shade), who is adorned with a head-gear (*mukuṭa*) and a *śikya* (a loop) scintilating with the lustre of many jewels, who was very charming and had armlets studded with jewels, who does not (appear to) wear any *dhoti*, but has his loins covered with nickers, who is set off by a girdle of three strings tied on his waist and who stands with arms akimbo and appears possessed of three lines on his belly. Though a ms. of the Tīrtha portion of Hemādri's work has not yet been recovered, there is no reason to doubt that the verses were taken by Gopālācārya from Hemādri's work, particularly when almost all those verses are quoted by the T. S. (about 1500 A. D.) from the Skandapurāṇa and Kūrmapurāṇa. As Hemādri composed his work about 1260 to 1270 A. D. and as the verses quoted by him are cited from the Skandapurāṇa, it follows that several centuries before 1260 A. D. Pandharpur was known as a tīrtha, that the devotee and saint Puṇḍarīka (Marāthi 'Puṇḍlik') also was so known then and that the image of Viṭhobā was essentially the same in appearance as it is now. That Pandharpur had risen in sanctity and importance in the 15th century follows from the fact that both the great Vaiṣṇava saints, Caitanya and Vallabha, visited it. Vide Prof. S. K. De's 'Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal' p. 71 for

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(*Continued from the last page*)

reads अन्तःसूत्रेण for गुह्यसूत्रेण, त्रिवलीकृतेनेक्षः कटिबन्धेन राजितः and मुक्ताफलिक-नद्धाभ्यामूरुभ्यां चातिशोभितः, त्रिवृतेनांशुकालेन—makes no sense. It has to be noted that गुह्यसूत्रेण or अन्तःसूत्रेण is mentioned separately from कटिबन्धेन and therefore गुह्यसूत्र or अन्तःसूत्र was something different from कटिबन्ध (waist-band). Probably the original reading was त्रिमात्रासाचातिसूक्ष्मेण गुह्यसूत्रेण for त्रिमात्रा-चातिसौम्येन, where सौम्य conveys very little sense.

1633. This probably is a reference to the silver shade under which the image of Viṭhobā stood (Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 423).

Caitanya's visit and 'Śrī Vallabhāchārya' by Manilal C. Parekh (pp. 56–59) for Vallabhācārya's visit.

It has been already shown from the Bombay Gazetteer that there is a tradition about the image having been removed several times and brought back. On pp. 16–25 of his work Mr. Khare cites various passages from medieval writers in Sanskrit, Marathi and Canarese and comes to the conclusion that the present image is not only not the ancient one but that it was not there in the 17th century, since the characteristics of the present image do not tally with the description contained in the poems of saint Tukārām. I do not agree with his conclusions. He has overlooked several weighty considerations. He has relied upon inferences drawn from the presence of Afzulkhan and the bigoted emperor Aurangzeb in the Deccan. I have cited above (pp. 632, 692) references to the demolition of North Indian temples and images on the orders of Aurangzeb, but Mr. Khare has been unable to show any direct reference to the demolition of the temple or the image of Viṭhobā on the orders of any Moslem king or officer.[1634] We cannot rely on mere inferences or not properly authenticated letters or verses. Besides, the present image is so much worn that unless one very carefully

1634. It may, however, be stated that there is some evidence that efforts were made to demolish the *temple* of Viṭhobā by some Moslem king of Bidar and that the Badves (the guardians of the Pandhari temple) fearing destruction of the image removed it and concealed it somewhere else. In a Marāthi work called 'महाराष्ट्रमहोदयाचा पूर्वरंग' by Mr. Narayan Krishna Gadre (1905) p. 168 verses are cited from a life (completed in śake 1667 i. e. 1745 A. D.) of one Chāngā Mudheśa (who died in śake 1427 i. e. 1505 A.D.) written by his descendant Shamji Gosāvi Vañjarkhede (who was 11th in descent from Chāṅga Mudheśa). The Marāthi verses are: पंढरीचा राजा यवनी पातशहा। ब्राह्मणासी बहु छळियेले॥ हिंदुधर्म जितुके तितके वर्जियेले॥ राऊळ विध्वंसिलें पंढरीचे॥ केलीसे मशीद महाद्वार मोडून। सातमास पूर्ण झाले पासी॥ मूर्ती सिंहासनाहूनि आच्छादिली। गुप्त हो ठेविली ब्राह्मणांनी॥ verses 52–55 of the 7th chapter of the life. This was written two hundred and forty years after the alleged vandalism. Besides the same work mentions in verse 94 (chap. 7) that Chāṅgadeva thought that the mosque should be demolished and a new temple (a complete replica of the old one) should be built. Similarly, in शिवचरित्रसाहित्य part I p. 68 (published by the Bhārata-itihāsa-saṁśodhaka-maṇḍala of Poona) there is a letter dated in 1581 śake (i. e. 1659–60 A.D.) in Marāthi which states that Shivaji killed Afjalakhan who had removed the image of Viṭṭhal at Pandharpur and that at Tuljāpur. The letter is not properly authenticated and is not a reliable piece of evidence. I am obliged to Mr. G. H. Khare of Poona for drawing my attention to these two pieces of evidence.

scrutinizes, it would be difficult to pronounce what articles it holds or what dress it wears. Therefore, there is great scope for differences of opinion on the characteristic features of the present image. Conceding for argument that the tradition about the removal of the idol is true, that does not establish that the present image is different from the one that existed in the 13th century or before. The present image has an elongated head dress which some may construe as a simple *mukuṭa* (crown) with a rim: but the pujāris and common people regard it as a Śivaliṅga and the rim as the rope of the *śikya* that is carried on the back (by cowherds). The present image has ear-rings (as Mr. Khare admits) but they are so long that they rest on the shoulders. The present image has *aṅgadas* (armlets) on the upper arms (and that is the description in the Skanda-purāṇa quoted by Hemādri). The present image has ornaments on the wrists (which the passage from the Skandapurāṇa also mentions). There is a girdle with three strings on the waist of the present image (in Sk. also we have 'trivṛtenānukāḷena kaṭibaddhena or kaṭibandhena rājitaḥ'). The present image [1635] does not clearly show that a *dhoti* was worn (and therefore one reading of the Skanda says that it is 'digvāsāḥ') but the Skanda adds that the image has arms akimbo. In my opinion the description in the Skanda-purāṇa (which must be held to be at least not later than about 1000 A. D.) tallies in essential particulars with the present image; therefore it follows that sufficient evidence has not been adduced to show that it is comparatively a new image and the proposition of Mr. Khare that it is a different one from the original should be held *not proved*. In the descriptions given by Tukārām and others (p. 22 of Mr. Khare's book) actual, legendary and ideal elements are mixed up. For example, Tukārām states that the god has 16000 wives (Mr. Khare's book

1635. Persons not familiar with ancient images or statues in stone might think that an image or statue is naked (*digvāsāḥ*) when as a matter of fact the sculpture itself shows that the image wears a *dhoti* and waistband and yet its private parts are shown as visible, probably because it was the intention of the sculptor to indicate that the garment was made of the finest texture and was transparent. For example, in 'History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon' by Vincent Smith, there is a figure of a Bodhisattva (on p. 143 No. 94) which is clearly draped in a dhoti and waistband and the private parts of which are yet visible. The Viṣṇu image from Mathurā (Plate VI) in a paper on Gupta Art in Journal of U. P. Historical Society, vol. 18 pp. 101–134 shows similar characteristics.

p. 22 'Bailā solā hajāra' &c.). But Tukārām does mention the facts that the arms are akimbo, that there is no dhoti (*digambara*), and mentions the existence of a *śikya*, a stick, also a girdle and ornaments. Lastly, Mr. Khare does not attach sufficient importance to two facts, one being that about 1873 two Gosavis damaged the image which was later re-installed and pilgrims were forbidden from embracing it. It is quite possible that some of the features already indistinct were lost in these happenings (vide Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 430). Besides, for hundreds of years the image has been washed with pañcāmṛta (milk, curds, ghee, honey and sugar) and water at least once every day and sometimes several times a day. It is not difficult to imagine that the characteristic marks became blurred by these continual baths.

Some other matters require to be dealt with. The image is variously called viz. Pāṇḍuraṅga, Paṇḍhari, Viṭṭhal, Viṭṭhalanātha and Viṭhobā.

Viṣṇu assumes in Prakrit the forms Viṇhu, Viṇṇu, Veṇhu, Veṭha and others. In Canarese Viṣṇu becomes Biṭṭi, Biṭṭiga, Viṭṭa &c. The changes in names do not necessarily follow the rules laid down in Prakrit or Canarese grammars, which rules themselves are often based on meagre data and Mr. A. K. Priyolkar in his learned paper on 'Bhagat Namdeo of the Sikhs' in the Journal of the University of Bombay vol. VII part 2 (1938) points out (p. 24) that in the Ādi Granth of the Sikhs, in the hymns of Namdeo, God is addressed as 'Bithal' or 'Bithalu' (p. 24), that, in the Gujarati poems of Narsinh Mehta and Mirabai, God is addressed as Viṭṭhala (p. 35) and Viṭṭhala is employed by these saints meaning only Viṣṇu and not the deity at Pandharpur. The learned Kāśīnātha Upādhyāya, author of Viṭṭhala-ṛn-mantrasāra-bhāṣya, derives the word Viṭṭhala as (*Vit*+*ṭha*+*la*)[1636].

As regards the name of the kṣetra it appears that originally it was called in Canarese Paṇḍarage, of which Pāṇḍuraṅga is a sanskritized form. When Puṇḍlik, the devotee of Viṭṭhal, became famous the sacred place came to be called Puṇḍarīkapura (as in Kūrma) and Pauṇḍarīkapura (as in Skanda). Vide note 1632 above.

1636. 'वित् वेदनं ज्ञानं तेन ठाः शून्याः तान् लाति स्वीकरोति'. Vide विठ्ठलऋङ्मन्त्रसारभाष्य, D. C. ms. No. 100 of 1869-70 dated śake 1731 (1809 A. D.) quoted in H. of Dh. vol. I p. 464 n. 1161.

The pilgrims to Pandharpur may be divided into two classes, regular visitors and occasional visitors. The first class comprise those called *Vārkarīs* (lit. those who keep the fixed times). The *Vārkarīs* are of two sorts viz. those who attend every month and those who attend twice a year (on the 11th of Āṣāḍha-śukla and Kārtika-śukla). This cult of vārkarīs has been a great leveller. In theory and to a large extent in practice it ignores caste exclusiveness. A brāhmaṇa vārkarī falls at the feet of a śūdra vārkarī. There are certain observances binding on all vārkarīs (for which, vide Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 471). The vārkarī carries a rosary of Tulasī (basil) beads, foregoes flesh-eating, observes a fast on *ekādaśī*, carries an ochre-coloured patākā (swallow-tailed banner) and is to speak the truth (and not to cheat) when engaged in his daily occupations.

Some people think that the image of Viṭhobā is really Buddhist or Jain. There is hardly any evidence for this. When such Marāthi poets and saints as Ekanātha, and Tukārām speak of Viṭhobā as Bauddhāvatāra they have Viṣṇu in mind,[1637] whose 9th avatāra was Buddha according to the Purāṇas and medieval writers.

The question of the attitude that modern Hindus should adopt towards holy places and pilgrimages will be briefly dealt with at the end of the next chapter on the list of *tīrthas*.

1637. One of एकनाथ's अभंग is 'नवचा बैसे स्थिररूप । तया नाम बौद्धरूप ॥ सन्त तया झालीं । तिष्ठताति निरन्तरी । पुण्डलीकासाठीं उभा । धन्य धन्य विठ्ठलशोभा ॥' in एकनाथमहाराजांच्या अभंगांची गाथा (published by Rajaram Tukaram, Bombay, 1903) p. 344 No. 1048; 'बौद्धअवतार माझिया अदृष्टा । मौन्यमुखें निष्ठा धरियेली ॥' No. 4160 of the तुकारामबावांच्या अभंगांची गाथा p. 522 (published by Bombay Govt., 1950). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 720-723 for discussion about the time when Buddha came to be looked upon as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.

CHAPTER XVI

LIST OF TĪRTHAS

This is merely a list of tīrthas from the point of view of Dharmaśāstra and *not* a treatise on the Ancient Geography of India. The result is that many countries and towns that have no importance or claims as tīrthas have been altogether omitted. Bauddha and Jain works on tīrthas have only rarely been referred to. Many of the Purāṇas enumerate the mountains and rivers of *dvīpas* and *varṣas* other than those of Jambudvīpa and Bhārata-varṣa such as Harivarṣa, Ramyaka-varṣa, Krauñcadvīpa, Śālmalidvīpa, but they have been excluded from this list. The Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 26 verses 8–83) contains a string of over 520 tīrthas without hardly any certain indication of their location and the Bhīṣmaparva in chap. 9 mentions about 160 rivers with practically no indication about their location in most cases. Similarly, the Garuḍa (I. 81. 1–31) enumerates about 200 and Padma (VI. 129) contains 108 tīrtha names. In Banaras alone I have listed about 350 sub-tīrthas. But there are about 1500 shrines and temples in Banaras alone. These have not been included. Each great tīrtha has numerous sub-tīrthas as in the Varāha-purāṇa under Mathurā, in Brahma-purāṇa under Gautamī, in Vāyu-purāṇa under Gayā. Through sheer weariness or inadvertence some of these must have been left out by me and some were left out purposely on account of the absence of any importance. Besides, several tīrthas that are regarded as sacred by modern people are not so treated in the Epics or purāṇas and are not even mentioned in them; many of these have been omitted in this list. Our authorities are often very vague about the location or extent of tīrthas. Moreover, a number of tīrthas scattered in different parts of India bear the same name (e. g. vide under Agnitīrtha, Koṭitīrtha, Cakratīrtha, Varāhatīrtha, Somatīrtha). I am under great obligations to Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India' (ed. of 1872) and to Nundo Lal Dey's 'The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India' (1927). I have had occasions to differ from both, particularly from the latter. But, the space at my disposal being very limited, I could not enter into even brief discussions

in support of my views. It would look ungrateful to find fault with the work of Dey; but it must be said that he relies too much on rather old and antiquated authorities and has not cast his net over a wide area. Often times he mentions no original authorities (vide, for example, Cakratīrtha on p. 43). He is very vague in his references. He hardly ever cites the number of the verse on which he relies and often omits to specify even the part or section of the work relied upon. For example, at p. 13 as regards Avanti he mentions Pāṇini IV. 176, which should be IV. 1. 176. Further, he has omitted several well-known tīrthas (e. g. Daśāśvamedhika). He is sometimes wrong in what he says. On p. 54 he states that Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa 43 refers to Devadāruvana as a proper name, but there the context ('lodhrapadmaka-ṣaṇḍeṣu devadāruvaneṣu ca' in verse 15) shows that what is meant is 'forests of Deodar trees'). On p. 73 he says Bharatavarṣa was first called Haimavatavarṣa, but the passage of the Liṅgapurāṇa (I. 49. 7) on which he relies (idam haimavatam varṣam Bhāratam nāma viśrutam) does not bear that out. There is no reference to a prior account here and all that is meant is that Bhāratavarṣa is connected with Himavat, as a previous passage (I. 47. 23 Himādrer-dakṣiṇam varṣam Bharatāya nyavedayat) expressly states that Bhāratāvarṣa is to the south of Himālaya. In Śalya 44. 52 Sarasvatī is called Haimavatī, but that does not mean that Haimavatī was the name of Sarasvatī in far-off ages. It simply means that it 'rises in Himavat range.' Only a comparison of the list prepared by me with Dey's work will show the difference in details between the two. I should not undertake that task and leave it to scholarly readers.

I have carefully read the two Epics and most of the Purāṇas. But I do not cite exhaustive references to all the texts where a particular tīrtha is mentioned. I feel satisfied with mentioning two or three. Owing to the several restrictions imposed upon myself this list cannot claim to be thoroughly exhaustive. But I hope that it is comprehensive enough and far larger and more informative than any list of *tīrthas* presented by any scholar so far. There is ample scope for industrious scholars to improve upon and to add to this list. I have included important tīrthas from Kashmir and given copious references to the Nīlamata-purāṇa, the Rāja-taraṅgiṇī and the Hara-carita-cintāmaṇi. I am highly obliged to the Kashmir Report of Dr. Bühler (published as a special number for 1877

by the B B R A S), to Stein's notes in his translation of the Rāja-taraṅgiṇī and his memoir on the Ancient Geography of Kashmir published separately (and also embodied in the 2nd volume of the translation of Kalhaṇa's work). All the names of tīrthas are transliterated into the English alphabet and arranged according to the English mode of spelling. For the Mahābhārata references are given to the oblong Bombay edition and by citing names of *parvans*, but in the case of the Rāmāyaṇa Roman figures I to VII are employed for the Bāla, Ayodhyā, Araṇya, Kiṣkindhā, Sundara, Yuddha and Uttara kāṇḍas respectively. For the Rāmāyaṇa I have used the edition brought out by the Madras Law Journal Press in 1933. Among Purāṇas the Ānandāśrama editions of the Agni, Brahma, Brahmavaivarta, Matsya, Vāyu and Padma have been relied upon and as to the rest of the Mahāpurāṇas the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press editions have been used (except in the case of the Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa of which the edition of Messrs. Gopal Narayan & Co. and the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, of which the Nirṇayasāgara edition of the bare text have been referred to). The Skandapurāṇa has been a source of great trouble and labour. Owing to the limited time at my disposal I have not been able to digest thoroughly the ninety thousand and odd verses of that purāṇa, though I have very carefully gone into the Kāśīkhaṇḍa and some other khaṇḍas. Besides, there are two separate recensions of the Skanda and large portions of it appear to be apocryphal and later additions. The seven big sections of the Skanda viz. Maheśvarakhaṇḍa, Vaiṣṇava, Brāhma, Kāśī, Āvantya, Nāgara, Prabhāsa are indicated by Roman figures from I to VII and the sub-sections by Arabic figures. Some of these sub-sections have further sub-divisions into Pūrvārdha and Uttarārdha.

I have made endeavours to locate the tīrthas as far as possible. Inscriptions have been drawn upon in several cases for locating the tīrthas and for their antiquities and history. The principal Sanskrit authorities (except Kalhaṇa) are often very vague as compared with even foreign writers like Hiouen Thsang, Alberuni and Abul Fazal. Where I was not myself sure I have given references to the texts alone, and in some cases to the views of Cunningham, Dey, Pargiter and others. If the same name happens to be given to different tīrthas located at different places, I have indicated the several different places bearing the same name by employing the capital letters

A, B, C and so on. I may state that I have hardly ever remained content by borrowing references to Sanskrit authorities given by my predecessors, but have seen personally each reference to Sanskrit works except where I expressly state from whom I borrow a particular reference. Sorensen's Index of the Mahābhārata and the Vedic Index of Macdonell and Keith have been used in several places. I have also derived material help from the volumes of the Imperial Gazetteer and from the several volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer. The same may be said about Wilson's translation of Viṣṇupurāṇa (ed. by Hall, 1864-1877), Pargiter's notes to his translation of the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, Dr. B. C. Law's paper on the 'mountains and rivers of India' in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. 28 and Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri's 'Studies in Indian Antiquities' (1932), and the paper on 'Ancient towns and cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad' in I.A. vol. 54. I have consulted only a few Māhātmyas of tīrthas. Recently, Prof. V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar of Madras has published a useful work 'The Purāṇa Index' (volumes I and II covering over 1400 pages) which collects material from five Purāṇas only viz. the Bhāgavata, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya, Vāyu and Viṣṇu. The two volumes reach up to the Sanskrit letter 'ma' only. I, for my part, do not agree with much that he says about the age of the Purāṇas in general and of the five Purāṇas (which he has digested) in particular, but this is not the place to go into that question. Besides, his work has to be used with some caution. In several places the work is misleading. To take only a few examples. On p. 547 he lists 'Godhūma', makes the remark 'fit for śrāddha' and cites four references from the Viṣṇupurāṇa alone. One may *prima facie* think that Godhūma is here some place fit for śrāddha. As a matter of fact in all the references from the Viṣṇupurāṇa 'Godhūma' means 'wheat' and nothing more, which no doubt is fit *food* for śrāddha. But other fit things such as 'ikṣu' (declared to be fit for śrāddha by Vāyu 78. 7-8) are not included at all. On p. 123 Aśokavana is not a proper name, but only a forest of Aśoka trees, as the preceding word 'drākṣāvana' (in Vāyu 38. 68) indicates. So also Kamalaprabhava (not 'prabhavā' as printed on p. 316 of vol. I) is not a river (in Matsya 163. 62, Ānandāśrama ed.) but is only an adjective of the word Śoṇa that follows. On p. 316 of vol. II he states that the river Pārā rises from Ṛṣyavān, but the Matsya 114. 24 on which he relies says it springs from Pāriyātra. On the same page he gives the entry 'Pārāvārataṭa sacred to

Matā'. This makes no sense. Pārāvāratața would mean 'the shore of the sea'. What is really meant is that Devī is styled or worshipped as Pārā on the bank of the Pārā river (Pārā Pārātațe matā). He does not compare the readings of the several printed editions of the five purāṇas. Besides, the information furnished is very meagre. If the whole had been printed in a compact form far more information could have been given in the same number of pages.

In some places I have indicated the rewards promised for bathing in the tīrthas; but I have not done so in every case. The purāṇas promise one or more of the following rewards viz. the same merit as the performance of Aśvamedha or Vājapeya or other solemn Vedic sacrifices or reaching the highest worlds such as those of Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Śiva, the destruction of the gravest sins such as brāhmaṇa murder, the same merit as arises from gifts of a thousand cows &c.

Many of the doubts and difficulties about the identification of several tīrthas can, if at all, be solved only by means of actual journeys to various places and investigations on the spot. That is a task which would require for its proper accomplishment a team of workers. A single individual can hardly attempt such a task with his own resources.

This list will, it is hoped, be of some use in elucidating several problems such as the questions about the relative antiquity of the purāṇas, the dates of several Sanskrit works which mention the tīrthas and the questions about borrowing on the part of purāṇas among themselves and from the Mahābhārata.

Abbreviations employed in this list alone

AC.—Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi of Hemacandra (ed. by Böhtlingk, 1847).
Ādi—Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata
Ag.—Agnipurāṇa.
A. G.—Ancient Geography of India, by Cunningham (1871).
A. I.—Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian (Mc Crindle).
Ain. A—Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazal, translated by Blochmann and Jarrett in three volumes (1873-1894).
Al.—Alberuni's 'India' translated by Dr. E. C. Sachau, 2 volumes, 1886 (London).
Anu.—Anuśāsana-parva of the Mahābhārata.
A. S. R.—Archaeological Survey of India Reports.
B.—Brahmapurāṇa.
Bār. S.—Bārhaspatya-sūtra edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas.
Bh.—Bhāgavatapurāṇa.
Bhav.—Bhaviṣyapurāṇa.
Bhī.—Bhīṣmaparva of the Mahābhārata.
Bom. G.—Bombay Gazetteer volumes.
Br.—Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa.
Bṛ. S.—Bṛhatsaṁhitā with Utpala's com., edited by Sudhākara Dwivedi.
BV.—Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa.
C. I. I.—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum; vol. I. Inscriptions of Aśoka, vol. III. Gupta Inscriptions.
Dey.—Nundolal Dey's 'Geographical Dictionary of India' (1927).
G.—Garuḍapurāṇa.
Go.—Godāvarī river
h.—hill
HC.—Haracaritacintāmaṇi of Jayadratha (Kāvyamālā ed.)
I. G. I.—Imperial Gazetteer of India volumes.
J. U. P. H. S.—Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.
K.—Kūrmapurāṇa.
Kal.—Kālikāpurāṇa.
K. R.—Bühler's Kashmir Report (extra number of BBRAS Journal for 1877)
l.—lake
L.—Liṅgapurāṇa
m.—Mountain
M.—Matsyapurāṇa
Mb.—Mahābhārata
Mbh.—Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (ed. by Kielhorn in 3 volumes).
Mār.—Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa
N.—Bṛhan-nāradiya or Nāradiya-purāṇa.
NM.—Nīlamata-purāṇa ed. by Prof. Bhagavad-datta.
Nr.—Nṛsiṁha or Narasiṁha-purāṇa.
P.—Padma-purāṇa.
Pargiter.—Translation of Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa with notes.
Ptolemy—Mc Crindle's 'Ancient India' as described by Ptolemy with notes by Majumdar Sastri (Calcutta, 1927)
r.—River.
R.—Rājataraṅgiṇī (edited and translated by Dr. Stein).
Rām.—Rāmāyana.
S.—Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata.
Śal.—Śalyaparva of the Mahābhārata.
Śān.—Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata.
SK.—Skandapurāṇa
SM.—Stein's Memoir on maps illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kashmir.
T. K.—Kalpataru on tīrthas (G. O. S.)
T. P.—Tīrthaprakāśa of Mitramiśra, part of Vīramitrodaya
T. S.—Tīrthasāra, part of Nṛsiṁhaprasāda (Sarasvatībhavan series, Benares).
U.—Udyogaparva of the Mahābhārata
V.—Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata.

Va.—Vāyupurāṇa
Vām.—Vāmanapurāṇa.
Var.—Varāhapurāṇa.
VD.—Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa.
V. Dh. S.—Viṣṇudharma-sūtra (ed. by Jolly).
Vi.—Viṣṇupurāṇa
Vik.—Vikramāṅka-deva-carita of Bilhaṇa (ed. by Bühler).
V. S.—Vārāṇasī.
Wilson—Translation of Viṣṇupurāṇa, edited by Dr. Hall (1864–1877).

LIST OF TĪRTHAS

A

Abjaka—(under Go.) B. 129. 137 (it is the heart of Godāvarī)

Acalā—(r. in Kāśmīra) HC 10.256 (near Anantahrada and Kārkoṭahrada)

Acaleśvara—L. I. 92. 165

Acchodā—(r. rising from Acchodaka lake) M 121. 7, Vā 47. 6, Br II. 18. 6 and III. 13. 80

Acchodaka—(a l. at the foot of mount Candraprabha) Vā 47. 5–6 and 77. 76, M 14.3 and 121. 7, Br. III. 13. 77

Aciravatī—(r. falling into Sarayū) one of the ten great rivers mentioned in 'Questions of Milinda' (SBE vol. 35 p. 171). It is Raptī in Oudh on which Śrāvastī was situated. Var. 214. 47

Acyutasthala—Vām. 34. 47. Vide under Yugandhara.

Ādarśa—held to be same as Vinaśana by many scholars. Vide under 'Vinaśana'. The Kāśikā on Pāṇ. IV. 2. 124 (Janapadatadavadbyośca) appears to hold Ādarśa as a Janapada and Bṛ. S. 14. 25 does the same.

Ādipāla—(a h. under Gayā). Vā 108. 65 (Gaṇeśa is there in the form of an elephant across Muṇḍapṛṣṭha), 109. 15

Adititīrtha—(under Gaṅgā). N. II, 40. 90

Ādityasya āśrama—V 83. 184, P. I. 27. 70

Adityatīrtha—**A** (on Sarasvatī) Śal. 49. 17, Devala q. by T. K. p. 250; **B** (on r. Sābhramatī) P. VI 167. 1 (near confluence with sea).

Ādityāyatana—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 77, K II. 41. 37–38, P. I. 18. 5 and 72.

Ādityeśa—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 5

Agastyapada—(under Gayā)—Ag. 116. 3, Vā 111. 53

Agastyasaras—V. 82. 44. It may be noted that Agastya is the reputed author of the Tamil language and the teacher of the author of the Tolkāppiyam, the oldest grammatical work extant (on Tamil). Vide JRAS. vol. 19 pp. 558–559 (New series)

Agastyāśrama—Vide Dey p. 2 for eight places so called (but he does not state authorities for all). **A** (on r. Durjayā) V 96. 1 (where demon Vātāpi was killed by Agastya); **B** V. Dh. S 85. 29, P I. 12. 4, V. 19. 198 (near Puṣkara); **C** (near Prayāga) V 87. 20; **D** (near Gokarṇa) V 88. 18; **E** (near Janasthāna and Pañcavaṭī about five yojanas from Sutīkṣṇāśrama) Rām. III. 11. 38–42, Raghu. XIII. 36. There is an ancient shrine of Agastya about one mile from Akola village in Nagar District beyond the Pravarā river; **F** (near the sea in Pāṇḍya country) Ādi 216. 3, 88. 13, 118. 4, 130. 6.—one of the five Nārītīrthas), Rām. IV. 41. 16 (on Malaya) and Bh. X. 79. 167.

Agastyatīrtha—(in Pāṇḍya country) V 88. 13

Agastyavaṭa—Ādi 215.2

Agastyeśvara—**A** (under Narmadā) M. 191.5; **B** (liṅga in VS) L q. by T. K. p. 116

Aghoreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 60

Agnidhārā—(under Gayā) V 84. 146, Ag. 116. 31.

Agnikuṇḍa—(on Sarasvatī) Vām. 51.52, Var. q. by T. K. p. 215.

Agniprabha—(under Gaṇḍakī) Var. 145. 52–55 (its water is hot in winter and cold in summer.)

Agnipura—Anu. 25. 43. Dey p. 2 says it is Māhiṣmatī. Vide Raghuvaṁśa VI. 42

Agnisaras—**A** (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 34–36 ; **B** (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 52

Agnisatyapada—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 7

Agniśiras—(along the Yamunā) V. 90. 5–7

Agnīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp. 66, 71

Agnitīrtha—**A** (on the southern bank of Yamunā) M 108. 27, P. I. 45.27 ; **B** (under VS) K. I. 35. 7, P. I. 37. 7 ; **C** (under Go.) B 98.1 ; **D** (on Sarasvatī) Śal. 47. 13–14, P I. 27.27 ; **E** (on north bank of Sābhramatī) P VI. 134. 1 ; **F** (under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 63

Ahaḥ—V. 83. 100

Ahalyāhrada—(near Gautama's āśrama) V 84. 109, P. I. 38. 26

Ahalyātīrtha—**A** (under Godāvarī); **B**. 87.1; **B** (under Narmadā) P. I. 18.84, M. 191. 90–92, K. II. 41. 43

Ailāpatra—A dikpāla-nāga (guardian of western quarter) in Kāśmīra. NM 1118 (modern Ailapatur)

Airāvatī—(The Hydraotes of Arrian, A. I. p. 190, Rāvī in the Punjab?). A r. on the border of Madradeśa rising in the Himālaya. M 115. 18–19, 116 1 and 6 and Devala q. by T. K. p. 249. Dey p. 73 is wrong in taking (in M 116.1) Haimavatī as a proper name, since in M 116. 6 the same river is called 'the eminent daughter of Himavat'

Ajabila—(under m. Śrīparvata). L. I. 92.153

Ajatuṅga—Vā 77. 48 (śrāddha here is highly efficacious and here the shadow of gods is seen on *parvan* days)

Ajeśvara—(a liṅga in VS) L. I. 92. 136

Ajiravatī—a r. referred to in Pāṇ. VI. 3. 119. Probably the same as Aciravatī above

Ākāśa—(under VS) K. I. 35.3, P.I. 37.3

Ākāśagaṅgā—**A** (under Gayā) Vā 112. 25, Ag. 116. 5 ; **B** (on m. Sahya) Nr 66.35 (sub-tīrtha of Āmalaka)

Ākāśaliṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 51

Akrūra—(under Mathurā) Var. 155.4–5 (name of a hamlet between Mathurā and Vṛndāvana)

Akṣavāla—(modern Achabal, a large village at west foot of a ridge which lines the Kutabar Pargana in Kāśmīra) R. I. 338, SM p. 180 (it has five springs). NM has the name Akṣipāla

Akṣayyakaraṇa Vaṭa—(in Prayāga). Vide p. 614 above and AG p. 389 for Hiouen Thsang's reference to it. V 87. 11, P. VI. 25. 7–8 (Viṣṇu is supposed to lie on its leaf at the end of the *kalpa*).

Akṣayyavaṭa—**A** (in Gayā, about half a mile from Viṣṇupada) V. 84. 83, 95. 14, Vā 105.45, 109.16,111. 79–82 (Viṣṇu in the form of a child lies on its end when the whole world is one mass of water), Ag. 115. 70, P. I. 38. 2; **B** (under Go. to the north of Vindhya) B. 161. 66–67 ; **C** (on Narmadā) BV, III. chap. 33, 30–32 (where Pulastya performed *tapas*).

Alābutīrtha—(under Viraja) B. 42. 6.

Alakanandā—Ādi 170. 22 (Gaṅgā is so called among gods). Acc. to Vā 41. 18, K. I. 46. 31, Vi. II. 2. 36 and II. 8. 114 it is one of the four streams of the Ganges and reaches the sea with seven mouths. Ādi 170. 19 speaks of the seven mouths. N. (II. 66. 4 ff.) states that the Ganges is called Alakanandā after it reaches the earth and begins to follow Bhagīratha's chariot. Bh. IV. 6.24 and V.17.5. The Bhāgīrathī is joined by Alakanandā at Devaprayāga and the combined stream is then called Gaṅgā. N. II. 67. 72–73 say that Bhāgīrathī and Alakanandā meet near Badarikā-

śrama. According to I. G. I. vol. XV p. 60 there are five sacred confluences of the Alakanandā with other rivers viz. with Bhāgīrathī (Devaprayāga), Nandaprayāga, Karṇaprayāga (confluence with Pindar river), Rudraprayāga (confluence with Mandākinī), Viṣṇuprayāga. Vide U. P. Gazetteer for Garhwal, vol. 36 pp. 2 and 140.

Aleśvara—see Brahmeśvara.

Alitīrtha—(under Narmadā) K. II. 42. 37.

Āmalaka—**A** (under Stutasvāmin in U. P.) Var. 148. 67 ff; **B** (between Brahmagiri and Vedagiri peaks of the Sahya m.) TS p. 78.

Āmalakagrāma—(on m. Sahya) Nr. chap. 66. 7 ff. q. by T. K. p. 254. Dey p. 4 suggests that it is on the north bank of the Tāmraparṇī.

Amarakahrada—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. P. 53.

Amarakaṇṭaka—(m. in the Bilaspur District of Central Provinces). Vide p. 705–6 above. Vā (77. 10–11 and 15–16), V. Dh.S. 85.6 highly eulogise śrāddha on this m. M 188. 79, P. I. 15. 68 69 state that the 2nd of the three *puras* of Bāṇa burnt by Śiva fell on this m. K.II.40.36 (high merit of visiting it when there is an eclipse of the sun or moon)

Amarakeśvara—Liṅga (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 53

Āmardaka—Vide T. S. pp. 21–30 quoting SK. It is a Śivakṣetra, one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas and is so called because sins are crushed here (āmardeyāni pāpāni tasmād-āmardakam matam). On p. 22 of TS there is quotation from SK that in the four yugas it was respectively called Jyotirmaya, Mukti, Sparśa and Nāgeśvara. It is said to be a liṅga on p. 22, Vide Victor Cousins' 'Medieval temples of the Dakhan' pp. 77–78 for a description of the temple of Nāganātha and plates CXIII–CXV for the front of the great temple and portions of the wall and pillars of the porch and of the Hall. This is probably the same as Āvandhyā Nāganātha (Aundha in Survey of India maps) about 25 miles north-east of Parabhaṇī in the Hydarabad State.

Amareśa—**A** (on Narmadā) M. 186.2; **B** (liṅga in VS) L. I. 92.37

Amareśvara—**A** (on m. Niṣadha) Vām. q. by T. K. p. 236; **B** (under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92.151; **C** NM 1535, Rāj. I. 267 (yātrā to famous cave of Amaranātha where Śiva is worshipped in liṅga-shaped ice-block. This pilgrimage is now most popular in Kāśmīra. Ain. A. vol. II. p. 360 describes it and states that from New Moon the image increases in size for 15 days and decreases with waning moon)

Ambājanma (to east of Saraka) V. 83. 81 (it is Nāradatīrtha)

Ambarīṣeśvara—(under VS) L.q. by T. K. p. 118

Ambikātīrtha—L. I. 92. 166

Ambikāvana—(on r. Sarasvatī). Bh. X. 34. 1–2

Amlu—(a very holy r. in Kurukṣetra) Vām. 34. 7

Amohaka—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 105, P. I. 18. 96–99 (Tapeśvara was so called and there were boulders as big as elephants)

Āmrātakeśvara—(under VS) M. 22. 51, 181.28, Ag. 112. 3

Aṁśumatī—(r.). Ṛg. VIII. 96. 13–15 (on which stayed an *asura* called Kṛṣṇa). According to Bṛhad-devatā (VI. 110) it was in the Kuru country; Rām. II. 55. 6 (near Yamunā).

Ānanda—Vide under Nanditaṭa.

Ānandapura—(under VS) K. I. 35. 15, P. I. 37. 18.

Ananta—a Vaiṣṇava-kṣetra acc. to Bārhaspatyasūtra III. 120, Br. III. 13. 58.

Anantabhavana or Anantahrada—HC X. 253, 256 (now called Anantanāga, about one krośa from Maḍavā-

vartanāga in the middle of the Vitastā river in Kāśmīra.

Anantanāga—(not far from Puṇyodā). NM 1401-2. It is called Islamabad now and is at the foot of the western extremity of the Mārtāṇḍa plateau in Kāśmīra. SM p. 178

Anantaśayana—(Padmanābha in Travancore) P. VI. 110.8, VI. 280. 19

Anantatīrtha—(under Mathurā). Var. 155. 1

Anaraka—**A** (under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 41. 22-24; **B** (under Narmadā) M. 193. 1-3, K. II. 41. 91-92; **C** (to the west of Yamunā) also called Dharmarājatīrtha—K.I. 39.5, P.I. 27.56

Anarakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 113.

Anaśaka—Var. 215. 89

Anasūyā-liṅga—(north of Gopreksa, under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 42

Andha—(a *nada*). Bh. V. 19 18, Devī Bhāgavata VIII. 11. 16 (andhaśoṇau mahānadau); Dey (pp 7 and 47) says it is the river Chāndan or 'Andhelā' which falls into the Gaṅgā in Bhagalpur

Andhakeśa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 65.

Andhona—(under Narmadā). P.I. 18, 110-113

Aṅgabhūta—(a tīrtha sacred to pitṛs) M. 22. 51

Aṅgārakuṇḍa (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 56

Aṅgāravāhika—M. 22.35

Aṅgāreśvara—**A** (under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp 55 and 98; **B** (under Narmadā) M. 190.9, P. I. 17.6

Aṅgārakeśvara—**A** (under Gayā) Ag. 116.29; **B** (under Narmadā) K. II 41.6

Aṅgāreśa (under Narmadā) M. 191.59 (probably the same as above)

Āṅgirasatīrtha (under Narmadā) K. II. 41. 31-33, P. I. 18.50

Āṅgirasesa (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 117

Anitabha (r.) Ṛg. V. 53.9

Añjalikāśrama—Anu. 25. 52

Añjana (a m. near Brahmagiri, under Go.) B. 84. 2. Vide under Paiśācatīrtha; Br. S. 14.5 says Añjana is m. in the east

Añjasī—(r.) Ṛg. I. 104. 4

Aṅkola (under Narmadā) highly praised in M. 191. 118—122. Probably modern town of Ankleśvar in Broach District. A. G. p. 322 identifies Akrūreśvara with Anklesar on left bank of the Narmadā. Vide I A. 54 pp. 11-12

Aṅkuśeśvara (under Narmadā) M. 194.1

Annakūṭa (under Mathurā) Var. 164. 10 and 22-23 (Govardhana was called Annakūṭa)

Antakeśvara (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 75

Antarvedi (holy land between Gaṅgā and Yamunā) SK. I. 1.17. 274-275 (where brahmahatyā due to the killing of Vṛtra fell)

Antaśilā (r. rising in Vindhya) Vā. 45. 103

Antikeśvara (under VS) N. II. 49. 6-9

Anūpā (r. rising from Ṛkṣavat m.) Br. II. 16.28

Anyataḥ-plakṣa-name of a lotus lake in Kurukṣetra (Śat. Br. in SBE, vol. 44 p. 70)

Āpagā—one of the seven (or nine) very holy rivers under Kurukṣetra—V. 83. 68, Vām. 34.7, P. I. 36.1-6 and Vām. 36. 1-4 (one krośa to the east of Mānuṣa), NM 158. Is it the same as Āpayā? Vide A. G. p. 185 where it is identified with the Ayak Nadī, a small stream rising in Jammu hills to the north-east of Sialkot. Cunningham (ASR of India, vol. XIV pp. 88-89) says that Āpagā or Oghavatī is a branch of the Chitang.

Apām-prapatana-Anu. 25.28

Aparanandā—(near Hemakūṭa) Ādi. 215.7, 110.1, Anu. 166.28. Dey (p. 9) says it is the same as Alakanandā.

Āpastambatīrtha (under Go.) B. 130.1

Āpayā—(a r. probably a tributary of the Sarasvatī between it and Dṛṣadvatī) Ṛg. III. 23.4. Thomas suggests that it is the same as Aughavatī (JRAS vol. 15 p. 362 n. 5)

Apsaras-kuṇḍa—(under Mathurā and Govardhana) Var. 164. 19

Apsareśa—(under Narmadā) M. 194.16, P. I. 21.16, K. II. 42.24

Apsaroyugasaṅgama—(under Go.) B. 147.1

Arantuka—a dvārapāla. V. 83. 52 (vide p. 683 note 1551).

Aravinda—(a h. under Gayā). Vā. 109. 15, N. II. 47.83 (reads Aravindavara)

Arbuda—(m. Abu in the Aravali range in the Sirohi State) V. 82. 55–56 (there was Vasiṣṭha's āśrama), M. 22. 38, P. I. 24.4, N. II. 60.27, Ag. 109. 10. It is one of the five sacred hills of the Jainas, the other four being Śatruñjaya, Samet, Śikhara, Girnar and Candragiri. It is identified with Ptolemy's Apokopa (p. 76). There was a fire-pit thereon from which arose a warrior Paramāra, founder of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa. Vide E. I. vol. IX. p. 10 (of Vikrama 1099) and E. I. vol. 19 Appendix p. 22 No 133 of *saṁvat* 1116

Arbudasarasvatī—(r. sacred to pitṛs) M. 22.38

Ārcīkaparvata—V. 125.16 (where Cyavana and Sukanyā dwelt)

Ardhacandra—(under Mathurā) Var. 169. 3.

Ardhakīla—founded by Darbhin near Sarasvaty-aruṇā-saṅgama. V. 83. 153–157

Arghyatīrtha—G. I. 81. 7

Ariṣṭakuṇḍa—(under Mathurā) Var. 164. 30 (where Ariṣṭa was slain)

Ārjīkīyā—(r.) Ṛg. X. 75. 5. Nir. IX. 26 states that the river was called Vipāś (modern Beas) and Vipāś was originally Uruñjirā

Arjuna—(a tīrtha sacred to pitṛs) M. 22. 43.

Arjunīyā (r.) Devala q. by T. K. p. 249. Prof. K. V. R. Aiyangar (T. K. p. 283) following Dey p. 11 holds it identical with Bāhudā, but the passage from Devala (on T. K. p. 249) shows that Arjunīyā and Bāhudā are separately enumerated

Arkakṣetra—same as Koṇārka

Arkasthala-kuṇḍa (under Mathurā) Var. 157.11, 160.20

Ārṣabha—see under Ṛṣabha

Ārṣṭiṣenāśrama—Anu. 25. 55

Aruṇā-sarasvatīsaṅgama—three miles to the north-east of Pṛthūdaka-P. I. 27. 39, Śal. 43.30–31 and 42, Vām. 40.43

Aruṇa—(m. on the other or west side of Kailāsa where Bhava dwells) Vā. 47. 17–18, Br. II. 18.18

Aruṇā—A. (r. between Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī near Pṛthūdaka) Śal. 43. 30–35. Sarasvatī joined itself to Aruṇā to cleanse the rākṣasas of sins and Indra of brāhmaṇa murder; B. (a branch of the Kauśikī) V. 84.156; vide Journal of A. S. of Bengal, vol. 17 pp. 646–649 on the seven Kosis in Nepal of which the Aruṇā is the most important; C. (under Go.) B. 89. 1, P. VI. 176. 59. Vide. Bom. G. vol. XVI p. 463 for Aruṇā stream.

Aruṇā-varuṇā-saṅgama—(under Gautamī) B. 89.1 and P. VI. 176. 59

Arundhatī-vaṭa—V. 84.41, P. I. 32. 6

Aruṇīśa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p 60

Āryāvarta—The Amarakośa speaks of it as the holy land (puṇyabhūmi) between the Himavat and Vindhya mountains. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 11–16 for detailed discussion of the extent of Āryāvarta according to different works and at different times

Āṣāḍha—liṅga (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 93

Āṣāḍhītīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 30

Āśāliṅga—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92 148.

Asi—(r. under Banaras) also called Suṣkanadī. Vide pp. 627, 637 above.

Asiknī—(a r. now called Chenab) Ṛg. VIII. 20. 25, X. 75. 5. Nirukta IX. 26 observes that it was so called because its water was dark-coloured; later it was called Candrabhāgā. This was the Acekines of the Greeks. Vide Bh. V. 19. 18

Asikuṇḍa—(under Mathurā) Var. 163. 13; Var. chap. 166 deals with the efficacy of Asikuṇḍa

Asita—(a m. in the west) V. 89. 11–12 (on this m. Cyavana and Kakṣasena had their āśramas).

Asitā—(r. where yogācārya Asita dwelt). A place fit for śrāddha, Vā. 77.39, Br. III. 13. 39

Asitagiri—(where yogācārya Asita dwelt) Br. III. 13. 39

Aśmanvatī—(r). Ṛg. X. 53. 8. The Āśv. gṛ. (I. 8. 2–3) provides that the first half of the verse is to be employed as a mantra when a newly married girl boards a boat and the latter half when she crosses the river and gets down. Dey p. 13 says that it is the river Oxus. He assigns no reasons and I do not accept his view.

Aśmapṛṣṭha—(a holy stone slab in Gayā, even now called Pretaśilā). Anu. 25. 42

Aśokatīrtha—(near Sūrpāraka) V. 88. 13

Astamana—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 191

Aṣṭavakra—(four miles from Haridvāra) Anu. 25.41. Vide Dey p. 12

Asthipura—(under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 27.62. It is to the west of Thāneśvara and south of Aujasa-ghāṭ. Here the bodies of the warriors slain in the Bhārata war were collected and cremated. Vide A. S. R. vol. 14 pp. 86-106 and A. G. p. 336 where it is mentioned that Hiouen Thsang was shown bones of very large size.

Āsurīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 67

Aśvamedha—(under Prayāga) Ag. 111. 14

Aśvaśiras—(in the story of Nala). V. 79. 21

Aśvatīrtha—A (not far from Kānyakubja) V. 95.3. Anu. 4.17, Vi. IV. 7.15 (where sage Ṛcīka gave 1000 horses as bride-price to Gādhi for the latter's daughter Satyavatī). Kālikā 85. 51–57; B (under Narmadā) M. 194. 3, P. I. 21. 3; C (on Go.) B. 89. 43 (where the two Aśvins were born)

Aśvatthatīrtha—K. II. 35.38—where Nārāyaṇa resides in the form of Hayaśiras (location is not clear)

Aśvinī—Anu. 25. 21 (on the Devikā river)

Aśvinos-tīrtha—(under Kurukṣetra) V. 83.17, P. I. 26. 15 (same words as in V).

Aśvīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 52

Aṭavītīrtha—(under Narmadā) P. I. 21. 30

Atibala—(Mahābaleśvara in Satara District) P VI. 113.29

Ātmatīrtha—(under Go.) B. 117.1

Ātreyatīrtha—(on north bank of Go.) B. 140.1

Atri's āśrama—(after Citrakūṭa) Rām II. 117.5

Atrīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43

Aṭṭahāsa—A (m. in Himālayas) Vā. 23. 191; B (a tīrtha sacred to pitṛs) M. 22.68; C (a liṅga in VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 47

Auddālakatīrtha—V 84. 161

Audyānakatīrtha—P. I. 38.68

Aujasa—(under Kurukṣetra) V. Dh. S. 85. 52, Vām. 22.51 and 57.51

Aupamanyava—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 97

Ausaja—A—V.Dh.S. 85.52 (Sūrpāraka, acc. to com. Vaijayantī). Jolly (SBE, vol. 7. p. 259 gives a different reading Aujasa, and queries whether it may not be Auśija; B (a boundary of Samantapañcaka) Vām. 22. 51 (Rantukād Aujasam cāpi)

Auśanasa—(an eminent tīrtha on Sarasvatī) same as Kapālamocana. V. 83.135, M. 22.31, Śal. 39.4 and 16-22, P. I. 27. 24-26, Vām. 39.1 and 14 (where Uśanas got sidhhi and became planet Venus), 42.24

Auśīraparvata—Vā. 77.29

Avadhūta—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 93

Avakīrṇa—(under Kurukṣetra and Sarasvatī) Vām. 39. 24-35 (story of Baka Dālbhya who begged of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and when condemned by the latter made the whole of Dhṛtarāṣṭra's country an *āhuti* in Pṛthūdaka), Śal. 41.1, P. I. 27. 41-45 (where it is Darbhin who is mentioned as bringing the four seas)

Avanti—**A** (country of which Ujjayinī was capital) Pāṇ IV. 1.176 ('striyām—*avanti*-kunti-kurubhyaś-ca)', Raghuvaṁśa VI. 32 ; S 31. 10 (Vindānuvindāvāvantyau), Udyoga 166.6 (same words as in S); **B** Avantī (river starting from m. Pāriyātra) Vā. 45.98, M. 114.24, Br. II. 16.29; **C** (the capital of Mālava, Ujjayinī) B. 43.24, Ag. 109. 24 (Avantī paramam tīrtham), N. II. 78. 35-36 (several names such as Viśālā, Amarāvatī, Kuśasthalī, Kanakaśṛṅgā, Padmāvatī, Kumudvatī, Ujjayinī). Vide also L. I. 92. 7-8 and B. 194.19 (Sāndīpani, teacher of Kṛṣṇa, dwelt in Avantipura). The Meghadūta (I. 30) speaks of Ujjayinī as Viśālā; Kāśīkhaṇḍa 7.92 'pāpād-avantī sā viśvam-avantīti nigadyate । yuge yugeśnyanāmnī kalāvujjayanīti ca ॥). Vide under Mahākāla

Avaṭodā—(r.) Bh. V. 19.18

Avighnatīrtha—(on north bank of Go.) B. 114.25

Avimukta—(same as Kāśī) V. 84. 79-80, Vi. V. 34.30 and 43. Vide pp. 618-642 above

Avimukteśvara—(liṅga in VS) L. I. 92 6 and 105, N. II. 49. 53-55 (where cocks are honoured)

Ayodhyā— (in Fyzabad District in U. P.) on the Ghāgrā. One of the seven holy cities (vide p. 678n above). It is also a place of pilgrimage for Jains, as some of their saints were born there. Atharvaveda X. 2. 31 and Tai. A. I. 27.2 (aṣṭācakrā navadvārā devānām pūr-Ayodhyā । tasyām hiraṇyayaḥ kośaḥ svargo loko Jyotiṣāvṛtaḥ ॥), V 60. 24-25 and 70. 2 (capital of king Ṛtuparṇa and of Rāma), Br. IV. 40. 91, Ag. 109. 24 (Ayodhyā pāpanāśanī). According to Rām. I. 5. 5-7 the country of Kosala had Sarayū flowing through it; Ayodhyā, 12 yojanas long and three broad, was Kosala capital founded by Manu. Kosala was one of the 16 *mahājanapadas* of India in ancient times (vide Aṅguttara Nikāya, vol. IV. p. 252). Later on, Kosala was divided into two, viz. Uttara Kosala and Dakṣiṇa Kosala divided by the Sarjū or Ghāgrā river. The Raghuvaṁśa holds Ayodhyā to be capital of Uttarakosala (VI. 71 and IX. 1). Vide also Vā. 88. 20 ff. for a long line of kings of Ayodhyā from Ikṣvāku and P. VI. 208. 46-47 (for Dakṣiṇa Kośala and Uttara Kośala). Sāketa is generally identified with Ayodhyā. Vide T. P. p. 496 (gives its boundaries from SK) and under Sāketa. Dr. B. C. Law contributes a well-documented and learned paper on 'Ayodhyā' to J. of the Ganganath Jha. R. Society, vol. I. pp. 423-443

Ayogasiddhi—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 98

Ayonisaṅgama—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 58

B

Babbrutīrtha—(where the Mahī river falls into the sea) SK I. 2. 13. 107

Badarī—(a holy place on Gandhamādana where there was the hermitage of Nara and Nārāyaṇa) V. 90.25-32, 141.23, 177.8, Śānti 127.2-3, Bh. IX. 3. 36 and XI. 29. 41 (Nārāyaṇā-

'śrama); M. 22. 73 (very fit for śrāddha), P. VI. 2. 1-7 (there is no *pūjā* in Dakṣiṇāyana as the mountain is covered with snow). Also called Viśālā. Vide I. G. I. vol. VI pp. 179-180 for description. The temple of Badrīnāth is on the right bank of the Alakanandā.

Badarikā—A. Vām. 2. 42-43; B. (near Mahendra m.), P.I.39. 13, V.85. 13; C. (somewhere in southern Gujarat). Vide E. I. vol. 25 Ellora plates of Dantidurga (pp. 25, 29)

Badarikāśrama—A. (Badrīnāth in Garhwal, U. P.) Var. 141 (7 verses from it are quoted in T. K. pp. 215-216); Parāśarasmṛti I. 5 states that Parāśara, father of Vyāsa, resided in this āśrama; M. 201. 24 says Mitra and Varuṇa practised *tapas* here; Vi. V. 37. 34 (this āśrama was on Gandhamādana and was the abode of Nara-Nārāyaṇa), Br. III. 25. 67 (same as in Vi); N. II. 67 (describes it at length and specifies the sub-tīrthas); N. II. 67. 26 (says it is on Viśālā river); Bh. VII. 11.6; B (at a short distance from Madhuvana on Yamunā) P VI. 212. 1 and 43.

Badarīvana—P. I. 27. 66

Badarīpācana-tīrtha—V. 83. 179, Sal. 47. 33 and 48. 1 and 51 (Vasiṣṭha had his āśrama here).

Bagalā—(a Devīsthāna). Vide under Vaidyanātha.

Bāhudā—(a river near Sarasvatī), Anu. 165, 27, P. I. 32.31, N. II. 60.30, B. 27. 26, M. 114.22 and Vā. 45.95 (say it rises in Himavat). V. 84. 67 and 87, 27. Vide Dey. p. 16 for differing views on identification and Pargiter (pp. 291-292 note); Vā. 88. 66 states that Yuvanāśva cursed his wife Gaurī who became Bāhudā. Amarakośa gives Saltavāhinī as a synonym of Bāhudā and Kṣīrasvāmin comments that it was brought down by Kārtavīrya (who was called Bahuda, one who donated much).

Bahulavana—(under Mathurā) Var. 157.8

Bahunetra—(a tīrtha on the Narmadā to be visited on trayodaśī) M 191. 14

Bāhyā—(r. rising from Sahya) Br. II. 16. 35.

Bakulāsaṅgama—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 133. 27.

Bakulavana (or Bahulao)—(5th *vana* out of 12 under Mathurā) Var. 153. 36. Vide p. 690 above

Balabhadraliṅga—(under VS.) L. q. by T. K. p. 46.

Balākā—Anu. 25. 19 (kanyākūpa upaspṛśya Balākāyām kṛtodakaḥ)

Bālakeśvara—(under VS.) L. q. by T. K. p. 43

Balākeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191 19

Bālapa or Bālapendra—(on bank of Sābhramatī) P. VI. 145.1, 24 and 37 (a Ravikṣetra)

Baleśvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 148

Balikuṇḍa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 76

Bāṇagaṅgā—(under Sālagrāma) Var. 144.63 (Rāvaṇa exposed it by shooting an arrow to the south of Someśvara)

Bāṇatīrtha—A (under Go.) B.123. 214; B (under Narmadā) K. II. 41. 9-10

Bāṇeśvara-liṅga (under VS) SK. Kāśīkhaṇḍa 33. 139, L. q. by T. K. p. 48

Bañjulā—(probably same as Vañjulā, which see) Br. II. 16. 31 (Bañjulā from Ṛkṣa), Br. II. 16. 34 (B. from Sahya), Br. II. 16. 37 (B. from Mahendra)

Bārhaspatya-tīrtha—(under Go.) B. 122. 101

Bhadrā—A (one of the four branches of the heavenly Ganges) Vi. II. 2. 34, Bh. V. 17. 5, Vām. 51.52; B (the river on which Harihara is situated) Nr. 65. 18

Bhadradoha—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 52

Bhasmakūṭādri—(under Gayā) Vā. 109. 15

Bhāskarakṣetra—(Koṇārka) Mit. on Yāj. III. 17 quotes a verse 'Gaṅgāyām Bhāskarakṣetre &c.' (q. on p. 574 above); T. C. p. 16 and Prāyaścittatattva (p. 493) say that Prayāga is Bhāskarakṣetra, while T.S. p. 20 says it is Koṇāditya or Koṇārka. This is the correct view. M. 111. 13 and K. I. 36. 20 say 'Prayāga is Prajāpatikṣetra.' Vide p. 574 above. Dey p. 32 simply follows Prāyaścittatattva

Bhāvatīrtha—(under Go.) B. 153.1

Bhedādevī—(near Gaṅgodbheda)—the modern Budabror, west of Śrīnagara, in Kāśmira; NM 1522

Bhedagiri—(sanctified by the Gaṅgodbheda spring) R. I. 35, SM. pp. 186–187

Bhillatīrtha—(on south bank of Go.) B. 169.1

Bhīma—(r.)—same as Bhīmarathī, rising from Sahya m. and tributary of Kṛṣṇā. Devala q. by T. K. p. 250. Its source is adorned by the temple of Bhīmaśaṅkara, one of the twelve Jyotir-liṅgas and it falls into the Kṛṣṇā river 16 miles north of Raichur

Bhīmādevī—(modern village Brān in Phāk *Pargana* on east shore of Ḍal lake in Kāśmīra) R. II. 135, HC. 4. 47

Bhīmarathī—same as Bhīmā. M. 22. 45, 114.29, B. 27.35, P. I. 24.32, Bhī. 9. 20, V. 87. 3, Vām. 13. 30. The Vakkaleri plate of Kīrtivarma II in *śake* 679 (757 A. D.) mentions Bhīmarathī (E. I. vol. V. p. 200 at p. 204)

Bhīmasvāmin—Rock in Kaśmīra worshipped as embodiment of Gaṇeśa, SM. p. 148

Bhīmatīrtha—Ag. 109.12

Bhīmāyāḥ sthānam—V. 82. 84. Dey p. 33 identifies it with Takta-i-Bahai, 28 miles to the north-east of Peshawar

Bhīmeśvara—(tīrtha sacred to Pitṛs under Narmadā) M. 22, 46 and 75, 191. 5, K. II. 41. 20 and II. 44.15, P. I. 18. 5

Bhīṣmacaṇḍika—(under VS) M 183. 62

Bhīṣmeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66

Bhogavatī or Vāsukitīrtha—**A** (under Prayāga). It is called the altar of Prajāpati; V. 85.77 (tīrtham Bhogavatī caiva vedir-eṣā Prajāpateḥ), M. 106.46 and 110. 8, Ag. 111. 5, N. II. 63.95; **B** capital of Kakustha of the Ikṣvāku race; Kal. 50.4

Bhṛgu—āśrama (on the north bank of Narmadā) SK I. 2.3, 2–6

Bhṛgukaccha—(on the north bank of Narmadā), vide under Bharukaccha. Here Bali performed Aśvamedha; Bh. VIII. 18.2

Bhṛgukuṇḍa—(under Stutasvāmin) Var. 148.48

Bhṛgutīrtha—(under Narmadā) M 193. 23–60, K. II. 42. 1–6, P. I. 20.23–57. Dey p. 34 says it is Bheraghat containing temple of 64 Yoginīs, 12 miles to the west of Jabalpur; V. 99.34–35 (at this place Paraśurāma regained his energy taken away by Rāma)

Bhṛgutuṅga—(an āśrama on a mountain where Bhṛgu practised penance). **A**—Vā. 23. 148 and 77.82, V. 84.50, 90. 23, 130. 191; **B** V.Dh.S. 85.16, K. II. 20.33, M. 22.31 (a place very fit for śrāddha), which is near Amarakaṇṭaka acc. to Nanda Paṇḍita and acc. to others in the Himālaya; **C** (on the eastern bank of the Gaṇḍak) Var. 146 45–46; **D** (in Gurjaradeśa) SK., Kāśīkhaṇḍa 6. 25; **E** (near Vitastā and Himavat) Vām. 81. 33

Bṛhaspatikuṇḍa—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151.55

Bhṛṅgīśvara-liṅga—(under VS) SK. Kāśīkhaṇḍa 33. 129 and L. q. by T. K. p. 84

Bhūmicaṇḍeśvara—(under VS) Ag. 112.4

Bhūmitīrtha—Ag. 109. 12

Bhūtālayatīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P VI. 158. 1 (where r. Candanā becomes prācī). Vām. 34. 47 mentions it, but its location is uncertain

Bhūteśvara-A (in Kashmir, now called Buthiser) NM 1309, 1324, 1327, R. I.107. II. 148, HC 4.85. This is included in Nandikṣetra. Bhūteśa Śiva's residence is on a mountain spur which stretches south-east from Haramukha peaks. Ain. A. vol. II. p.364 refers to it; B (under VS) K.I. 35.10, P. I. 37.13; C (under Mathurā) Var. 169.19

Bhuvaneśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 56

Bilapatha—(from where the Vitastā or Zhelum starts) HC 12. 15-17. Vide under Nīlakuṇḍa

Bilvācala—A Vaiṣṇava-kṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 120

Bilvaka—(a very fit place for śrāddha) V. Dh. S. 85.52, M. 22. 70, K. II. 20. 33, Anu. 25. 13, N. II. 40.79

Bilvapatraka—P. VI. 129.11 (one of the 12 tīrthas of Śiva)

Bilvavana—(10th out of the 12 *vanas* of Mathurā) Var. 153.42

Binduka—V. Dh. S. 85. 12 (some editions read Bilvaka)

Bindumādhava—(in VS) M. 185. 68, SK IV. 33. 148, N. II 29. 61, P. VI. 131. 48

Bindusaras—A (on Maināka m. near Badarī) V. 145.44, Bhī. 6. 43-46, Br. II. 18. 31, M. 121. 26 and 31-32 (where Bhagīratha, Indra and Nara-Nārāyaṇa practised *tapas*), Bh. III. 21-33 and 39-44 (description); B (under VS) Śiva bathed in it and the *kapāla* of Brahmā that had stuck to his hand dropped from it and it became Kapālamocanatīrtha) N. II. 29. 59-60; C (under Ekāmraka) B. 41. 52-54 (it is so called because Rudra collected drops of water from all holy places and filled it therewith); D (in Kāśmīra) it is a *dikpāla* in the east of the country, according to NM 1116-1117.

Bindutīrtha—same as Pañcanada, which see.

Bodhitaru—(the Bo tree at Buddha Gayā) P. VI. 117.30. *Vide* under Mahābodhitaru. At the Bharhut stūpa (about 200 B. C.) there is a bas-relief showing the Vajrāsana throne of Buddha with the view of the Bodhi tree and an inscription 'bhagavato Sakamunino Bodhi'; *vide* 'Mahābodhi' by Cunningham, p. 3. The Bodhi tree is said to have been cut down by king Śaśāṅka of Bengal in 600 A. D., but restored about 620 A.D. by king Pūrṇavarman. Vide A. G. pp. 453-459 for Bodh Gayā and p. 459 for Bodhitaru.

Brahmagiri—A. (m. from which Godāvarī rises on which Gautama had his hermitage) B. 74. 25-26, 84. 2, P. VI. 176. 58; B (the highest peak of Sahya and as a tīrtha under Kṛṣṇaveṇyā) T. S. p. 78

Brahmahrada—Bh. X. 28. 16-17 (probably used in a secondary sense), Br. III. 13. 52

Brahmakṣetra—(Kurukṣetra) V 83. 4-6, Vā 59. 106 and 107 and 97. 5

Brahmakuṇḍa—A (under Badarī) Var. 141. 4-6; B (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 71 (where four Vedadhārās fall from Himalaya); C (under Gayā) Vā. 110.8

Brahmakūpa—(under Gayā) Vā. 111.25 and 31, Ag. 115. 37

Brahmanadī—(Sarasvatī is so called) Bh. IX. 16. 23

Brāhmaṇakuṇḍikā—(a tīrtha in Kāśmīra) NM. 1499, 1501

Brahmaṇas-tīrtha—V. 83. 113, P. I. 27.2 (Brahmaṇaḥ sthānam), P. I. 38. 20

Brāhmaṇī—(probably the Bāmanī, that falls into the Chambal) V. 84. 58

Brāhmaṇikā—(near Naimiṣa forest) P. I. 32.22

Brahmānusvara—(under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 26. 67

Brahmapada—(under Goniṣkramaṇa) Var. 147. 36

Brahmaputra—same as Lauhitya, which see

Brahmāraṇya—(under Gayā) P. I. 38.5

Brahmasaras—**A** (near Thanesar) Vā. 77. 51, M. 22. 12, Vām. 22. 55–60 and 49. 38–39. This lake is known by various names, viz. Brahmasaras, Rāmahrada or Pavanasaras &c.; **B** (under Gayā) V. 84. 85 (dharmāraṇyopaśobhita) and 95. 11, Anu. 25. 58, Ag. 115. 38, Vā. 111. 30, ; **C** (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 37–39; **D** (under Sānandūra) Var. 150. 20

Brahmaśiras—(under Gayā) K. II. 37. 38, N. II. 44. 66 (there is Brahmayūpa there)

Brahmasthāna—V. 83. 71, 85. 35, P. I. 27. 2

Brahmasthūṇa—P. I. 39. 33

Brahmatāreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 88

Brahmatīrtha—**A** (under VS) K. I. 35. 9, II. 37. 28, P. I. 37. 9–12 (Viṣṇu established it in the name of Brahmā); **B** (under Gayā) P. I. 38. 69, N. II. 45. 102, Ag. 115. 36; **C** (under Go.) B. 113. 1 and 23, Br. III. 13. 56; **D** (on Sarasvatī) Bh. X. 78.19

Brahmatuṅga—Ag. 109. 12, P. I. 24.28

Brahmatuṇḍahrada or Brahmatuṅgahrada—Br. III. 13.73, Vā. 77.71–73 (śrāddha, japa, homa yield inexhaustible results here)

Brahmavallī-tīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 137.1

Brahmavālukā—V. 82. 106, P. I. 25. 13

Brahmāvarta—**A** (holy land between Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī) Manu II. 17, Kal. 49. 71. The Meghadūta I. 48 (Nir. ed.) shows that Kurukṣetra was part of Brahmāvarta. It is a holy tīrtha. V. 83. 53–54, 84. 43, M. 22. 69, Ag. 109. 17; **B** (under Narmadā) M. 190. 7, 191. 70, P. I. 17. 5

Brahmayoni—**A** (on Sarasvatī)—same as Pṛthūdaka, Vām. 39.20 and 23; **B** (under Gayā) V. 83.140 and 84.95, P. I. 27.29, N. II. 47. 54, Vā. 108.83 (brahmayonim praviśyātha nirgacched yastu mānavaḥ। paraṃ brahma sa yātiha vimukto yonisaṅkaṭāt). Vide AG. p. 458 which states that a small temple now occupies the site of Aśoka's stūpa and p. 646 note 1470 above

Brahmayūpa—(under Gayā) Vā. 111. 31–33, Ag. 115.39

Brahmeśvaraliṅga—**A** (under Śrīparvata) K. II. 41.18, L. I. 92. 159–160 (also called Aleśvara); **B** (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115

Brahmodara—Vām. 36. 7–8

Brahmodaya—(to the south of Vāgmatī) Var. 215.102

Brahmodbheda—Var. 215.91

Brahmodumbara—V. 83.71

Bṛhadvana—(near Gokula where Nandagopa kept his cattle) Bh. X. 5. 26, X. 7. 33

Budbudā—(r. rising in the Himālaya) Br. II. 16. 25–26

Budheśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp. 55, 97

C

Caitraka—M. 110.2

Caitraratha—(a *vana*) Vā. 47.6 (on the banks of the Acchodā river), Br. II. 18. 7. Here Devī is called Madotkaṭā; M. 13.28

Cakra—(near Sarasvatī) Bh. X. 78.19

Cakradhara—(Viṣṇusthāna in Kaśmīra, now known in a corrupt form as Tskdar or Chākdhar) R. I. 38. It is a tīrtha of great sanctity, about a mile to the west of Bijbror (ancient Vijayeśvara). Vide K. R. p. 18 and SM. p. 171 (Cakradhara and Vijayeśa-Śiva are two images located close to each other). HC calls it Cakratīrtha (7.61) and also Cakradhara (7. 64)

Cakrasthita—(under Mathurā) Var. 169.3

Cakrasvāmin—(under Sālagrāma) Var. 145. 38 (cakrāṅkitaśilās-tatra dṛśyante)

Cakratīrtha—A (under Saukaratīrtha) Var. 137. 19; B (under Āmalakagrāma) Nr. 66. 22; C (under Setu) SK. III. Brahmakhaṇḍa, chap. 3-5; D (in Kāśmīra) also called Cakradhara (which see); E (on Go.) B. 86 1, 109. 1, 134. 1 (6 miles from Tryambaka)—though thrice mentioned, it appears to be one tīrtha; F (under Mathurā) Var. 162.43; G (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 42.5, 57.89, 81.3; vide A. G. p. 336 and under Asthipura; H (under Dvārakā) TP. pp. 536-537, Var. 159.58

Cakravāka—(a tīrtha sacred to *pitṛs*) M. 22.42

Cakrāvarta—(under Mandāra) Var. 143. 36-38 (a deep lake)

Cakreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 52

Cakṣus—(r. from Himālaya, a branch of Gaṅgā) M. 121.23, Vā. 47.21 and 39, Br. II. 16.20, Bh. V. 17.5. Dey p. 43 holds that Cakṣus is the river Oxus or Amu Daria and relies on Matsya 120-121 (of Ānandāśrama edition), which however does not help at all. It is strange that Dey on p. 13 also holds that Aśmanvatī is the river Oxus

Cakṣus—tīrtha (on south bank of Go.) B. 170.1

Camasa or Camasodbheda—A (where Sarasvatī appears again after disappearing in the desert) V. 82. 112, 130. 5 (eṣa vai Camasodbhedo yatra dṛśyā Sarasvatī), P I. 25. 18; B (under Prabhāsa) Sal. 35. 87, V. 88.20

Camatkārapura—(same as Ānandapura in modern Ahmedabad District) SK. VI. chap. 1-13

Campā—A (city on the Bhāgīrathī four miles to west of Bhagalpur and one of the six great cities of the times of the Buddha) V. 84.163, 85.14, 308.26, P. I. 38.70; M. 48. 91 (originally it was called Mālinī but later was called Campā after king Campa). According to the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta the six great cities are Campā, Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī, Sāketa, Kauśāmbī, Benares (SBE vol. XI, p. 99 and p. 247). Vām. 84.12 mentions Cāmpeya brāhmaṇas. Campā is in the Varaṇādi-gaṇa (Pāṇ. IV. 2. 82); B (river sacred to pitṛs) M. 22.41, P.V. 11.35 (between Aṅga and Magadha, acc. to Dey p. 43). It was the capital of Lomapāda and of Karṇa

Campakāraṇya—(modern Champaran in Bihar) V. 84.133, P.I. 38.49. Vālmīki's hermitage was near Sangrampur in the Champaran District

Campakatīrtha—(where Gaṅgā flows to the north) N. II. 40. 86

Campakavana—(under Gayā) Vā. 37. 16-22

Cañcalā—(r. rising from m. Ṛkṣavat) M. 114. 26

Caṇḍavega—(r. sacred to pitṛs) M. 22. 28

Caṇḍavegāsambheda—M. 22. 28, K. II. 44. 16, P. VI. 131. 67

Caṇḍeśa—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 163.1

Caṇḍikeśvara—L. I. 92. 166, Vām. 51.50

Candrabhāgā—(A) the river rises in the Himālayas in two streams, one is called Candrā (which issues from a large snow-bed on the south-east side of Bāra Lācha at a height of over 16000 feet), the other called Bhāgā rises on the north-west slopes of the pass. The two join at Tandi and the united stream is known as Candrabhāgā or Chenab. The five rivers of the Panjab are: Vitastā (Jhelum, the Hydaspes of the Greeks), Vipāśā (Beas, Hypasis of Greeks), Śatadru (Sutlaj), Candrabhāga and Irāvatī. In 'Questions of Milinda' (SBE vol. 35 p. 171) Candrabhāgā is one of the ten great rivers

of India. V.Dh. S. 85. 49, S. 9. 19, M. 13. 49, Anu. 25. 7, N. II. 60. 30, NM. 159 and 162, HC. 12.44. Vide Asiknī; **B** (under Narmadā) M.191.64, K. II. 41, 35, P. I. 18. 61 ; **C** (joins Tāpī) P. VI. 70.44 ; **D** (r. that joins Sābhramatī) P. VI. 148. 12, 149.1 ; **E** (same as Bhīmā, a tributary of the Kṛṣṇā)

Candramas-tīrtha—(on Ārcīkaparvata) V. 125.17

Candrapāda—(under Gayā) Br. III. 47. 18-19

Candrapura—(a city in Kāśmīra) NM. 1138 and 1156-7 (Mahāpadma Nāga flooded that city and there came into existence a lake, one yojana in length and breadth)

Candratīrtha—**A** (at source of Kāverī) K. II. 37.23 ; **B** (under VS) P. I. 37. 14, K. I. 35.11 ; **C** (under Narmadā) M. 193. 75, K. II. 42. 15, Br. III. 13. 28

Candravaśā—(r.) Bh. V. 19.18

Candravatī—(r. in Kāśmīra) NM 310 (Diti became this river, as Yamunā became Vitastā)

Candreśvara—**A** (on Candrabhāgā river and to the east of Dugdheśvara, on Sābhramatī) P. VI. 149.1; **B** (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 49

Candrikā—(r. Candrabhāgā, modern Chenab) M 22.63

Carmākhya—(under VS) K. I. 35.4

Carmaṇvatī—(r. modern Chambal that rises about 9 miles south-west of Mhow and falls into the Yamunā 25 miles south-west of Etawah town) Ādi. 138. 74 (Drupada ruled over southern Pañcāla up to Carmaṇvatī), V. 82. 54, Droṇaparva 67.5 (the name is due to the heaps of the hides of animals killed in Rantideva's *yajñas*), P. I. 24.3, Meghadūta I. 45 (refers to Rantideva); the word Carmaṇvatī occurs in Pāṇ. VIII. 2. 12

Carmakoṭa—M 22. 42

Catuḥsamudra—(a *kūpa* under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 89

Catuḥsāmudrika—(a *kūpa* under Mathurā) Var. 158. 41

Catuḥsrota—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 17

Caturmukha—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 42.28

Caturtheśvara—(under VS) N. II. 49.65

Caturvedeśvara—(under VS) SK, Kāśīkhaṇḍa 33, 130

Chāgalāṇḍa—(a very fit place for śrāddha) M. 13.43 (where Devī is called Pracaṇḍā), 22. 72

Chāgaleśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 119

Chāyākṣetra—(sacred to Lalitā) Br. IV. 44. 100 (town park of Mahālakṣmīpura is so called)

Chinnapāpakṣetra—(on Go.) P. VI. 174. 15

Ciccikatīrtha—(under Go.) B. 164.1

Cidambara—(see under Mīnākṣī) Devībhāgavata VII. 38. 11. It is famous for its great Śiva temple and contains the 'air *liṅga*' i. e. no liṅga is actually visible but a curtain is hung before a wall and when visitors enter the curtain is withdrawn and the wall is exhibited. The temple has a hall of more than 1000 monolithic pillars

Cintāṅgadeśvara—(under VS) P. I. 37. 14

Cīramocanatīrtha—(in Kāśmīra) R. I. 149-150 (mentions the Kanakavāhinī, Nandīśa and this tīrtha together). It is the confluence of the Kanakavāhinī and the river Sind, NM 1538-1545 (so called because the seven sages left their bark garments here and then went to heaven), SM p. 211

Citābhūmi—(Vaidyanātha or Deoghar in Sonthal *pargaṇa* containing the temple of Vaidyanātha, one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas) Śivapurāṇa I. 38, 55, Vide Dey p. 50.

Citragupteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 102

Citrakūṭa—(hill, 65 miles south-west of Prayāga in Banda District of Bundelkhand and a railway station on Jhansi-Manikpur branch) V. 85. 58, Rām. II. 54. 28-29 and 93. 8 (ten krośas from Bhāradvājāśrama) Rām. II. 55.9 (it is pitṛtīrtha), II. 56. 10-12, M.22.65 and Anu I.25. 29, N. II. 60. 23 and 75. 26, Ag. 6. 35-36 (near Mandākinī r.) and 109. 23, P. I. 39. 54, Raghuvaṁśa XIII. 47; Meghadūta calls it Rāmagiri.

Citrakūṭā-(r. rising from Ṛkṣaparvata) Vā. 45. 99, M. 114. 25 (where Mandākinī and this r. are both mentioned as rising from Ṛkṣavat)

Citrāṅgadatīrtha—(under VS) K. I. 35.11, Vām. 46. 39 (Citrāṅgadeśvara-liṅga)

Citrāṅgavadana—(under the Sābhramatī) P. VI. 141. 1

Citreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by K. T. p. 97

Citropalā (r.) B. 46. 4-5 (rising from Vindhya and called Mahānadī)

Citrotpalā—(probably same as the preceding) Bhā. 9. 34, M. 114. 25 (rising from Ṛkṣavat), B. 27. 31-32 (rising from Ṛkṣapāda)

Cyavanasyāśrama—A (under Gayā) N. II. 47. 75, Vā. 108. 73. In Ṛg. I. 116.10 Cyavana is said to have been rejuvenated by Aśvins; Śat. Br. 1.5.1-16 (SBE vol. 26 pp 272-276 he married Sukanyā, king Saryāta's daughter and became young by a bath in a pool); B (under Narmadā) V 89. 12, 121. 19-22; V. chapters 122-124 contain the story of Cyavana, Sukanyā and the Aśvins. V. 102, 4 narrates that the Kāleyas devoured one hundred *munis* here. Dey p. 51 gives four different places as Cyavana's hermitage. Cyavana was son of Bhṛgu and the Bhṛgus are often associated with the region about the mouth of the Narmadā

Cyavaneśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66

D

Dadhīcatīrtha—V 83.186, P.I. 27.73-74 (where Sārasvata stayed and became prince of perfect men, Siddhirāṭ)

Dadhīceśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43

Dadhikarṇeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 94.

Dākinī—(Bhimāśaṅkara) see note 1536

Dakṣaprayāga—N. II. 40. 96-97

Dakṣatīrtha—(under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 46. 2 (to the south of Sthāṇuvaṭa), Vām. 34. 20 (Dakṣāśrama and Dakṣeśvara)

Dakṣeśvara (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 75

Dakṣiṇa-gaṅgā—A (Godāvarī in B. 77. 9-10, 78. 77; B Kāverī (in Nr. 66. 7); C Narmadā in SK, Revākhaṇḍa 4. 24; D Tuṅgabhadrā (in Vik. 4.62)

Dakṣiṇa-Gokarṇa—Var. 216. 22-23

Dakṣiṇa-Mānasa—(a tank under Gayā) N. II. 45. 74, Ag. 115. 17

Dakṣiṇa-Mathurā—(Madurā in the Madras State) Bh. X. 79. 15

Dakṣiṇa-pañcanada—V. Dh. S 85. 51 (the com. Vaijayantī says that the five rivers are Kṛṣṇā, Veṇā, Tuṅgā, Bhadrā and Koṇā)

Dakṣiṇaprayāga (known as Mokṣaveṇī in Saptagrāma in Bengal) 'tat-Dakṣiṇaprayāgaṃ tu Gaṅgāto Yamunāssgatā | snānāt tatrākṣayaṃ puṇyaṃ Prayāga iva labhyate' quoted by Gaṅgāvākyāvalī p. 296, which is itself quoted by T. P. p. 355. Dey p. 52 says that it is Triveṇī on the north of Hughly in Bengal.

Dakṣiṇa-sindhu—(a tributary of the Chambal) V. 82. 53, P. I. 24. 2, Meghadūta I. 30

Dālbhyāśrama (hermitage of Baka Dālbhya, half a yojana from where Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were in the company of Sugrīva and his hosts. P. VI. 46. 14-15.

Damin (masculine noun) V 82. 71-75.

Dāmodaranāga—a spring in Kāśmīra, which is the upper hamlet of village

Khunamoh (Khonamusa), the birth-place of poet Bilhana. Vide SM p. 166.

Damstrānkura (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 68-70.

Danda—V 85. 15.

Dandaka (name of a territory, location being vague and probably it means no more than Dandakāranya) Rām. II. 9. 12 (diśam-āsthāya Kaikeyī daksinām Dandakān prati).

Dandakāranya or Dandakavana—V. 85 41, 147. 32, Var. 71. 10 (where Gautama performed *tapas*), B 88. 18, 110. 96 (Gautamī is in Dandaka), 123. 117-120 (Gautamī was five yojanas from the beginning of D.), 129. 55 (quintessence of the world), 161. 73 (D. is the seed of dharma and of mukti), Śal. 39. 9-10 (Janasthāna is in D.), Rām. II. 18. 33 and 37, III. 1. 1, Vām. 84. 12 (refers to Dandakāranya brāhmanas) and 43, P V. 34. 58-59 (origin of name). Vide my paper on the 'Ancient Geography of Mahārāstra' in JBBRAS for 1917 at pp. 14-15 and the note and Pargiter in JRAS for 1894 on 'the Geography of Rāma's exile' p. 242. Dandakāranya probably comprised all forests from Bundelkhand or Bhopal in Central India right down to Godāvarī or to Krsnā. Br. S. XI. 56 says that a malignant comet in Hasta naksatra kills the chief of Dandakāranya.

Dandakhāta (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 90.

Dandīśvara (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 90.

Dardura or Durdura (Nilgiri Hills) V. 282. 43, Mār. 54. 12, Var. 214. 52, Raghuvamśa IV. 51 (near river Tāmraparnī), Br. S. 14. 11.

Dāruvana—K. II. 39. 66; same as Devadāruvana, which see.

Darvīsankramana—V. 84. 45, P. I. 32. 9.

Daśāśvamedhatīrtha—(under Narmadā) P. I. 21. 14.

Daśārnā—(r. rising in m. Rksa, on which śrāddha, japa, dāna most efficacious) M. 22. 34, K. II. 37. 35-36, Vā. 45. 99, 77. 93. Wilson (vol. II. p. 155) says that it is now called Dasān, which rises in Bhopal and falls into the Betwa. Mbh. cites Vārtikas 7 and 8 on Pān. VI. 1. 89 which explain the formation (vol. III. p. 69). Daśārna is a word meaning a country having ten forts or 'a river (Daśārnā) having ten waters' The Vārtikas are 'pra-vatsatara-kambalavasanānām carne' and 'rnadaśābhyām ca'. Meghadūta I. 23-24 show that the capital of the Daśārna country was Vidiśā (modern Bhilsā) and the Vetravatī (Betwa river) was near it. It is the Dosaron of Ptolemy (p. 71). Br. S. 10. 15 says that Saturn in Uttarāsādhā destroys Daśārnas.

Daśāśvamedhika or-medhaka or-medha—A (a tīrtha on the Gangā) V. 83. 14, 85. 87, Vā 77. 45, Br. III. 13. 45, K. II. 37. 26, M. 185.68 (in VS); B (under Prayāga) M. 106. 46; C (under Gayā) Ag. 115. 45, N. II. 47. 30; D (under Narmadā) M. 193. 21, K. II. 41. 104, P. I. 20. 20; vide Bom. G. vol. II. p. 348 for its sanctity; E (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 23; F (under Kuruksetra) P. I. 26. 12; G (under Go.) B. 83. 1; H (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 116.

Dattātreya-linga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 113.

Daurvāsika—(under VS) K. I. 35. 11.

Devadāruvana—A (in the Himālayas near Badrīnāth) Anu. 25. 27, K. II. 37. 53-60, II. 39. 18 and 66, M. 13. 47 (Devī is called Pusti here); B (Aundha in the Nizam's dominions) P. VI. 129. 27; C (near Vijayeśvara in Kāśmīra) HC. 10. 3.

Devāgama—(under Go.) B. 160. 1

Devagiri—(a hill under Mathurā) Var. 164. 27, Bh. V. 19. 16

Devahrada—A (under Gaṇḍakī) Var. 145. 71, Anu. 25. 44; B (under Kṛṣṇa-Veṇā) V. 85. 37

Devahradā—(r. in Kāśmīra) NM 146.

Devakūṭa—(sacred m.) V. 84. 141, P. I. 38. 57.

Devaleśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 92

Devaparvata—(probably Aravali hills) Devala q. by T. K. p. 250

Devapatha—V. 85. 45. P. I. 39. 42

Devaprabha—(under Gaṇḍakī) Var. 145. 59

Devaprayāga—in Tehri State. Vide Alakanandā above (it is confluence of Bhāgīrathī and Alakanandā); vide U. P. Gazetteer for Garhwal, vol. 36 p. 214

Devāraṇya—(a forest on r. Lauhitya) Vā. 47. 11 (devāraṇyam viśokam ca tasya tīre)

Devaśāla—(Viṣṇu is worshipped under name of Trivikrama here) Nr. 65. 15 q. by T. K. p. 252

Devatīrtha—A (on north bank of Go.) B. 127. 1; B (under Narmadā) M 191. 24, 193. 81, K. II. 42. 16, P. I. 18. 24; C (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 161. 1

Deveśa—(under VS) P. I. 37. 9

Deveśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 65

Devikā—A (r. rising in Himālaya and being after Sindhu and Pañcanada and before Sarasvatī) V. 82. 102–107, 222. 22 (4 yojanas in length and one-half yojana in breadth), B 27. 27, Vā. 45. 95, Anu. 166. 19, Vām. 81. 5. The Vi. IV. 24. 69 says that Vrātyas, Mlecchas and śūdras will rule over the banks of the Sindhu, Dāvikorvī, Candrabhāgā and Kāśmīra. Here 'Dāvikorvī' means as Śrīdhara says, the country on the Devikā; B (r. that joins Gaṇḍakī) Var. 144. 83, 112–13 (Devikā nāma devānām prabhāvāc-ca tapasyatām 1 aiy amārthā ...dbhūtā Gaṇḍakyā militā śubhā), Var. 214. 48; C (under Gayā) Vā. 112. 30, 77. 41 (Vṛṣa-kūpa for śrāddha on), Br. III. 13. 41. Anu. 25. 21 and 165. 19, K. II. 37. 25, P. I. 25. 9–14, N. II. 47. 27, Vi. II 15. 6, Vām. 78. 37—all these extol Devikā, but it is not clear what river is meant. NM 152–153 say that it is holy like Irāvatī, is identified with Umā and located in Madra i.e. between Rāvī and Chenab. Pāṇ. (VII. 3. 1) expressly mentions the river Devikā and the Mbh. thereon gives the illustration 'Dāvikākūlāḥ śālayaḥ' (paddy grown on the banks of the Devikā is so called). Pāṇini probably mentions some river in the Panjab. Dey p. 55 says that the southern portion of Sarayū is called Devikā or Devā. Vām. 84. 12 refers to Devikātīrtha brāhmaṇas. SK. VII Prabhāsa-māhātmya, chap. 278. 66–67 speak of Mūlasthāna (modern Multan) as situated on the Devikā; P. I. 25. 9–14 (5 yojanas long and ½ yojana wide). In Vi. II. 15. 6 the city called Vīranagara is said to be situated on the bank of the Devikā and as founded by Pulastya. Devikā is not Sarayū, as in the Anu. 165. 19 and 21 they two are separately named. Br. S. 11. 35 says that a certain malignant *Ketu* would strike down even Devikā in the north. Pargiter (tr. of Mār. p. 292) identified it with the river Deeg or Degh in the Punjab, Dr. V. S. Agrawala with the Vular lake in Kashmir (J. U. P. H. S. vol. 16 pp. 21–22) and Mr. Jagannātha (in J. U. P. H. S. vol. 17 part 2 p. 78 supports Pargiter. With respect I agree with Mr. Jagannātha.

Devikātaṭa—(Devī is called Nandinī here) M. 13. 38

Devīpīṭhas—eight are enumerated in Kālikāpurāṇa 64. 89–91

Devīkūṭa—Kal. 18. 41, where the feet of Satī's corpse fell

Devīsthāna—Devī-Bhāgavata VII. 38. 5-30 (enumerate numerous Devīsthānas such as Kolāpura, Tulajāpura, Saptaśṛṅga). The Matsya (13.26-54) enumerates 108 Devīsthānas.

Dhanadeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 70

Dhanuḥpāta—(under Āmalakagrāma) Nr. 66. 33.

Dhanvatīrūpā—(r. rising in Pāriyātra m.) M. 114. 24.

Dhānyatīrtha—(under Gomatī) B 120.1

Dhārā—(r.) P. I. 28. 26, M. 22. 38

Dharaṇītīrtha—(śrāddha most efficacious here) M. 22. 70.

Dhārāpatanaka-tīrtha (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 8

Dhārātīrtha—(on north bank of Narmadā) M. 190. 6

Dharmahrada—(under VS) N. II. 51.14

Dharmanada—same as Pañcanada, which see.

Dharmaprastha—(under Gayā) V. 84.99

Dharmapṛṣṭha—(4 miles from Bodh-Gayā) P. V. 11. 74, N. II. 44. 54-55 and 78, K. II. 37. 38

Dharmarājatīrtha—(on the western bank of Jumnā near Prayāga) M. 108 27, P. I. 45. 27

Dharmāraṇya—(under Gayā) V. 82. 46, Anu. 166. 28-29, Vā. 111. 23, Vām. 84. 12 (brāhmaṇas of Dharmāraṇya), Ag. 115.34, N. II 45. 100; vide Dr. Barua on 'Gayā and Buddhagayā' vol. I. pp. 16-17 for the view that it is part at least of the precincts of the Bodhgayā temple representing the jungle of Uruvelā or Uruvilvā of Buddhist Literature. Rām. I 32. 7 states that Dharmāraṇya was founded by Asūrtarajas, a son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā; vide p 661 about Gayā; B (near Mahākāla) P. I. 12. 6-8; Bṛ. S. 14. 2 mentions it, but location is uncertain.

Dharmaśāstreśvara—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 133

Dharmaśilā—(under Gayā) Vā. chap. 107 and Ag. 114. 8-28. Vide above pp. 657-58 for the story

Dharmatīrtha—(under VS) P. I. 37. 4, Ag. 109. 16, K. I 35. 10, P. VI. 135. 17

Dharmāvatī—(river that falls into Sābhramatī) P. VI. 135. 16

Dharmeśvara—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 53; B (under Gayā) N. II. 45. 103, Vā. 111. 26

Dharmodbhava—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 44-46

Dhautapāpa—vide Pāpapraṇāśana

Dhautapāpā—(r. rising in Himālaya) M 114. 22

Dhautapāpeśvara—liṅga (under VS) SK IV. 33. 156

Dhavaleśvara—(on north bank of Sābhramatī) P. VI. 144. 7 ff (supposed to be established by Indra)

Dhenuka—(under Gayā) V. 84. 87-89, P. I. 38. 7-10, N. II. 44. 68

Dhenukāraṇya—(under Gayā) Vā. 112. 56, Ag. 116. 32

Dhenuvaṭa—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 40-43

Dhruva-tapovana—P. I. 38. 31

Dhūmāvatī—V 84. 22, P. I. 28. 23 (Dhūmavantī)

Dhuṇḍhi-Vināyaka—(under VS) L.q. by T. K. p. 126 and SK. IV. chap. 57. 33 (give the etymology of Dhuṇḍhi); for 56 Gaṇeśas, vide p. 638 above

Dhūtapāpa or Dhautapāpa or Dhautapura.—A (on Narmadā) M. 22. 39, 193. 62, K. II. 42. 9-10; B (at Gokarṇa) Br. III. 13. 20 (Rudra practised *tapas* here); C (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 12, N. II. 47. 35. D (under Stutasvāmin) Var. 148. 58 (less than five krośas from Stutasvāmin), T.K. p. 223. AG. p. 401 says that Dhopāpapura is on the right bank of the Gomatī (popularly

Gumti) 18 miles to the south-east of Sultanpur; **E** (near Saṅgameśvara in the Ratnagiri District) vide I.G.I. vol. XXII, p. 50.

Dhūtapāpā—**A** (r. in VS); vide p. 636 above; **B** (r. rising in Himālaya) Vām. 57. 80, Br. II. 16. 26

Dhūtavāhinī—(r. rising in Ṛṣyavanta m.) M. 114. 26

Dindipuṇyakara—(fit for śrāddha, probably in Deccan) M. 22. 77

Dīpeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 38, K. II. 41. 25–27 (it is Vyāsa-tīrtha-tapovana)

Dīptoda—(probably the same as Bhṛgu-tīrtha) V.99. 69 (where Bhṛgu, great-grand-father, and the father of Paraśu-rāma performed most severe penance)

Dīrghasattra—V. 82. 108–110, P. I. 25. 15–16

Dīrgha-Viṣṇu (under Mathurā) Var. 163. 63

Divākara—liṅga (under VS) L. q. by T. K, p. 65

Divaukaḥ—puṣkariṇī V. 84. 118, P. I. 38. 35

Droṇa—(m. in Bhāratavarṣa) M. 121. 13, Bh. V. 19. 16, P. VI. 8. 45–46

Droṇaśarmapada—Anu. 25. 28 q. by T. K. p. 256. (reads Droṇadharma)

Droṇeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66.

Droṇī—(r.) M. 22. 37 (śrāddha on it inexhaustible).

Drumakṣetra—L. I. 92. 129 (probably near Kurukṣetra).

Dhruva-tapovana—P. I. 38. 31

Dhruvatīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 152. 58 and 180. 1

Dṛṣadvatī (r.). Vide p. 682 above. In Ṛg. III. 23.4 it is mentioned along with Āpayā and Sarasvatī as a holy river for the worship of Agni. V. 90. 11, Manu II. 17 (calls it *devanadī*), N. II. 60. 30, Bh. V. 19. 18. It is identified by some with the Ghaggar and by others with the Chittang (Cambridge History of India, vol. I. p. 80). No trace of the river appears in any modern name. Cunningham's identification of it with Rākshi river 17 miles to the south of Thāṇesar has much to recommend it (A. S. of India, vol. XIV. p. 88).

Drumacaṇḍeśvara—(a liṅga in VS) L. I. 92. 136

Dugdheśvara—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 148. 1 (to the south of Khaḍga-dhara). Vide Bom. G. vol. IV p. 6.

Durdhareśvara—(on Sābhramatī) P. VI. 146. 1 ff.

Durgā—(acc. to Bār. S. III. 128 Durgā dwells on Vindhya).

Durgā—sābhramatīsaṅgama—P. VI. 169. 1.

Durgā—(r. rising from Vindhya) Vā 45 103, Br. II. 16. 33.

Durgātīrtha—**A** (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 42. 14–15; **B** (under Go.) B. 132. 8.

Dvādaśāditya-kuṇḍa (under Badarī) Var. 141. 24

Dvaita-vana—Sat. Br. XIII. 5. 4. 9 (Dvaita lake named after king Dvaitavana of the Matsyas), V. 11. 68, 24. 10 (commentary gives a fantastic etymology), 237. 13 (it had a lake), Śal. 37. 27 (visited by Balarāma on Sarasvatī), Vām. 22. 12, 47. 56 (it was near Sānnihatya pool).

Dvārakā—**A**–the name of this holy city does not occur in the Vedic Literature but the references to it in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas are plentiful. It is one of the seven holy cities. Vide p. 678. It appears that there were two Dvārakās, one more ancient than the other. The ancient Dvārakā was situated near Kodinar. A little mound which rises on the sea-shore between the mouths of the rivers Somat and Siṅgāvra

three miles from Kodinar is surrounded by the ruins of a temple which popular Hindu belief declares to be the original Dvārakā, where Kṛṣṇa resided and whence transferred himself to Dvārakā in Okhamaṇḍala. Vide Bombay Gazetteer, vol. VIII. (on Kathiawar) pp. 518-520 for Kodinar and p. 552 for Mūla Dvārakā. It was founded by Kṛṣṇa (with Raivataka as a park and Gomanta as a hill) owing to constant invasions and harassment by Jarāsandha; it was two yojanas long and one yojana broad. Vide Sabhāparva 14. 49-55. The Var. (149. 7-8) makes it 10 yojanas long and 5 broad. Vide p. 688 above under Mathurā. B (14. 54-56) says that the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas left Mathurā through fear of Kālayavana, took counsel with Kṛṣṇa, ran to Kuśasthalī and built up Dvārakā: Vi. V. 23. 13-15. B 196. 13-15 say that Kṛṣṇa begged of the ocean a strip of twelve yojanas, built Dvārakā with large parks, mansions and strong walls and established the people of Mathurā there. When Kṛṣṇa passed away, the city was flooded by the sea and swept away, as stated in a prophetic vein by Mausala-parva 6.23-24 and 7. 41-42, B 210. 55 and 212. 9. Vide also Vi. V. 38.9 (the whole of Dvārakā except Kṛṣṇa's palace was swept by the sea) and BV IV. 129. 44 (except Rukmiṇī's palace). It is called the capital of Ānarta (Udyoga 7. 6) and was first called Kuśasthalī (Sabhā 14. 50). Vide M 69. 9 = P. V. 23. 10, B. 7.29-32 and Ag. 273. 12 (Kuśasthalī being the earlier name of the capital). The present Dvārakā is near Okhā in Kathiawar. The Harivaṁśa II (Viṣṇuparva) chapters 58 and 98 deal with the founding of Dvārakā. Some ancient Jain works like the Uttarādhyayanasūtra (SBE. vol. 45 p. 115) mention Dvārakā and Raivataka park (Girnar). The Jātakas also refer to Dvārakā. Vide Dr. B. C. Law's work on 'India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism' pp. 102,239. The Prabhāsakhaṇḍa of the SK has a sub-section on Dvārakā in 44 chapters and over 2000 verses for the glorification of Dvārakā. It says 'the reward that is secured by (pilgrimage to) Vārāṇasī, Kurukṣetra and Narmadā can be secured at Dvārakā in half a twinkle (4. 52)'; "Pilgrimage to Dvārakā is the 4th means of *mukti*. Man secures mukti by acquiring correct knowledge about Brahman or by dying at Prayāga or by mere bath in Gomatī near Kṛṣṇa" (SK. VII. 4. 4. 97-98). The BV. (Kṛṣṇajanmakhaṇḍa, Uttarārdha chap. 103) has a hyperbolical description of the creation of Dvārakā, which is said to have been one hundred yojanas in extent. There is a work called Dvārakā-pattalaka compiled by Binābāyi (the only Ms. of which is the one at B.O.R.I. in Poona) which has been published by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri (1940). The Ms. is dated *saṁvat* 1574 (1518 A. D.). It summarises the Dvārakāmāhātmya in SK. A pilgrim on reaching Dvārakā first worships Gaṇeśa, then Balarāma and then Kṛṣṇa; he visits Rukmiṇī's temple on the 8th, 9th or 14th *tithi*, then visits Cakratīrtha, then Dvārakā Gaṅgā, then Saṅkhoddhāra, then bathes in the Gomatī. The temple of Dvārakānātha is on the north bank of the Gomatī creek. The main temple has five stories, is about 100 feet high from the ground and is surmounted by a conical spire rising to about 150 feet. Vide Dr. A. D. Pusalkar's paper in the Dr. B. C. Law presentation volume I. pp. 218 ff. for further information on Dvārakā;

B (there is Dvārakā in Indraprastha) P. VI. 202. 4 and 62

Dvārakā—Kṛṣṇatīrtha—M. 22. 39.

Dvāravatī—Same as Dvārakā. It contained the temple of Nāgeśa, one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa (7. 104-105) states: 'since in this city there are entrance gates for all the four varṇas it was named Dvāravatī by the learned. Where even the bones of beings are marked with the sign of the wheel (discus), what wonder is there if the hands (of men) are marked with the figures of a conch or wheel?' In a Dvārakā-māhātmya stated to be taken from the Skanda-purāṇa (D. C. Ms. No. 49 of 82-83, copied in *saṁvat* 1529 i. e. 1472-73 A. D.) it is stated that Mathurā, Kāśī and Avanti are easy of access (sulabha), but Ayodhyā, Māyā and Dvārakā are difficult of approach in the Kali age and in Ms. D. C. No. 63 of 1875-76 it is said at the end that the city is called Dvāravatī because it is the way to mokṣa. It is identified by Yule and others with Barake of the Periplus (Ptolemy pp. 187-188.)

Dvidevakula—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 158

Dvīpa—(probably the island at the mouth of the Ganges) Nr. 65. 7 q. by T. K. p. 251 (where Viṣṇu is worshipped as Ananta Kapila)

Dvīpeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 193. 80, P. I. 18. 38 and 23. 76

E

Ekadhārā—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 136. 12

Ekahaṁsa—V. 83. 20

Ekāmraka—(in Utkala, Orissa, about 20 miles from Cuttack). This is Rudra-tīrtha. Ekāmraka is the ancient name, the modern one being Bhuvaneśvara. It was also called Kṛttivāsa. B (chap. 41. 10-93) describes and glorifies this tīrtha, all those verses being quoted in T. C. pp. 176-180. It is said to be the destroyer of sin, equal to Benares, and as having eight sub-tīrthas and it was so called because in former ages there was one mango tree (B. 34. 6 and 41. 10-93). Vide Hunter's 'Orissa' vol. I. p. 231-241 and Mitra's 'Antiquties of Orissa' vol. II. pp. 56-98 for history, description, daily services and festivals &c. The chief temple is 160 feet high from the base to the top of the *kalaśa*. In the Bhuvaneśvara Inscription (edited by Dr. L. D. Barnett) in E. I. XIII p. 150 it is stated that Candrikā, daughter of the Gaṅga king Anaṅga-Bhīma and widow of Haihaya prince Paramardin, built a temple of Viṣṇu at Ekāmra. In that inscription among other matters there is a laudation of Utkala, of the sanctuary of Ekāmra and of the lake Bindusaras (mentioned in B. 41. 53-54). The date of the inscription is doubtful. But it is between śake 1101-1200. There is a vast number of temples and shrines here. Vide Archaeological survey of India Report for 1902-3 pp. 43-44, Puruṣottamatattva (Jiv. I. p. 573) where Raghunandana quotes several verses of B. chap. 41. There is Ekāmrapurāṇa in five aṁśas (parts) and 70 chapters (vide Mitra's Notices vol. IV pp. 138-140 No. 1561 for detailed analysis of contents and Ekāmra Candrikā which is a guide to pilgrims visiting Bhuvaneśvara and contains extensive quotations from Kapilasaṁhitā, Ekāmrapurāṇa, Śivapurāṇa and other works (vide Mitra's Notices, vol. IV. pp. 136-137 No. 1560 for analysis of contents).

Ekavīrā—(under Go) B. 161. 3

Elāpura—(probably modern Ellora) M. 22.50 (a place very fit for śrāddha). A.G. p. 319 identifies Elāpura with modern Verāval in Kathiawar. Talegaon copperplates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇarāja I dated śake 690 (768–769 A.D.) indicate that the king built the famous Kailāsanātha temple in imitation of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcī (E. I. XIII. p. 275); vide also E. I. vol. XXV. p. 25 (Ellora plates of Dantidurga of śake 663 i.e. 741–42 A. D)

Eraṇḍīnarmadāsaṅgama—M. 194. 32, K.II. 41. 85 and II. 42.31, P.I. 18.41

Eraṇḍītīrtha—(r. tributary of Narmadā in the Baroda territory, called Uri or Or) M. 191. 42, 193.65, P. I. 18. 41.

G

Gabhastīśa—(under VS) SK. VI. 33. 154

Gabhīraka—(a l. under Mandāra to the south) Var. 143. 42

Gadākuṇḍa—(under Sālagrāma) Var. 145. 49

Gadālola—(a pool at Gayā on east side of Brahmayoni) Vā. 109. 11-13, 111 75-76, Ag. 115. 69; see above p. 665

Gajāhvaya—(same as Hastināpura) Svargā-rohaṇaparva 5. 34

Gajakarṇa—(one of many pitṛtīrthas) M. 22. 38

Gajakṣetra—a Śivakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 122.

Gajaśaila—(m. south of Mānasa lake) Vā. 36. 24

Gajasāhvaya or Nāgasāhvaya—(same as Hastināpura) Vi. V. 35. 8, 19, 30–32, Vām. 78. 8, Bh. I. 4. 6 (com. explains 'gajena sahita āhvayo nāma yasya); Bṛ. S. 14. 4 calls it 'Gajāhvaya.'

Gajeśvara—(under Śrīśaila) L. I.92.156

Gālava—Vide Pāpapraṇāśana.

Gālaveśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 98

Gallikā—(r., same as Gaṇḍakī) P. VI. 76. 2 (where the śālagrāma stones are found), VI. 129. 14

Gambhīrā—A (a r. that joins Vitastā below Vijayeśvara) HC. X. 192, SM. p. 170. Stein in note on R. VIII. 1063 says that it is the name of the lowest portion of the Viśokā river before it falls into Vitastā; B (r. in Central India) Meghadūta I. 40; Bṛ. S. 16.15 mentions Gāmbhīrikā r. It falls into the Siprā.

Gāṇapatyatīrtha—(near Sābhramatī on a hill called Viṣṇu) P. VI. 129. 26, VI. 163.1.

Gaṇatīrtha—A (one of many tīrthas where śrāddha leads to highest goal) M. 22. 73; B (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 133. 24

Gaṇḍakī—(rises in Himālaya and falls into Ganges at Sonepur in Bihar). It is the Kondochates of Arrian (A. I. p. 188). Ādi. 170. 20-21 (one of the seven great rivers that destroy sin), S. 20. 27, V. 84. 13, V. 222. 22 (Gaṇḍasāhvayā is probably the same as Gaṇḍakī), P. I. 38, 30, IV. 20. 12 (it has pebbles marked with *cakra*). The river is said to have sprung from the perspiration on Viṣṇu's cheek in Var. 144–106, Br. II. 16. 26. Viṣṇu gave a boon to it that he would always remain inside her in the form of Śālagrāma stone (Var. 144. 35–58) Gaṇḍakī, Devikā and a r. from Pulastyāśrama make Triveṇī (Var. 144. 84). It is known in Nepāla as Śālagrāmī and in U.P. as Nārāyaṇī.

Gandhavatī—A (sacred r. near Ekāmraka, rising in the Udayagiri hills, though the Śivapurāṇa says it rises in the Vindhya). See 'Antiquities of Orissa' by Mitra, vol. II. p. 98; B (a small tributary of Siprā) Meghadūta I. 33

Gaṅgā—Vide pp. 588–596 above

Gaṅgādvāra—(the same as Haridvāra) V. 81. 14, 90.21, 142. 9–10, Anu. 25. 13, K. I. 15, 41 and 47 (here Dakṣa's sacrifice was destroyed by Vīrabhadra), II. 20. 33 (as one of the

best places for śrāddha), V. Dh. S. 85. 28, Ag. 4. 7 (Vāmana approached Bali here), P. V. 5. 3 and V. 26. 103. It is a Śaivakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 129; M. 22. 10 (mentions Gaṅgādvāra and Māyāpurī separately in the same verse)

Gandhakālī—(r.) Vā. 77. 74, Br. III. 13. 76

Gandhamādana—(m. on which Badrīnāth is situated) Nr. 65. 10 q. by T. K. p. 252; Vi. II. 2. 18 (to the south of Meru), Mār. 51. 19, V. 140. 22, 158. 38, Vi. V. 24. 5 (location of Nara-Nārāyaṇāśrama), M. 13. 26

Gandharvakuṇḍa—(under Mathurā) Var. 163. 13

Gandharvanagara—q. by T. K. p. 247

Gandharvatīrtha—(under VS) P. I. 37. 13, Sal. 37. 10 (near Gargaśrotaḥ on Sarasvatī)

Gaṅgā-Gaṇḍakī-saṅgama—T. P. p. 357

Gaṅgā-Gomatī-saṅgama—T. P. p. 358

Gaṅgāhrada—P. I. 27. 63 (under Kurukṣetra), V. 83. 201, Anu. 25. 34

Gaṅgā-Kauśikī-saṅgama — T. P. pp. 357-358

Gaṅgā-Mānuṣa-saṅgama — (near Kāśmīra) NM. 1457

Gaṅgāvat—(under Narmadā) P. I. 20. 16 (near Gaṇeśvara)

Gaṅgāsāgara-saṅgama—V. Dh. S. 85. 28, M. 22. 11 (it is 'sarvatīrthamaya'), P. I. 39. 4, T. P. pp. 355-356 (for Māhātmya)

Gaṅgā-Sarasvatī-saṅgama — V. 84. 38, P. I. 32. 3

Gaṅgā-Sarayū-saṅgama — Raghuvaṁśa VIII. 95, T. P. p. 357

Gaṅgā-vadana-saṅgama — (under Narmadā) M. 193. 20

Gaṅgāvaraṇa-saṅgama — (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 45

Gaṅgā-Yamunā-saṅgama—(i. e. Prayāga, which see) V. 84. 35

Gaṅgeśvara—A (under VS) N. II. 49. 45; B (under Narmadā) M. 193. 14

Gaṅgodbheda—V. 84. 65, M. 22. 25, P. I. 32. 29, Ag. 109. 18

Gargasrotas—(on Sarasvatī) Sal. 37.14

Gargeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 82

Gārhapatyapada—(under Gayā) Vā. 111. 50

Garteśvara—(under Mathurā) Var. 169. 19, 176.6

Gāruḍa—(under Go.) B. 90. 1

Garuḍakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 67

Gaurī—(r.) Bhī. 9. 25. It is probably the Gouraios of the Greek writers. Vide Ptolemy p. 111

Gaurīśa—(sacred to Lalitā) Br. IV. 44. 98

Gaurīśikhara—A—V. 84. 151, M. 22.76 (fit place for śrāddha); B (a tīrtha near Kāśmīra) NM 1448-1449 (where Umā who was in complexion like a blue lotus became fair by practising tapas)

Gaurītīrtha—(under VS) M. 22. 31, K. I. 35. 3, P. I. 37. 3

Gautama—(on Mandara m.) P. VI. 129. 8

Gautamanāga — (in Kāśmīra, to the north of Anantanāga and on the way to Bavan) S. M. p. 178

Gautamāśrama—(near Tryambakeśvara) P. VI. 176. 58-59

Gautama-vana—V. 84. 108-110

Gautameśvara — A (under Narmadā) M. 22. 68, 193. 60, K. II. 42. 6-8, P. I. 20. 58; B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115

Gautamī—(= Godāvarī). Vide pp. 707-711

Gavām-bhavana—P. I. 26. 46

Gayā—A—see pp. 643-679; B (one of the five dhārās at Badarikāśrama) N. II. 67. 57-58

Gayākedāraka (under Gayā) Ag. 115. 53

Gayāniṣkramaṇa—Nr. q. by T. K. p. 252 (Viṣṇu's guhya name is Hari there).

Gayāśiras—(hill named after rājarṣi Gaya) V. 95. 9, 87. 11, Vā. 105. 29 (it is one krośa in extent), Vām. 22. 20

(it is the eastern *vedi* of Brahmā). Ag. 115. 25-26 (it is called Phalgutīrtha). Acc. to Barua in 'Gayā and Buddhagayā' vol. I. p. 7 it is the modern Brahmayoni hill. Vide p. 646 note 1470 above.

Gayāśirṣa—(a set of rocky hills near Gayā town) V.Dh. S. 85.4; Buddha went to Gayasīsa near Gayā with 1000 bhikṣus; vide Mahāvagga I. 21. 1 (S. B. E. vol. XIII p. 134). Vide pp. 646 and 668 above

Gayātīrtha—(under VS) P. I. 37. 5.

Gāyatrīsthāna—V. 85. 28

Gāyatrīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 70.

Gāyatrītīrtha—(under Gayā) Va. 112. 21.

Ghaṇṭābharaṇaka—(under Mathurā) Var. 154 15

Ghaṇṭākarṇahrada—(to west of Vyāseśa under VS) N II. 49. 28-29, L. q. by T. K. p 86.

Ghaṇṭeśvara—M. 22. 70

Gharghara or-rā (modern Gogra or Ghagra, a holy river that rises in Kumaon and is the great river of Oudh) P. II. 39. 43, M 22. 35 and P V. 11.29 (both the latter have the same words 'nadau tau Soṇa-Ghargharau'). Vide TP p. 502 for Sarayū-Gharghara-saṅgama. The combined waters of Gogra and other rivers including the Sarayū are called Gogrā or Sarjū from Bahrampur. Vide I. G. I. vol. 12 pp. 302-303.

Ghaṭeśvara—(under Sābhramati) P. VI. 159. 3

Ghaṭotkaca—(under VS) K I. 35. 8, P. I. 37. 8.

Ghṛtakulyā—(a r. under Gayā) V 105. 74, 112. 30.

Girikarṇikā—M 22. 39 (Dey p 65 identifies it with Sabarmati).

Girikuñja—P. I. 24. 34 (where Brahmā resides)

Girikūṭa—(under Gayā) N. II. 47. 75.

Girinagara—(modern Junāgaḍ in Kathiawar). The hill near it was called Ujjayanta or Ūrjayanta in former times, but now it is called Girnar. Dey has a long note (pp. 65-66) on it. The *pādukās* (stone with footprints) of Dattātreya are shown on a spur of the hill. As there are Aśoka's edicts engraved here it follows that it was a well-known place in the third century B. C. The Junāgaḍ Inscription of Rudradāman (150 A. D.) mentions it in the very first line (E.I. vol. VIII. p. 36 at p 42). Vide under Vastrāpatha.

Girivraja—Capital of the kings of Magadha from Jarāsandha and his son Sahadeva; called Rājagṛha in Buddhist times. It is about 62 miles from Patna. Dey has a very long note on it (pp. 66-69); S. 21. 2-3 (it was surrounded and guarded by five hills called Vaihāra, Vipula, Varāha, Vṛṣabha, Ṛṣigiri). Vide under Rājagṛha. Rām. I. 32. 7 states that it was founded by Vasu, a son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā.

Gobhileśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 94

Gocarmeśvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92 152

Godāvarī—Vide pp. 707-711

Godhana—(m) Br. II. 16. 22

Gograha—(under Viraja in Orissa) B. 42. 6.

Gokāmuka—(m) Bh. V. 19. 16.

Gokarṇa—A (a place sacred to Siva on the western coast about 30 miles south of Goa in the Kumtā *Talukā* of North Kanara District) V. 85.24, 88. 15, 277. 55; Ādi., 217. 34-35 (ādyam paśupateḥ sthānam darśanādeva muktidam), Vā 77. 19, M. 22. 38, K. II. 35. 29-32, Br. III. 56. 7-21 (described as 1½ yojanas in extent in verse 7), Vām. 46. 13 (liṅga set up by Rāvaṇa), Br. III. 57-58 and N. II. 74 (narrate story of its

being flooded by the sea and of people going to Paraśurāma for succour). Vide *Epi. C. vol.* VII Shikarpur No. 99 (of 1113 A. D.) where Cālukya Tribhuvanamalla's tributary is styled 'lord of Gokarṇapura.' The Liṅgapurāṇa speaks of two Gokarṇas (I. 92. 134-135), Kūrma II. 35. 31 mentions Uttara-Gokarṇa and the Varāhapurāṇa (213. 7) mentions a southern and a northern Gokarṇa; **B** (on Sarasvatī) Var. 170.11; **C** (under Mathurā) Var. 171-173; **D** (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 113. M. 13. 30 says that Devī is styled Bhadrakarṇikā at Gokarṇa

Gokarṇahrada—V. 88. 15-16

Gokarṇeśvara (on a peak of the Himālaya) Var. 215. 118.

Gokula—(a mahāraṇya). Vide Vraja. P. IV. 69. 18, Bh. II. 7. 31.

Gomaṇḍaleśvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 162 (established by Nanda and others)

Gomanta—(a hill). **A**—M. 13. 28 (Satī is called Gomatī on Gomanta); **B** (a hill in the Sahya range near Karavīrapura, Krauñcapura and near river Veṇā) Harivaṁśa (Viṣṇuparva 39. 11 and 19-20); **C** (hill near Dvārakā where Kṛṣṇa and the Vṛṣṇis migrated from Mathurā through fear of Jarāsandha's attacks) S. 14. 54, V. 88. 15-17, N. II. 60. 27. Pargiter's identifications (p. 289 note) are unsatisfactory.

Gomatī—(r.) **A**. In *Ṛg.* VIII. 24. 30 and X. 75. 6; it is invoked between Kubhā and Krumu (in X. 75. 6); hence it is probably modern Gomal a western tributary of the Indus; **B** (a river near Sarasvatī) V. 87. 7, P. I. 32. 37, Vām. 63. 61 and 83. 2; **C** (near Dvārakā), SK, VII. 4. 4. 97-98 and 5. 32, P. IV. 17. 69-70 and VI. 176. 35-36; **D** (the Gumti in Oudh, rising in Himālaya and falling into the Ganges below Benares) M. 114. 22, Br. II. 16. 25, Rām. II. 49. 11

Gomatī-gaṅgā-saṅgama—P. I. 32. 42, Bh. V. 19. 18, Ag. 109. 19.

Gopādri—(m. in Kashmir, in the immediate vicinity of Śrīnagara near its southernmost corner, now known as Takht-i-Sulaiman) SM p. 157, R. I. 341 (mentions Gopādri which is modern Gopkār on the Dal lake); vide K. R. 17

Goniṣkramaṇa—(also Gosthalaka) Var. 147. 3-4 and 52

Gopīśvara—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 18 (where Kṛṣṇa sported with *gopīs*)

Gopracāra—(a site under Gayā) Vā. 111. 35-37 (where there is a grove of mango trees), Ag. 116. 6

Gopratāra—(Guptar in Fyzabad in Oudh) V. 84. 70-71 (where Rāma gave up his physical body along with his army and servants), Vām. 83. 8, N. II. 75. 71, *Raghuvaṁśa* XV. 101

Gopreksa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 42, P. I. 37. 16, N. II. 50. 43 (Gopreksaka)

Gopreksaka—(liṅga under VS) L. I, 92. 67-68

Gopreksesvara—(under VS) Sk. q. by T. K. p. 131

Gorakṣaka—Var. 215. 93

Gorathagiri—(in Magadhakṣetra) S. 20. 30

Gotīrtha—**A** (in Naimiṣa forest) V. 95. 3; **B** (under Prayāga) M. 110. 1; **C** (under VS) K. I. 35. 13; **D** (under Narmadā) M. 193. 3, P. I. 20. 3; **E** (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 156. 1

Govardhana—**A** (a hill near Mathurā) M. 22. 52, K. I. 14. 18 (where Pṛthu practised austerities), P. IV. 69. 39, Var. 163. 18, 164. 1 and 22-23, Vi. V. 11. 16. Vide p. 691 above; **B** (a town under Gautamī established by Rāma) B. 91. 1, *Br.* II. 16. 44. Inscription of Uṣavadāta near Nasik mentions Govardhana several times (Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 569). Vide p. 710 above.

Govindatīrtha—(under Go.) B. 122. 100; P. I. 38. 50 (appears to be near Campakāraṇya)

Gṛdhrakūṭa—**A** (a hill under Gayā) Vā. 77. 97, 108. 61, 111.22, Ag. 116. 12, N. II. 45. 95 and 47. 78; **B** (on the confluence of Sarasvatī and Śuddhā, where Paraśurāma's hand stained with blood became clear) NM 1394–5

Gṛdhravana—K. II. 37. 38

Gṛdhra-vaṭa—**A** (on the Gṛdhrakūṭa hill of Gayā) V. 84.91, Ag. 116.12, P. I. 38. 11 (bhasmanā snāna there), N. II. 44. 72, Vā. 108 63; the tree does not now exist; **B** (under Sūkarakṣetra where a Gṛdhra became a man) Var. 137.56

Gṛdhreśvara-liṅga—(under Gayā on Gṛdhrakūṭa) Ag. 116. 11, N. II. 47. 78

Guheśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 102

Gurukulyatīrtha—(on Narmadā) SK. I. 1. 18. 153 (where Bali performed Aśvamedhas)

H

Haṁsadvāra—(near Kashmir) NM 1464

Haṁsakuṇḍa—(under Dvārakā) Var. 149. 46

Haṁsapada—(near Viśākhayūpa) Vām. 81. 10

Haṁsaprapatana—(under Prayāga) V. 85.87, M 106. 32 (to the east of Gaṅgā and north of Pratiṣṭhāna), K. I. 37. 24, P. I. 39. 80, Ag. 111. 10

Haṁsatīrtha—**A** (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 30, N. II. 47. 30; **B** (under Narmadā) M. 193. 72; **C** (under Śālagrāma to its east) Var. 144. 152–155 (explain why so called). Vide Yakṣatīrtha.

Hanūmat-tīrtha—(under Go. on north bank) B. 129. 1

Hārakuṇḍa—(near Hārapura) L. I. 92. 164

Haramukuṭa—(Harmukh in popular language in Kāśmīra) NM. 1320, 1322, 1231; peak of the Himālaya on the east of which is lake Kālodaka and which is itself near Uttaramānasa. Vide H. C. IV. 87–88 and Vik. 18. 55. Al. (vol. I p. 207) says that the Jailam rises in the mountain Haramakot, where also the Ganges rises. Vide Stein's note on R. III. 448.

Haramuṇḍa—(a tīrtha near Kāśmīra) NM 1455

Haridvāra—(same as Gaṅgādvāra and Māyāpurī) It is in the modern Saharanpur District in U. P. and on the right bank of the Ganges. It is one of the seven holy cities (vide pp. 501 and 678) P. IV. 17. 66, VI. 21.1, VI. 22.18, VI. 135.37 (Māṇḍavya practised penance here). See Beal's BRWW vol I. p. 197, where Hiouen Thsang states that men of the five Indies call it the Gate of Gaṅgā and that hundreds and thousands of people gather to bathe and wash. I do not agree with Cunningham (A. G. p. 353) that Haridvāra is a comparatively modern name, since Alberuni mentions only Gaṅgādvāra. Both SK. IV and P. IV mention Haridvāra and it cannot be said that they both are later than Alberuni (i. e. 1030 A. D.). Probably Gaṅgādvāra was a more popular name in the 11th century than Haridvāra. Al. (vol. I. p. 199) tells us that the source of the Ganges is called Gaṅgādvāra.

Harihara-kṣetra—**A** (on Tuṅgabhadrā) Nr 65. 18 (q. by T. K. p. 253), P VI. 176. 46 and VI. 183. 3, Var. 144. 145 (also called Devāṭa); it is on the boundary between Mysore State and Bombay State; **B** (the junction of the Gaṇḍakī with the Ganges at Sonepur, where Gajendramokṣa took place) Var. 144. 116–133. Vām. 85. 4–76 places the story of Gajendramokṣa on mountain Trikūṭa

Harikeśeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 113

Harikeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 84 (probably the same as above)

Hariścandra—A (tīrtha under VS) M 22.52 (very fit place for śrāddha) 181.28, Ag. 112.3 ; B (on south bank of Go.) B 104.86 and 88

Hariścandra—(a m.) Devala q. by T. K. 250

Hariścandreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T, K. 117

Hariparvata—(hill in Srinagara)-same as Śārikāparvata or Pradyumnapīṭha. K. R. p. 17, Vik. 18. 15

Hārita-tīrtha — (eminent place for śrāddha) M 22. 68 (beyond Vasiṣṭhatīrtha)

Harītakivana—Vide Vaidyanātha p. 678 and n. 1536 above

Hariteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 120.

Hariyūpīyā—(a r.) Ṛg. VI. 27. 5. Probably in Kurukṣetra.

Harodbheda—(fit place for śrāddha) M 22. 25

Harṣapathā—(Śacī at Kaśyapa's prayer became H. in Kāśmīra) N M 309

Hastatīrtha—(v. l. Haṁsatīrtha) K. II. 42. 13 (on Narmadā)

Hāstinapura or Hastināpura—(capital of Kurus, named after king Hastin, great-grandson of Bharata Dauṣyanti,). It is to the north-east of Delhi. Ādi 95. 34, Rām. II. 68. 13 (Hāstinapura), Vi IV. 21. 8, Bh. IX. 22. 40. After it was swept away by Ganges, Nicaknu, grandson of Janamejaya, made Kauśāmbī his capital. Pāṇ. VI. 2. 101 (na Hāstinaphalaka-mārdeyāḥ) appears to know it as Hāstinapura. The Mbh. (vol. I. p. 380 on Pāṇ. II. 1. 16) offers the illustration 'anu-Gaṅgam Hāstinapuram'.

Hastipādeśvara—(a Śivaliṅga to the east of Sthāṇuvaṭa) Vām 46.29

Hastipāleśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 76

Hāṭaka—(removes sins of crores of murders) P. IV. 17. 67

Hāṭakeśvara—Vām. 63.78 (on Saptagodāvara)

Hayamukti—(under Mathurā) Var. 160.23

Hayaśiras—(fit place for śrāddha) Br. III. 13.46, Vā. 77.46

Hayatīrtha—M. 22.69

Hemakūṭa—(another name of Kailāsa, which see) Bhī. 6, 4, Br. II. 14.48 and 15 15 (Himavat and Hemakūṭa distinguished)

Hetukeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 92

Himālaya—see Himavat

Himavat—In Ṛg. X. 121.4 and A. V. IV. 2. 5 the plural is used (Viśve himavantaḥ). But in A. V. V. 4. 2 and 8. VI. 24.1 the singular is employed. In Kenopaniṣad III. 25 Umā Haimavatī is mentioned. In V. 158.19, Udyoga 11.12 and Pāṇ. IV. 4. 112 Himavat is mentioned and in K. II. 37. 46–49 its length is given as 1080 yojanas. It is the Varṣaparvata of Bharatavarṣa and the other seven chief mountains mentioned in note 1260 are 'Kulaparvatas'. M. 117–118 contain fine descriptions of trees, flowers, birds and beasts on it. Himālaya occurs in non-vedic works, e. g. Gītā X. 25. *Himavat* meant the whole mountain range stretching from Assam in the east to the mountains west of Panjab. Mār. 51.24 states that Kailāsa and Himavat stretch from east to west and are situated between two seas and that Himavat is to the north of Bharatavarṣa (which has seas on south, west, and east) like the string of a bow (Mār. 54.59)

Himavat—araṇya-Devīpurāṇa q. by T. K. 244

Hiraṇvatī—(carried a girl to Kosala) Vām. 34.8 (one of seven or nine very holy rivers), 64.11 and 19.90.32, Anu 166. 25, Udyoga 152. 7 (in Kuru-

kṣetra, where Pāṇḍavas pitched their camp), 160.1, Bhī. 9.25

Hiraṇyabāhu—(The Erannoboas of Greek writers, river Śoṇa). Vide A.I. p. 68. It falls into the Ganges near Bankipore. Arrian (A. I. p. 186) regards Erannaboas and Sonos as distinct. It was called 'golden armed' probably owing to the colour of the sand in its bed or because particles of gold were found in it.

Hiraṇyabindu—(on m. Kālañjara) V. 87.21, Anu. 25.10

Hiraṇyadvīpa—(under Narmadā) M. 193. 68, P. I. 20. 66

Hiraṇyagarbha—(a liṅga under VS) K. I. 35.13, L. I. 92. 76, P. I. 37. 16, L. q. by T. K. p. 48

Hiraṇyakaśipuliṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43

Hiraṇyākṣa—M. 22.52 (most efficacious about *dānas* here)

Hiraṇyākṣeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 47

Hiraṇyāsaṅgama—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 135.1

Hiraṇyavāha—same as Soṇa and as Arrian's Erannoboas, which was the third great river, the other two being Indus and Ganges (vide A. G. p. 452)

Hiraṇyavatī—(r. on which stood the Sāla grove of the Mallas and the Upavattana of Kusinārā). SBE, vol. XI. p. 85. It is the same as the Gaṇḍakī. Vide A. G. p. 453

Hlādinī—(r.) Rām. II. 71.2 (Bharata coming from Kekaya country crossed it first and then Śatadrū)

Homatīrtha—(under VS) K. I. 35.11

Hṛṣīkeśa—(on the Ganges about 24 miles north of Haridvāra) Var. 146. 63–64 (Viṣṇu is deemed to stay there)

I

Ikṣu—A (r. from Himavat) Vā. 45. 96. Dey, p. 77 identifies it with Oxus. He equates Aśmanvatī (p. 13) and Cakṣuз (p. 43) with Oxus. Hence such identifications of his cannot be taken seriously; B (r. falling into Narmadā) M 191. 49

Ikṣumatī—A (r. flowing through Kumaon and Kanoj). From Pāṇ. IV. 2. 85–86 (nadyām matup, madhvādibhyaś-ca) it follows that Pāṇini was aware of this river, as 'Ikṣu' is included in the madhvādi-gaṇa). Rām. II. 68. 17 (going from Ayodhyā one first meets Mālinī, then Gaṅgā at Hāstinapura, then Kurukṣetra and then Ikṣumatī), M 22.17 (favourite of the pitṛs and falls into the Ganges), P. V. 11.13; B (r. of the Sindhu-Sauvīra country) Vi. II. 13, 53–54 (there was Kapila's āśrama on it where the king of Sauvīra came and asked what is most beneficial in this *saṁsāra* which abounds in pain and sorrow), Bh. V. 10. 1

Ikṣu—Narmadāsaṅgama–M 191. 49, K. II. 41.28, P. I. 18. 47

Ikṣudā—(r. rising in m. Mahendra) M 114. 31, Vā. 45. 106 (reads Ikṣulā)

Ilāspada—P. I. 26. 73

Ilātīrtha—(under Go.) B. 108. 1

Ilvalapura—(same as Maṇimatīpurī) V. 96. 4

Indirā—(r.) Vā. 108. 79

Indradhvaja—(under Mathurā) Var. 164. 36

Indradyumnasaras—A (under Puruṣottama, vide pp. 694–95, 700 above) B. 51. 29–30; B V. 199.9–11, Ādi 119.50 (beyond even Gandhamādana, where Pāṇḍu practised *tapas*)

Indradyumneśvara—liṅga of Mahākāla, SK. I. 2. 13. 209

Indragrāmatīrtha—(on north bank of Sābhramatī) P. VI. 144. 1

Indrakīla—(m. beyond Gandhamādana) V. 37. 41–42, M. 22. 53 (sacred to pitṛs), NM 1443, Bh. V. 19. 16

Indraloka—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 10–13

Indramārga—Anu 25. 9 and 16, P. I. 27. 68

Indranadī—(r.) Vā. 43. 26

separately mentions Jambūmārga and Kālañjara as āyatanas ; **B** (near Kurukṣetra) V. 82. 41–42, 89. 13 (on Asita m.), Anu. 25 51, 166.24, M.22. 21, Br. III. 13. 38; **C** (near Puṣkara) P. I. 12. 1–2, Ag. 109.9, Vā 77.38.

Jambūnadī—(rising from Candraprabha lake on slopes of Meru-Mandara peak) Br. II. 18. 68-69, Bh. V. 16. 19.

Janakakūpa —(under Gayā) P I. 38 28, V. 84. 111

Janakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 119

Janasthāna—Vide p.710 above. V. 147. 33, V. 277.42, Sal. 39. 9 (in Daṇḍakāraṇya), Vā 88.194, B. 88.1 (four yojanas in extent), Rām. VI. 126. 37-39, III. 21. 20, III. 30 5–6.

Janeśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 13. 11 (sacred to pitṛs)

Janmeśvara—M. 22. 42

Japyeśvara—(or Jāpyeśvara) K. II. 43 17–42 (near the sea Nandi performed recitation of three crores of Rudra); Ag. 112. 4 (under VS)

Jarāsandheśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115

Jaṭākuṇḍa—(under Sānandūra) Var. 150. 47 (to the south of Malaya mountain and north of the sea.)

Jātismarahrada—**A** (near Kṛṣṇa-Veṇā) V. 85. 38 ; **B** (uncertain location) V 84. 128, P. I. 38. 45

Jayanta—M 22. 73, Vām. 51. 51

Jayantikā—Br. IV 44. 97 (one of the 50 pīṭhas sacred to Lalitā)

Jayapura—(in Kāśmīra, capital of king Jayāpīḍa, surrounded by water, also called Dvāravatī in imitation of Śrīkṛṣṇa's Dvāravatī) R. IV. 501–511, K. R. pp. 13–16, SM. pp. 197–198 (marked by the present village Andarkot).

Jayātīrtha—M. 22. 49

Jayavana—(modern Zevan in Kāśmīra) R. I. 220, Vik. 18. 70 (1½ gavyūti from Pravarapura). Zevan is mentioned in Ain. A. (vol. II p. 358 as possessing a spring and reservoir considered sacred. Takṣakanāga is worshipped to this day in the large limpid pool situated close to the village Zevan. Vide A G. pp 101–102 for the situation of Jayavana ; under Takṣakanāga which is near Zevan.

Jayinī—P I. 26. 16 (where there is Somatīrtha)

Jeṣṭhilā—(near Campakāraṇya) V. 84. 134

Jñānatīrtha—(under VS) K. I. 35.6, P. I. 37. 6

Jñānavāpī—SK. IV. 33 (describes the origin and greatness of it); see p. 638 above

Jvālāmukhī—(a Devīsthāna) Devī-Bh. VII. 38.6

Jvālāsaras—(on Amarakaṇṭaka m.) Br. III. 13. 12

Jvāleśvara—(near Amarakaṇṭaka) M. 188. 80 and 94–95, P. I, 15. 69, 77, 78 (one of the Tripuras burnt by Śiva fell here). It appears that the reference is to jets of natural gas, which burn when ignited

Jyeṣṭheśvara—(modern Jyethir on the Dal lake near Śrīnagara in Kāśmīra) R. I. 113, NM 1323–24. This was a form of Śiva in a temple which was built by king Gopāditya of Kāśmīra. Stein in note on R. I. 113 states that there are three places in Kāśmīra called Jyeṣṭheśvara. R. I. 124 says that Jalauka, son of Aśoka, built a shrine of Jyeṣṭheśvara, which would be the oldest temple in Kāśmīra.

Jyeṣṭhapuṣkara—(on Sarasvatī) V. 200. 66, P. V. 19. 12, 18, 20 (it is said to be 2½ yojanas long and a half yojana in width)

Jyeṣṭhasthāna—(near Koṭitīrtha) V. 85. 62

Jyotīrathā or—rathyā—(tributary of Śoṇa) V 85. 8, P. I. 39. 8

Jyotiṣmatī—(a tributary of Sarasvatī rising from a lake on Hemakūṭa) Vā. 47. 63, M 121.65, Br. II. 18. 66

Jyotsnā—(r. from Mānasa lake) Br. II. 18. 71

K

Kacalinga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 112.

Kadalīnadī—(where dāna is most efficacious) M. 22. 52

Kadamba—(under Dvārakā) Var. 149. 52 (where Vrṣnis became purified)

Kadambakhanda—(a kunda under Mathurā) Var. 164. 26

Kadambeśvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 161 (a linga established by Skanda)

Kādravatī—(a holy place for śrāddha, japa, homa etc.) Vā. 77. 82

Kailāpura—(one of the 50 pīthas of Lalitā) Br. IV. 44.97

Kailāsaśikhara—(a peak of the Himālaya 22000 feet above sea level, 25 miles to north of Mānasa lake) V 139. 41 (6 yojanas high), 153. 1, 158. 15-18, M. 121. 2-3; Br. IV. 44. 95 (one of the 50 pīthas of Lalitādevī); vide Swami Pranavānanda's paper in J.U.P. H.S. vol. 19 pp. 168-180 and his book on 'Kailāsa Mānasarovara' and Sven Hedin's 'Trans Himālaya' (1909). Vide Dey pp. 82-83. Whether Kailāsa or the lake Mānasa is the source of four great rivers viz. Satlej, Indus, Brahmaputrā and Karnālī is a moot point

Kākahrada (eminently fit for śrāddha) Br. III. 13.85

Kākaśilā—(under Gayā) Vā 108. 76, Ag. 116. 4

Kakubha—(a m.) Bh. V. 19. 16

Kakudmatī —(r. rising in Sahya) P. VI. 113. 25 (Koyanā in Satara District). Vide under Krṣnā and TS p. 79. The Koyanā falls into Krṣnā near Karad in Satara.

Kālabhairava—(under VS) L. I. 92. 132

Kālakavana—western boundary of Āryāvarta acc. to Mbh. vol. I. p. 475 (on Pān. II. 4. 10) and vol. III p. 174 (on Pān. VI. 3. 109). Dr. Agrawala in J. U. P. H. S. vol. 14 part 1, p. 15 says that it was part of Sāketa.

Kālakeśava—(under VS) K. I. 35. 7

Kālakoti—(in Naimisa forest) V. 95 3, Br. S 14. 4.

Kālañjara or Kāliñjara—**A** (hill and fort in Bundelkhand) V 85. 56, 87.21, Vā 77. 93, Vām. 84 (temple of Nilakantha on it); Kālañjara was the capital of the Chandellas; vide E.I. vol. I. p 217, E.I. vol. IV p 153. For Kālañjaramandala, vide E. I. vol. 19 p. 18 (plate dated *samvat* 893). Ain A. vol. II. p. 159 speaks of it as 'a stone fortress situated on a heaven-reaching hill. It contains many temples and an idol is there called Kāla Bhairava, 18 cubits high, of which marvellous tales are related. Springs rise within the fort and there are many tanks.' Vide I. G. I. vol. VI p. 349; **B** (as an *ayatana*) Devala q. by T. K. p. 250; **C** (under VS) K II. 36. 11-38 (story of *rājarṣi* Śveta who constantly muttered Śatarudriya), P. I. 37. 15; **D** (shrine of Śiva under Go.) B 146. 1 and 43 (also called Yāyāta); **E** (said to be source of Narmadā called Kāliñjarī and a Śiva shrine) SK, Kālikā-khanda q. by T. S. p. 98; **F** (under Mathurā) Var. 176. 18 (printed as Kāliñjara); **G** R.VII.1256 (some hilly district in Kāśmīra is meant).

Kālañjaravana—M 181 27 (Kāliñjara, a Śiva-tīrtha) q. by T. K. p. 241

Kalāpagrāma—(probably near Badarikā) Vā. 91. 7, 99. 437 (Devāpi stays there and will be Krtayuga-pravartaka when Kaliyuga will end), Bh. X. 87. 7.

Kalāpaka—(about 100 yojanas from Kedāra) SK. I. 2. 6. 33-34

Kalāpavana—P. I. 28.3

Kalaśākhya-tīrtha—(where Agastya sprang from a jar) N II. 40, 87

Kālasarpis—(a mahātīrtha of Kāśyapa) K. II. 37. 34, Vā 77. 87 (very fit for śrāddha), Br. III. 13, 98

Kalaśeśvara (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 99, P. I, 37. 7

Kālatīrtha—A (in Kośalā) V. 85. 11-12 ; P I. 39. 11 (both have same words); B (under VS) K. I. 35. 2

Kalaviṅka—Anu 25. 43

Kālavimala—(one of five tīrthas in Kāśmīra) HC 4. 83

Kāleśa—(under Gayā) Ag. 116. 23

Kāleśvara—A (under VS) L. I. 92. 136, L. q. by T. K. pp. 45, 72 ; B (under Narmadā) M 191. 85. In Br. IV. 44. 97 it is one of the 50 pīṭhas of Lalitā.

Kālihrada—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145. 45

Kālī—A (r. flows through Saharanpur District in U. P) M. 22. 20, Vām. 57. 79; this river divides Nepal from Saharanpur ; vide I. G. I. vol. XXII p. 102 ; B r. called Kāli Sind which falls into the Chambal

Kālikā—(r. sacred to *pitṛs*) M. 22.36

Kālikā-saṅgama—V. 84.156, P I. 38. 63 (same words in both), Ag. 109. 20

Kālikāśikhara—Devīpurāṇa q. by T. K. p. 244

Kālikāśrama—Anu 25. 24 (on Vipāśā) NM 148

Kālindī—(see under Yamunā) P I. 29.1

Kāliyahrada—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 192, T. P. p. 515

Kallolakeśvara—(under Narmadā) K. II. 41. 88

Kalmāṣī—(Yamunā) S. 78. 16

Kālodaka (lake)—A VDh. S. 85. 35 (acc. to Vaijayantī com.), Anu 25.60; B (lake situated on eastern half of mountain Haramukuṭa at 13000 feet above sea level) NM 1231-1233

Kālodakā—(r. in Kāśmīra) Anu. 25. 60, NM 1545

Kalpagrāma—(under Mathurā) Var. 166. 12 (shrine of Varāha in U. P. there); probably modern Kālpī

Kāma—a Śāktakṣetra, acc. to the Bār. S. III. 124.

Kāmadhenupada—(under Gayā) Vā 112. 56

Kāmagiri—(m.) Br IV. 39. 105, Bh. V. 19. 16, Devī-Bh. VIII. 11. 11.

Kāmākhya—A (a Rudratīrtha on Devikā river) V 82. 105, P. I. 25.12 (same words in both) ; B (a Devīsthāna or temple of Tripurabhairavī on the beautiful Nīlācala hill overhanging the Brahmaputrā river) Devī-Bhāgavata VII. 38. 15, Kal. 64.2 (explains the name and the whole chap. is māhātmya). This last is about two miles from Gauhati and was famed even in ancient times; vide TP pp. 599-601. Vide Shri B. Kakati's paper on the Mother Goddess Kāmākhya in 'Siddhabhāratī' part II. pp. 44 ff. In Kal. 18. 42 and 50 it is said that on Kāmagiri in Kāmarūpa, the private parts of Satī fell when her corpse was carried by Śiva and Devī is known as Kāmākhyā there.

Kāmakoṣṭhaka (Kāmakoṭi)—Pīṭha of Tripurasundarī—Kāmākṣī, Br. IV. 5. 6-10, IV. 40. 16 (in Kāñcī), IV. 44.94 (one of the 50 pīṭhas of Lalitā), Bh. X. 79. 14 (Kāmakoṣṇīm purīm Kāñcīm)

Kāmākṣā—(in Ahicchatra) a Devīsthāna established by Sumada, P. IV. 12. 54-60

Kāmākṣī—(in the east) N. II. 69 (for māhātmya)

Kamalākṣa—(here Devī is called Mahotpalā) M. 13. 34

Kamalālaya—M. 13. 32 (here Devī is called Kamalā)

Kāmatīrtha—(under south bank of Narmadā) K. II. 41. 55, G. I. 81. 9.

Kambalāśvatarau Nāgau—A (under Prayāga) M 106. 27, 110. 8, K. I. 37. 19 (on south bank of Yamunā), Ag. 111. 5; B two Nāgas (i. e. springs or pools) in Kāśmīra, NM 1052

Kambalāśvatarākṣa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 102

Kambotikeśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 60

Kambutīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 136. 1

Kāmeśvara-liṅga—(under VS) SK. IV. 33, 122

Kāmeśvarīpīṭha—(Kal. 84 describes the yātrā)

Kāmika—(where Gaṇḍakī river joins Devikā) Var. 144. 84–85

Kāmodāpura—(on the Ganges) N. II, 68 (contains Kāmodāmāhātmya). Four maidens arose at the churning of the ocean viz. Ramā, Vāruṇī, Kāmodā and Varā, of whom Viṣṇu accepted three and Vāruṇī was taken away by the asuras; chap. 68. 18, it is 10 yojanas above Gaṅgādvāra

Kampanā (r.)—V. 84. 115–116, Bhī. 9. 25

Kāmyaka—āśrama (of the Pāṇḍavas) V. 146.6

Kāmyaka-saras—S. 52. 20

Kāmyakavana—A (on the banks of the Sarasvatī) V. 36. 41 (where Pāṇḍavas went from Dvaitavana), Vām. 41. 30–31; B (under Mathurā) 4th out of the 12 vanas

Kaṇādeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 92

Kanakā—(r. under Gayā) Vā 108. 80

Kanaka—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. 189

Kanakanandā—(a river to the north of Muṇḍa-pṛṣṭha at Gayā) N II. 44. 62, Vā 77. 105 (Kanakanandī), K. II. 37. 41–43 (reads Brahma-pṛṣṭha)

Kanakavāhinī (r. in Kāśmīra now called Kankanai flowing past Buthśer i. e. Bhūteśvara) NM 1545, R. I. 149–150 (flows into river Sind). See SM. p. 211. NM (1539–42) says that the confluence of Sindhu and Kanakavāhinī is equal to VS

Kanakeśvera—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 104

Kanakhala—A (on the Ganges about two miles from Haridvāra) V. 84.30, Anu 25.13, V Dh. S. 85.14, K. II. 37. 10–11, SK. I. 1. 2. 11 (where Rudra destroyed Dakṣayajña), Vā. 83.21, Vām. 4.57; vide T. P. p. 377; B (under Gayā between Uttara and Dakṣiṇa Mānasa) Vā. 111. 7, Ag. 115.23, N. II. 46.46; C (under Narmadā) M. 183.69, P. I. 20.67 (where Garuḍa practised *tapas*); D (under Mathurā) Var. 152.40–49 (where a barber Kāmpilya in Pāñcāla country bathed in Yamunā and was born as a brāhmaṇa)

Kāñcanākṣī—(r. near Naimiṣa forest) Vām. 83.2

Kāñcī or Kāñcīpurī—vide pp. 711–712 above. A-one of the seven holy cities, capital of the Colas and a Devīsthāna called Annapūrṇā. P. VI. 110.5, Devī-Bh. VII. 38.8, Br. IV, 5.6–10 and IV, 39.15, Bh. X. 79.14, Vā. 104.76, P. IV. 17.67, Bār. S. III. 124 (a Śākta-kṣetra). In a new Inscription of Jayavarman I from Cambodia a king of Kāñcī appears to be referred to (vide 'Inscriptions du Cambodge' edited by G. Coedes, vol. I p. 8 'adhārmikajana—dhvāntam navoditavivasvatā। ākāñcipura-nṛpa...(rest lost); B (under Narmadā, P. I. 17.8

Kāntipurī—vide p. 678 note 1535 above. It may be noted that the text of the Ain. A. had Kānti. Vide Ain. A. vol. III. p 305 n. 4, SK. IV. 7. 100–102, Māheśvara Khaṇḍa, sub-section Kedāra, 27.33 (the liṅga Allālanātha therein). Kāntipurī in the Mirzapur District was the capital of the Bhāraśivas. Jayaswal in 'History of India' (150–350 A. D.) p. 123 quotes as from Vi. the passage

'Navanāgāḥ Padmāvatyām Kāntipuryām Mathurāyām...bhokṣyanti'. The Venk. ed. of Vi. omits the words 'Kāntipuryām Mathurāyām' and Dr. Hall in Wilson's translation, vol IV p. 217 notes that one of his best mss. does the same. Kāntipurī occurs in Br. III. 13. 94–95.

Kaṇvāśrama—**A** (on the river Mālinī in the Saharanpur District) V. 82. 45, 88. 11, VDh. S. 85. 30, Ag. 109. 10. In the Śākuntala Act I Kaṇvāśrama is said to be along the bank of the Mālinī; in Śat. Br. 13.5.4. 13 we read 'Śakuntalā Nāḍapityapsarā Bharatam dadhe,' on which the commentator Harisvāmin states that Nāḍapit was the name of Kaṇva's *āśrama*; **B** on Carmaṇvatī, four miles south-east of Koṭā in Rajputana. Vide Dey p. 89

Kanyā (on the southern sea, same as Kumārī, Cape Comorin) Bh. X. 79. 17 (Kanyākhyām Durgādevīm dadarśa saḥ); see under Kumārī

Kanyāhrada-Anu 25.53

Kānyakubja—(one of the 50 pīṭhas of Lalitā) Br. IV. 44. 94; V 87. 17 (where Viśvāmitra drank *soma* with Indra); M. 13. 29 (Devī is called Gaurī in Kānyakubja i. e. Kanoj); Anu 4.17, P. V. 35 (Rāma established image of Vāmana here on the southern bank of river Kālīnadī which ultimately falls into the Ganges), P. VI. 129. 9. The Mbh. (vol. II. p. 233 on Pāṇ. IV. 1.79) mentions Kānyakubjī. Rām. I. 32. 6 says Mahodaya was founded by Kuśanābha, son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā. The A. C. p. 182 states that Kānyakubja, Mahodaya, Kanyākubja, Gādhipura are synonyms (verses 973–74). Vide under Mahodaya and A. G. pp. 376–382; Ptolemy mentions it (p. 134) as Kanagora and Kanogiza.

Kanyākūpa—Anu 25. 19

Kanyā—saṃvedya—V. 84. 136, P. I. 38. 52.

Kanyāśrama—V. 83. 189, P. I. 12.5, 27. 75, 39. 35.

Kanyātīrtha—**A** (near the sea) V. 83. 112, 85. 23, K. II. 44. 9, P. I. 39. 21; **B** (under Narmadā) M. 193. 76, K. II 42. 21; **C** (in Naimiṣa forest) V. 95. 3, P. I. 27. 1

Kapālamocanatīrtha—**A** (in VS) V. 83. 137, SK IV. 33. 116, N. II. 29. 38–60 (Śiva cut off one of Brahmā's head, which stuck to his hand from which he became free at this tīrtha), Śal. 39, 8, M. 183. 84–103, Vām. 3. 48–51, Var. 97. 24–26, P. V. 14. 185–189, K. I. 35.15 (same story in these five purāṇas); **B** (on Sarasvatī, otherwise called Auśanasa) Vām. 39.5–14 (where sage Rahodara got rid of the head of a rākṣasa sticking to his neck and killed by Rāma), Śal. 39.9–22 (same story of Rahodara); vide ASR. of India vol. XIV pp. 75–76 for the situation of this (10 miles to the south-east of Sadhora), legend of Śiva being freed from sin of cutting Brahmā's head and description; **C** (under Avantī) N. II. 78.6; **D** (in Kāśmīra, modern Degām in Śupiyan *pargaṇa*) R. VII. 266 (and Stein's n), HC X. 249, XIV. 111; **E** (in Māyāpura i. e. Haridvāra) P. VI. 129.28

Kapāleśvara (under VS) L. q. by T. K. 58

Kapardīśvara (one of the guhya liṅgas in VS) K. I. 32.12, I. 33.4–11 and 28–49, P. I. 35.1

Kapaṭeśvara (on the southern side of the Kāśmīra valley close to modern Kothera) R. I. 32, HC XIV. 34 and 135, NM 1178, 1202, 1329–1357 (legend how Śiva shows himself in the disguise of a piece of wood); SM pp. 178–179, Ain. A. vol. II p. 358 says 'in the valley of Kotihar

is a deep spring...when its water decreases an image of Mahādeva in sandalwood appears '

Kāpila (under VS) K I. 35.9

Kapilā—A (a stream under Gayā) Vā. 108.57-58, Ag.116.5; B (river on the south side of Narmadā) M 186. 40, 190.10, K. II. 40.24, P. I. 13.35 (same verse in last two). It joins Narmadā at Barwani in Central India.

Kapiladhārā—Vām. 84.24. Dey p. 4 (under Amarakaṇṭaka) says that the first fall of the Narmadā from Amarakaṇṭaka is called Kapiladhārā in Skandapurāṇa

Kāpiladvīpa—(Ananta is Viṣṇu's *guhya* name there) Nr 65.7 q. by TK p. 251 (which reads 'Anantam kapilam dvīpe ')

Kapilahrada (under VS) V. 84.78, N II. 50.46, P I. 32.41, L I. 92.69-70. N. II. 66.35 mentions under Haridvāra a tīrtha of that name

Kapilanāgarāja—V. 84. 32, P. I. 28.32 (same verse in both)

Kapilāsaṅgama—A (with Narmadā) M. 186. 40, P. II. 18. 1, VI. 242. 42; B (under Go.) B 141. 1 and 28-29

Kapilatīrtha—A (under Viraja in Orissa) B 42.6; B (on north bank of Narmadā) M 193. 4, K II. 41. 93-100, P I. 17. 7, V 83. 47, T. S. p. 100; C (on the south bank of Go.) B 155. 1-2 (also called Āṅgirasa, Āditya and Saiṁhikeya).

Kapilātīrtha—(under Kapateśvara in Kāśmīra) HC 14. 113

Kapilāvaṭa—(near Nāgatīrtha and Kanakhala) V. 84. 31, P. I. 28. 31

Kapileśaliṅga—(under VS) SK IV. 33. 158

Kapileśvara-liṅga—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp. 57, 107; B (under Narmadā) P II. 85 26

Kapiśā—(r. in Utkala i. e. Orissa) Raghu. IV. 38. May be identified with Kasai flowing through Midnapur.

Kāpiśī—(r.) Pāṇ. IV. 2.99 mentions it; it is the Kapisene of Greek writers.

Kāpota—(under Go.) B 80. 5 and 92

Kāpotakatīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P VI. 155. 1 (here the r. turns to the east).

Kapoteśvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92.156

Karahāṭaka—(modern Karad in the Satara District on the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and the Koyanā) S. 31. 70, Vik 8. 2. It is mentioned in inscriptions from about 200 B. C. Vide Cunningham's 'Bharhut stūpa' p. 131 for a donation of the guild of Karahākaṭa, pp. 135 and 136 for gift of pillars by certain inhabitants of Karahākaṭa. Coins of the *Kṣatrapas* ruling up to 300 A. D. were found at Karad. Vide Bom. G. vol. I part 1 p. 58; and Talegaon copperplates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇarāja I dated *śake* 690 (768 A.D.) in E. I. vol. XIII p. 275.

Kārandhama (on the south sea) Ādi 216.3

Karañjatīrtha (under Narmadā) M. 190.11

Kārantuka (under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 22.60. Vide p. 683 above

Kārapacava (on the Yamunā) Pañcaviṁśa Br. 25.10.23, Āśv. Śr. XII 6, Kātyāyana Śr. S. 24.6.10

Karapāda (shrine of Śiva) Vam. q. by TK p. 235

Kārapavana (near source of Sarasvatī) Śal. 54.12 and 15

Karatoyā (r. flowing through the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Bogra in Bengal and being the western boundary of Kāmarūpa) V 85.3, S. 9. 22, Anu. 25.12. The Amarakośa says that Karatoyā and Sadānīrā are synonyms. Acc. to Mār. 54.25 it rises in the Vindhya, while Vā. 45.100 says it rises in Ṛkṣapāda. In Sm. C. I. p. 132 the

mantra in invoking the river begins 'Karatoye Sadānīre' (thus identifying the two)

Kāravatī (a place fit for śrāddha) Br. III. 13.92

Karavīra—**A** (modern Kolhapur) M. 13.41 (*Karavīre* Mahālaksmīh) = P. V. 17 205, M. 22.76, Anu 25.44, P. VI. 108.3 ; E. I. vol. III p. 207, 210, a grant of Śilāditya Vyayāditya of *śake* 1065 mentions Kṣullakapura which appears to be meant for Kolhapura. It occurs as Kollāpura in Miraj plates of Jayasimha II (a Cālukya) in 1024 A. D. (E. I. vol. XII p. 303, 306). Vide I. A. vol. 29 p. 280 for the spelling of the name ; **B** (capital of Brahmāvarta on Dṛsadvatī) Kālikāpurāṇa 49.71, NM 147 ; **C** (city in Sabya near Gomanta hill) Harivaṁśa (Viṣṇuparva) 39. 50-64

Karavīraka-tīrtha—**A** (under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 70 ; **B** (under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126.48-51

Kardamāla—**A** (under Gayā) M 22.77, Ag. 116. 13, N II. 60. 24 ; **B** (under Sābhramati) P VI. 165. 7 and 10.

Kardamāśrama—(near Bindusaras) Bh. III. 21. 35-37

Kardamila—V. 135. 1 (where Bharata was crowned).

Karkandha—Vām. 51. 52

Karkoṭakeśvara — (under Narmadā) M 191. 36

Karmavarohaṇa—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by TK p. 190

Karmeśvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 152

Karṇahrada—(near Gaṅgāsarasvatīsaṅgama) P. I. 32. 4

Karṇaprayāga—Vide under Alakanandā and U. P. Gazetteer, vol. 36 (for Garhwal) p. 172

Kārtikeya—**A** (Devī is called Yaśaskarī here) M. 13.45; **B** (under Go.) B 81. 1, G. I. 81. 9.

Kārtikeya-kuṇḍa—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 61

Kārtikeyapada—(in Gayā) Vā 109. 19, 111. 54

Kāśī—Vide pp. 618-642 above. It is probably the Kassida of Ptolemy (p. 228). AC (p. 182) notes that Kāśī Varāṇasī, Vārāṇasī and Śivapurī are synonyms (verse 974)

Kāśmīra-maṇḍala—The ancient name seems to have been Kaśmīra. The Mbh (vol. II. p. 119) on Pāṇ. III. 2. 114 employs this form (ābhijānāsi Devadatta Kaśmīrān gamiṣyāmaḥ). Kaśmīra as the name of a country occurs in the Sindhvādigaṇa (Pāṇ. IV. 3. 93). In NM the country is called Kaśmīra in many verses such as 5, 11, 43, 50, but sometimes Kāśmira also. Later works also like H. C. 14. 45 employ the form Kaśmira ; the Vik (18. 1 and 18) uses the form Kāśmīra. NM (292-93) derives the name from *ka* meaning water (kam vāri Hariṇā yasmād-deśād-asmād-apākṛtam ı Kaśmīrākhyam tato hyasya nāma loke bhaviṣyati ıı). Ptolemy speaks of it as Kaspeiria and states that the country was situated below the sources of Bidaspes (Vitastā), Sandabal (Candrabhāgā) and Adris (Irāvatī). Vide Ptolemy pp. 108-109 and NM 43. The Vanaparva speaks of the whole country of Kāśmira as holy (130. 10). Ain. A. (vol. II p. 354 notes that the whole of Kāśmīra is regarded as holy ground. Vide also V 82. 90, S. 27. 17, Anu 25. 8. According to a treaty in 1846 with the Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu the territories of the Maharaja are 'situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Rāvī ' I. G. I. vol. XV p. 72. The Kashmir valley is approximately 84 miles in length and 20 to 25 miles in breadth (I. G. I. vol. XV p. 74). Stein (SM p. 63) says that its extent is confined to the great valley drained

by the head waters of the Vitastā and to the minor slopes of mountains that surround it. Hiouen Thsang (Beal's B R W W vol. 1. p. 148) states that 'Kāśmīra kingdom is about 7000 *li* (one *li* being equal to about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles), that as the country is protected by a dragon it has always assumed superiority among neighbouring people, that they love learning and are well instructed and that (p. 149) the country was once a dragon lake and that afterwards it became dry'. The words of Hiouen Thsang refer to an ancient legend according to which Kashmīr was originally a lake (called Satisaras) 6 yojanas long and 3 yojanas wide and later became Satīdeśa (NM 64-66), that Umā herself is the country of Kāśmīra (NM 31), that the divine Vitastā rising in the Himālayas is like the *sīmanta* (line parting the hair) of this holy land (NM 45). The legend runs that Viṣṇu conferred a boon on Vāsuki-nāga who prayed to Viṣṇu when Garuḍa began to devour all nāgas that he should stay in the Satīdeśa along with the other nāgas, that no enemy would kill any nāga (NM 105-107) and that Nīla was made king of nāgas in the Satīdeśa (NM 110). The residence of *Nīla* is the famous fountain near the village of Vērnāg in the Shahabad *pargana*. A certain demon called Jalodbhava grew in the Satī lake and killed men (NM 111-123 and Vām. 81. 30-33). Nīla approached the sage Kaśyapa the father of all Nāgas, at whose intercession Viṣṇu asked Anantanāga to pierce the hills and make the lake dry and then killed the demon Jalodbhava (R. I. 25). Then Viṣṇu asked the Nāgas to live in peace and harmony with men. Satī became the river Vitastā. Vide Kūrma II. 43. 4. Nāga in Kashmir means the tutelary deity presiding over the several holy springs, pools and lakes in which Kāśmīra abounds. Both NM (1130-31) and R (I. 38) state that there is not a spot in Kāśmīra even as small as a grain of sesamum which is not a tīrtha and has not a nāga as its presiding deity. In Aīn. A. (vol. II. p. 354) Abul Fazl notes that there were in his day 45 shrines of Mahādeva, 64 of Viṣṇu, 3 of Brahmā and 22 of Durgā and that in 700 places there were graven images of snakes which were worshipped and about which wonderful stories were told. R (I. 72) and NM (313-314) say that the country of Kāśmīra is Pārvatī, that the king thereof should be deemed to be a part of Śiva and that none who desires prosperity should disobey (or disrespect) the king. R (I. 42) summarises in one verse the peculiar features of Kāśmīra viz. 'learning, lofty dwellings, saffron, water containing ice and grapes; these are common here, although rare in the three worlds'.

Kaśyapapada—(under Gayā) Vā. 109. 18, 111. 49 and 58

Kāśyapatīrtha—**A** (called Kālasarpiḥ) Vā. 77. 87, Br. III 13. 98; **B** (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 157. 1

Kaśyapeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 75

Kaṭheśvara—(near Candrabhāgā) M. 191. 63-64

Kātyāyaneśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 120

Kaubera—one of the Sārasvatatīrthas, Devala q. by T. K p. 250

Kauberatīrtha—Śal. 47. 25 (where Kubera secured the lordship of wealth)

Kaumāratīrtha—(a lake) Br. III. 13. 86

Kaunaṭa—Vām 51. 53

Kaundinyasaras—(Kramasāra is so called in Kāśmīra) NM 1481–1483

Kauśāmbi—(modern Kosam, about 30 miles to the west of Allahabad on the Jumnā); Rām. I. 32. 6 states that it was founded by Kuśāmba, son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā; T.K.p. 246. The Mbh. mentions it several times (vide vol. III. pp. 50, 134 on Pāṇ. VI. 1.31 and VI. 2. 130). Vide AG pp. 391–398 and under Hastināpura. A. C. (p. 182) says it is the capital of the Vatsa country. Vide 'Early History of Kauśāmbī' by Nagendranath Ghosh. The Kauśāmbi Pillar edict of Aśoka (C. I I. vol. 1 p. 159) mentions the mahāmātras of this city. In JRAS for 1898 pp 503–519 Vincent Smith disputes the identification of modern Kosam with Kauśāmbī. Vide E. I vol. XI p. 141 on different views about the location of Kauśāmbī.

Kauśikahrada—(on r. Kauśikī) V. 84. 142—143, P. I. 38. 58 (where Viśvāmitra obtained the highest *siddhi*).

Kauśikī—**A** (r. from Himālaya, modern Kusi) Ādi 215. 7, V. 84. 132, M 22. 63, 114. 22, Rām. I. 34. 7–9, Bh. IX. 15. 5–12 (Satyavatī, daughter of Gādhi, became r. Kauśikī), Vām. 54. 22–24 (so called because it was the dark *kośa* of Kālī cast off by her when she became fair). 78. 5, 90.2, Vā. 45.94, 91. 85–88. This river was called Pārā by Viśvāmitra (Ādi 71. 30–32);

B (under Gayā) V. 87. 13, Vā 108. 81 (Kauśikī brahmadā jyeṣṭhā). Here brahmadā is apparently an adjective of Kauśikī and not the name of another river as Prof. Dikṣitar (Purāṇa Index, vol. II. p. 507) thinks.

Kauśikī—Koka-saṅgama—Var. 140.75–78

Kauśikī-mahā-hrada—Vā 77. 101, Br. III. 13. 109

Kauśikī—saṅgama (with Dṛṣadvatī) P. I. 26. 89, Vām. 34. 18. This seems to be another Kauśikī apart from the two mentioned above.

Kauśikī-tīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 40

Kauśikyāruṇā—saṅgama—V. 84. 156, P. I. 38. 63

Kaustubheśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K 60

Kāverī—**A** (r. in south India rising in Sahya m.) V 85. 22, Anu 166. 20, Vā 45. 104, 77. 28, M. 22. 64, K. II. 37. 16–19, P. I. 39. 20, P. VI. 224. 3, 4 and 19 (is called Marudvṛdhā), Nr 66. 7 (says that Kāverī is Dakṣiṇa-Gaṅgā); there is a fine description of it in the Tamil epic Śilappadikāram (X. 102 ff, pp. 160 ff of Prof. Dikshitar's translation); **B** (a r. rising in the Rajpipla hills and falling into Narmadā on its northern bank opposite Śukla-tīrtha) M. 189. 12–14, K. II 40. 40, P. I. 16. 6–11 (Kubera got *yakṣādhipatya* here), Ag. 113. 3.

Kāverīsaṅgama—(with Narmadā) Ag. 113. 3 and vide under B above.

Kāyaśodhana—V. 83. 42–43

Kāyāvarohaṇa—**A** (modern Kārvān, 15 miles south of Baroda and in the Dabhoi Taluka) Vā 23. 221–222 (here Nakulī or Lakulī, the founder of Pāśupata doctrines, flourished), M. 22.30, K. II. 44. 7–8 (state that this was a shrine of Mahādeva and the doctrines of Maheśvara were promulgated here). E. I. vol. XXI pp. 1–7 (Mathurā Inscription of Candragupta II dated in Gupta year 61 i. e. 380 A. D. shows that Lakulī, the founder of the Pāśupata sect, flourished in the 2nd century A. D.; **B** (a Śivatīrtha in Benares) M. 181.26. In M. 13.48 Devī is said to be styled Mātā in Kāyāvarohaṇa)

(it is a Viṣṇutīrtha), P. I. 38.65; Var. (140. 60–84) says that the kṣetra is five yojanas in extent and that there is an image of Viṣṇu in the Boar incarnation. Vide E. I. vol. 15 pp. 138–139 for an Inscription of Budhagupta recording the installation of Kokāmukhasvāmin, and Dr. B. C. Law Presentation Volume I. pp. 189–191, I. H. Q. vol. XXI p. 56

Kokila—(under VS) P. I. 37. 16, P. V. 11. 10

Kolāhala—(a m.). Vā. 45. 90, 106. 45, Br. II. 16.21, Mār. 54.12, Vi. III 18. 73; same as Brahmayoni hill according to Dr. Mitra. Vide pp. 646, 656 above. According to the Ādi. 63. 35 it is in Cedi country and barred the flow of river Śuktimatī.

Kolāpura—(modern Kolhāpur, one of the Devīsthānas) Devī-Bh. VII 38. 5, P. VI. 176. 42 (where there is a shrine of Lakṣmī), 182. 1 (asti Kolhāpuram nāma nagaram Dakṣiṇāpathe) and 11. Acc. to Br. IV. 44. 97, it is sacred to Lalitā. In a grant of Śilāhāra Vijayāditya of *śake* 1065 (1143 A.D.) occurs the word Kṣullakāpura, which is another name of Kolhapur; E. I. vol. III. p. 207 at pp. 209–210. The grantor is described as 'one who has obtained the favour of a boon from goddess Mahālakṣmī'. In the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa I. of *śake* 793 (871 A. D.) it is stated that the king, in order to ward off some public calamity, cut off his left finger and dedicated it to goddess Mahālakṣmī (E. I. vol. 18. p. 235 at p. 241). This Mahālakṣmī appears to be the same as that of Kolhāpur. Vide I. A. vol. 29 p. 280 for Kollāpura.

Kolla—a Śāktakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 124

Kollagiri—Ag. 110. 21, Bh. V. 19. 16

Koṇārka or Koṇāditya—(in Odra i. e. Orissa, about 24 miles north-west of Jagannātha Purī). It means 'the sun of Kona'. Koṇākona appears to have been the ancient name. It is a most exquisite memorial of sun-worship. It contains magnificent ruins of a temple of the Sun, which was built by the Gaṅga king Narasiṁhadeva (1238–1264 A.D.). It is a glorious and most beautiful example of north Indian Hindu architecture ever erected. It had a tower over 180 feet in height and a porch (*maṇḍapa*) in front of 140 feet high. See Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa' vol. II pp. 145-156 and Hunter's 'Orissa' vol. I. p. 288 and 'Sungod of Koṇārka unearthed' (with illustrations) in Modern Review for 1945 pp 67–72. The Sun temple shows some of the finest animal sculptures executed in India. Vide B. 28. verses 2, 9. 11, 47, 65 and 29.1 and T. C. pp. 180 ff. It is probably the Kannagara of Ptolemy (vide Ptolemy p. 70)

Kośalā—(r. near Ayodhyā) P. I. 39. 11, VI. 206 13, 207. 35–36, 208. 27. In a grant of Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena he is praised as honoured by the kings of Kosalā (Kosala), Mekala and Mālava. Vide E. I. vol. IX p. 271.

Koṭarā-tīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 152.2 and 13 (associated with Aniruddha for whom Kṛṣṇa fought with Bāṇāsura.)

Koṭarā-vana—named by Pāṇ. VI. 3.117 and VIII. 4.4. Vide under Kiṁśuluka and Pāṇ. VIII. 4. 4 for the names of five *vanas*.

Koṭikeśvara-(under Narmadā) P I.18.36

Koṭīśvara—**A** (under VS) L. q. by T.K. 54; **B** (under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 157; **C**(under Pañcanada) Vām.34.29; is it the Koṭīśvara, which is a famous place of pilgrimage on the western shore of Kachh, Close to the Indus and the ocean? A. G. pp. 303–4 and Bom. G. vol V. pp. 229–231

Koṭitīrtha—A (near Pṛthūdaka) Vām. 51.53, 84. 11-15 (where Śiva assumed one crore of forms for crores of sages eager to see Śiva); B (near Bhartṛsthāna) V. 55. 61; C (under Prayāga) M. 106. 44; D (under Mathurā) Var. 152. 62, 154. 29; E (under Narmadā) M. 191. 7, K. II. 41, 34, P I. 13. 33 and 18. 8 (a crore of asuras were killed there); F (on south bank of Go.) B. 148. 1; G (near Gaṅgādvāra) V. 82. 49, V. 84. 77, N. II. 66. 29; H (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 6; I (in Pañcanada) P I. 26. 14, Vām. 34. 28 (so called because Hara collected there the waters of crores of tīrthas): J (in Kāśmīra near Bāramūla, modern Koṭisar) K. R. p. 12

Koṭivaṭa—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 47-50, 147. 40

Kramasāra—(a lake in Kāśmīra, called Viṣṇupada also) NM 1481-82

Kratutīrtha—(under Narmadā) P I. 21. 9

Krauñcapāda—(under Gayā) Vā. 108. 75-77 (a sage in the form of Krauñca bird practised *tapas* on it), N. II. 46. 52, Ag. 116. 7

Krauñcapadī—Anu. 25. 42

Krauñcaparvata—(part of Kailāsa on which Mānasa lake is situated) Tai. Ā. I. 31. 2 mentions this m. (Sudarśane ca Krauñce ca Maināge ca mahāgirau), Rām. IV. 43. 26-31, Bhī. 111. 47 (pierced by the missile of Skanda), Śal.17. 51 and 46.83-84.

Krauñcāraṇya—(three krośas from Janasthāna) Rām. III. 69. 5-8

Kriyā (r. rising from Ṛkṣavat) Br. II. 16. 29

Kṛkalāsatīrtha—(also called Nṛgatīrtha) T. P. p. 543. Anu. 6. 38 and chap. 70; Rām. (VII. 53) narrates how king Nṛga became a chameleon.

Kṛmicaṇḍeśvara—(one of the eight *Śivasthānas* in Banaras) M. 181. 29

Krośodaka—Var. 215. 87-88

Kṛpā—(r. rising in m. Suktimat) M. 114. 32, Br. II. 16. 38

Kṛpāṇītīrtha—(on hill Muṇḍapṛṣṭha in Kāśmīra) NM. 1253, 1460

Kṛṣṇā—A (r. rising in Sahya at Mahābaleśvara) B. 77.5, P. VI. 113. 25, Vām. 13. 30; B Vām. 78. 7, 90. 2 (Viṣṇu as Hayaśīrṣa on the river); compared to its length and modern importance the river Kṛṣṇā is rarely mentioned as Kṛṣṇā, but generally as Kṛṣṇa-Veṇyā or-Veṇā. It is the third largest river of the Deccan and southern India, the other two being the Godāvarī and the Kāverī. In the Mahābaleśvara *mahātmya* (JBBRAS vol. X. at p. 16 five rivers called Gaṅgā are said to rise from the top of Sahya near Mahābaleśvara viz. Kṛṣṇā, Veṇī, Kakudmatī (Koynā), Sāvitrī (that falls into the Arabian sea near Bāṅkoṭ) and Gāyatrī (supposed to combine with Sāvitrī).

Kṛṣṇa-gaṅgā—(under Mathurā) Var. 175. 3

Kṛṣṇagaṅgodbhavatīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 176. 43 (the whole chap. deals with its *māhātmya*).

Kṛṣṇagiri—(m.) Vā 45. 91, Br. II. 16,22

Kṛṣṇatīrtha—(near Kurukṣetra) Vām. 81.9

Kṛṣṇa-Veṇā—Bhī. 9.16, M. 22, 45, Ag. 118. 7, B. 27. 35, Vā 45. 104; occurs in Emperor Khāravela's inscription in E. I. vol. XX at p. 77 as Kaṇhabemnā). The Anu. 166. 22 mentions Veṇyā and Kṛṣṇa-Veṇā separately. In the Alas plate of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govind II. dated *śake* 692 (769 A.D.) the confluence of Kṛṣṇaverṇā and Musī is referred to (E.I. vol.VI. 208).

Kṛṣṇā-Veṇyā—(as one river and same as above) P. VI. 108,27 (confluence of Kṛṣṇā and Veṇyā), VI. 113. 3 and 25 (Kṛṣṇā is the body of Kṛṣṇa); Sm. C. I. p. 132 gives a mantra for the bath in Kṛṣṇā-Veṇyā. Vide, TS pp. 67-83, of which p. 70 states that all

rivers rising from Sahya destroy sins the moment they are remembered and that Kṛṣṇa-Veṇyā is the best of all such rivers. Māhuli about four miles from Satara is at the confluence of Kṛṣṇā and Yennā (which stands for Veṇyā).

Kṛṣṇa-Veṇī—(same as above two) M. 114. 29, Rām. V. 41. 9. In T.S. pp. 67–83 there is a *māhātmya* of Kṛṣṇaveṇī from SK.

Kṛtamāla—(r. rising in Malaya) Vā 45. 105, B 27. 36, M 114. 30, Br. III. 35. 17, Bh. VIII. 24. 12, X 79. 16, XI. 5. 39, Vi. II. 3. 13. Dey p. 104 says that it is the river Vaiga on which Madurā is situated. See under Payasvinī. The Bhāgavata says Manu practised penance on this river and helped the fish (avatāra) to grow.

Kṛtaśauca—M. 13. 45, 179. 87, Vām. 90. 5 (has an image of Nṛsiṁha), P. VI. 280. 18

Kṛttikāṅgāraka—Anu. 25. 22

Kṛttikāśrama—Anu. 25. 25

Kṛttikātīrtha—(under Go.) B 82. 1

Kṛttivāsa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 40

Kṛttivāseśvaraliṅga—(in VS) K. I. 32. 12 (verses 16–18 explain why it is so called), P. I. 34. 10, N. II 49. 6–9 (different names in different yugas, this being the one in Tretā yuga)

Krumu—(r.) Ṛg. V. 53. 9 and X. 75. 6. It is generally held to be modern Kurram that falls into the Indus on its western side near Isakhel. Vide Dey p. 105 for other views.

Kṣamā—(r. rising from Ṛṣyavat) M. 114. 25

Kṣemeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K 117

Kṣiprā—(r. rising in Vindhya m.) M. 114. 27, Vām, 83. 18–19. Some printed works write it as Śiprā (Vāyu 45. 98) or Siprā. The printed Matsya says that Kṣiprā rises from Vindhya, while in 114.24 it mentions Śiprā as rising from Pāriyātra m. The printed Brahma (chap. 27) mentions Siprā twice, one rising from Pāriyātra (verse 29) and the other rising from Vindhya (verse 33). It is doubtful whether there were two rivers of the same name. The Brahmāṇḍa II. 16. 29 and 32 (Kṣiprā in both places) is just like the Brahma.

Kṣiravatī—(r.) V. 84. 68 (reached after Sarasvatī and Bāhudā)

Kṣirikā—(where there is Nīlakaṇṭha) Vām. q by T. K. p. 238

Kṣudhātīrtha—(under Go.) B. 85. 1

Kuberatuṅga — (a fit place for śrāddha) Vā 77. 78, K II. 37. 31, Br. III. 13. 80

Kubhā—(probably modern Kabul river) Ṛg. V. 53. 9 and X. 75. 6. It is the Kophes of Ptolemy and Kophen of Arrian (A. I. p. 179). The Kabul river joins the Indus at Ohind, a few miles north of Attock. Pāṇ. V. 1. 77 (Uttarapathenāhṛtam ca) mentions Uttarapatha (the road in the north that crossed the Sindhu near Attock)

Kubjaka—N. II. 60. 25, G. I. 81. 10 (Kubjake Śrīdharo Hariḥ)

Kubjāmraka—(it had a hermitage of Raibhya near Gaṅgādvāra) V 84. 40, M. 22. 66, P. I, 32. 5. VDh. S 85. 15, K. II. 20. 33, G. I. 81. 10 hold it a very eminent place for śrāddha. Var. 125. 101 and 132 and 126. 33 appear to identify it with Māyātīrtha (i. e. Haridvāra). Var. 126 contains a māhātmya of this place and 23 verses of it are quoted in T.K pp. 206–208 without a single word by way of comment. Chap. 126. 10–12 explain why it is so called (a mango tree was seen by sage Raibhya as informed by God and he became bent in reverence). There is doubt about its exact

location. Var. 179. 26–31 aver that Mathurā is superior to Saukaratīrtha, which again is superior to Kubjāmraka. Var. 140.60–64 explain how the holy place Hṛṣīkeśa came to be so called. On the whole it is better to take Kubjāmraka as a sacred spot in Haridvāra itself or very near it.

Kubjāsaṅgama—(with Narmadā) P. II. 92. 32

Kubjāśrama—(a Viṣṇusthāna with an extent of one yojana) K. II. 35. 33–35.

Kubjāvana—P. I. 39. 34

Kubjikāpīṭha—(where Satī's private parts fell while her corpse was being carried by Śiva). Kālikā 64. 53–54 and 71–72

Kuḍmalā—(a r.) M 22. 46 (śrāddha performed here is very efficacious)

Kuhū—(r. sprung from Himālaya) M. 114. 21, Vā 45.95, Br. II. 16. 25, Vām 57. 80, B 27. 26; In M. 121. 46 the word 'Kuhūn occurs as the name of a people or a country after Gāndhāras and Aurasas. It cannot be definitely identified with any modern river.

Kukkuṭeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K 98

Kulampuna—V 83. 104, P I. 26. 97

Kuleśvara—(under Mathurā) Var. 177, 55

Kuliśī—(r.) Ṛg. I. 104. 4

Kulyā—(r.) Anu. 25. 56 q. by T.K p. 247

Kumāra—P. I. 38. 61

Kumāra—dhārā–V. Dh. S. 85. 25, Vā. 77. 85, V. 84. 149 (which springs from Pitāmaha's lake), Vām. 84. 23, K. II. 37. 20 (near Svāmitīrtha), Br. III. 13. 94–95 (near Vyāsa's seat for dhyāna and Kāntipurī)

umāra—kośalā–tīrtha—Vā. 77.37

Kumārakoṭī—V. 82. 117, P I. 25. 23, Ag. 109. 13

Kumāratīrtha—Nr. 65. 17 q. by T.K p. 252

Kumāreśvaraliṅga—SK. I. 2. 14. 6 ff, Vām. 46. 23

Kumārī—(Cape Comorin, where there is a temple of Kumārī Devī in which there is a fine image of the goddess as a maiden). Ptolemy mentions it as Koumaria while the Periplus refers to it as Komar or Komarei; V. 88. 14 (in the plural as 'Kumāryaḥ' in the Pāṇḍya country), Vā. 77. 28, Br. III. 13. 28. Br. II. 16. 11 and M. 114. 10 state that the 9th dvīpa of Bhāratavarṣa extends from Kumārī to the source of the Ganges. Śabara on Jaimini, X. 1. 35 asserts that the word 'Caru' is used in the sense of *sthālī* from the Himālaya to the Kumārī country.

Kumārila—(on the Vitastā in Kāśmīra) Vām. 81. 11

Kumbha—(a place fit for śrāddha) Vā. 77. 47

Kumbhakarṇāśrama—V. 84. 157, P I. 38. 64 (same verse in both)

Kumbhakoṇa — (modern Kumbhakoṇam) in Tanjore District) SK. III, Brahmakhaṇḍa 52. 101

Kumbhīśvara — (under VS on the eastern bank of Varaṇā) L.q. by T.K p. 45

Kumudākara — (under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 25–26

Kumudvatī—(r. rising in Vindhya) Vā. 45. 102, B. 27. 33

Kuṇḍaleśvara—A (under Narmadā) M. 190. 12; B (near southern gate of Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 149

Kundavana—(third out of the twelve *vanas* of Mathurā) Var. 153. 32

Kuṇḍeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 68

Kuṇḍina—Nr. 65. 19, Vām. q. by T.K p. 239; also called Vidarbhā (acc. to A. C. p. 182 verse 979)

Kuṇḍiprabha—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 148

Kuṇḍoda—(a hill near Kāśī) V. 87. 25–26

Kuñjatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 9

Kuraṅga—Anu. 25. 12

Kurujāṅgala—(Sirhind in Punjab, fit place for śrāddha) M. 21. 9 and 28, Vā. 77. 93, Vām. 22. 47 (it is between Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī), 84. 3 and 17, K. II. 37. 36, Bh. III. 1.24, X. 86. 20. Vide p. 688 above

Kurujāṅgalāraṇya—Devīpurāṇa q. by T.K. p. 244

Kurukṣetra—Vide pp. 681–686 above. The Kurukṣetra-māhātmya mentions 180 holy places in it, though popular belief is that there are 360. Vide A. G. p. 332

Kuśaplavana—V. 85. 36

Kuśastamba—Anu. 25. 28 q. by T.K. p. 246

Kuśasthala—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 16

Kuśasthalī—**A** (same as Dvārakā and capital of Ānarta) Vi. IV. 1. 64 and 91, M 12. 22, 69.9, Vā 86. 24 and 88.1, Bh. VII. 14.31, IX. 3. 28 (Revata, son of Ānarta, founded this city inside the sea and ruled over Ānarta), XII. 12.36 (Kṛṣṇa founded this city), Br. III. 61. 20 (in Ānarta). Vide p. 746 above; **B** (capital of Kosala, where Kuśa son of Rāma began to rule) Rām. VII. 107. 17, Vā 88. 199; **C** (same as Kuśāvatī former name of Kusinārā where occurred Buddha's Nirvāṇa). SBE vol. XI. p 248 note

Kuśatarpaṇa—(under Go.) B 161. 1 (also called Praṇītāsaṅgama)

Kuśatīrtha—(under Narmadā) K. II. 41. 33

Kuśāvarta—**A**(near Nasik Tryambakeśvara) V Dh.S. 85.11, B. 80.2, M 22. 69. Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 651; **B** (near Haridvāra) Anu. 25 13, N II. 40. 79, Bh. III. 20. 4

Kuśāvatī—(capital of Kosala on the Vindhya slopes where Kuśa ruled) Vā 88.199, Rām. VII. 107. 7. In the Mahasudassana sutta (SBE XI. p. 248) it is stated that Kusinārā was the city of king Mahāsudassana under the name Kuśāvatī

Kuśeśaya—(v. l. Kuśeśvara) M. 22. 76

Kuśikasyāśrama—(on r. Kauśikī) V. 84. 131–132

Kuśivaṭa—Nr. q. by T.K p. 252

Kuṣmāṇḍeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 103

Kusumeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 112–117 and 125

Kūṭaka—(m.) Bh. V. 6.7 (Kuṭaka), V. 19.16 (Kūṭaka)

Kūṭaśaila—(m.) Vā. 45. 92, Br. II. 16. 23 (probably the same as Kūṭaka above)

L

Lakṣmaṇācala—N. II. 75. 74

Lakṣmaṇatīrtha—**A** (under Go.) B 123. 215; **B** (under Setu) SK III. Brahmakhaṇḍa 52. 106–7 (tonsure of the head only at this tīrtha). The tīrtha is on a river rising in Brahmagiri on the southern frontier of Coorg and falling into the Kāverī. IGI vol. 16. p. 131

Lakṣaṇeśvara—(under VS) N. II. 49.64

Lakṣmītīrtha—(under Go.) B 137.1

Lalitā—(in VS) N. II. 49. 41, L. q. by TK. p. 96; M. 22. 11 mentions it, but it seems that it was on the Ganges somewhere.

Lalitaka—(tīrtha of Santanu) V 84.34, P I. 28.34, N. II. 66.37

Lāṅgala-tīrtha—(under Narmadā) P I. 18.51

Lāṅgali-liṅga—(under VS) L. q. by TK p. 105

Lāṅgalinī—(r.) S. 9.22, Mār. 54. 29 (Langulinī from Mahendra), Vām. 83. 14 q. by TK. p. 235. The town of Chicacole in Ganjam District of Madras State stands on the left bank of the Lāṅgulya, 4 miles from its mouth. I.G.I. vol. X, p. 217

Lapeṭikā—(r.) V. 85. 15

Lauhitya—(r. Brahmaputrā) V. 85. 2, Vā 47. 11, 77. 95, M 121. 11–12 (a *nada* which springs from a lake called Lohita at the foot of Hemaśṛṅga mountain), Anu 25.46, P.I. 39.2 (same verse as in V 85.2) and V. 52 54, Kālikāpurāṇa 86. 26–34. From Raghuvaṁśa IV. 81 it appears that Lauhitya was the western boundary of Prāgjyotiṣa. Vide TP. pp. 601–602 for *māhātmya*. The form Lauhitya occurs in Yaśodharman's inscription (about 532–33. A. D.); vide 'Gupta Inscriptions' p. 142 at p. 146

Laukika—(under VS) K. I. 35. 13

Lavaṇā—r. flowing close by the city of Padmāvatī situated on confluence of Pārā and Sindhu. Vide Mālatīmādhava, Act IX. verse 2

Lavaṇakatīrtha—(on Sarasvatī) P I. 26. 48

Lāviḍhikā—(near Campā) P I. 38. 71

Liṅgasāra—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 51

Liṅgi-Janārdana—(under Narmadā) K II. 41. 61

Lohadaṇḍa—M. 22. 65, Vām. 90. 29 (Viṣṇu as Hṛṣīkeśa here). Śrāddha is most efficacious here.

Lohajaṅghavana—(9th out of twelve *vanas* of Mathurā) Var. 153. 41

Lohakūṭa—N. II. 60. 24

Lohārgala—(a Viṣṇusthāna in Himālaya) Var. 140. 5 (that Mleccha kings support or resort to it), 144.10, 151. 1–83 (verses 7–8 say that thirty *yojanas* from Siddhavaṭa in the midst of mlecchas is Lohārgala). Var. 151 verses 13–14 explain why it is so called, 151. 79 says it is twenty-five yojanas in extent. The T. K. (pp. 228–229) quotes twelve verses on it from Var. 151. Dey p. 115 surmises that it is probably Lohāghāṭ in Kumaon

Lohita—(same as Śoṇa) Anu. 166. 21; in Br. II. 16–27 Lohita seems to be meant for Brahmaputrā.

Lohita-Gaṅgaka—(same as Lauhitya) Kal. 86. 32–34

Lokapāla—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 28–31

Lokapāleśvara—(under VS) L. q. by TK. p. 105

Lokoddhāra—V. 83. 45, P. I. 26. 41 (same verse in both)

Lolārka — (under VS) M. 185. 68 (one of the five principal tīrthas in Banaras), K. I. 35, 14, P. I. 37. 17 (reads Lokārka), Vām. 15. 58–59. Vide p. 634 above

Loṇārakuṇḍa—(in Viṣṇu-Gayā) P. VI. 176. 41. Loṇār is a salt lake in the Buldana District of Berar, the fabled den of the giant Loṇāsura whom Viṣṇu vanquished. It is a place of great antiquity and held in great veneration. Ain. A. vol. II. describes it (pp. 230-231) and states that brāhmaṇas call it Bishan Gayā. One of the best remaining examples in Berar of the medieval temples is that at Loṇār known as the temple of Daityasūdana. It is a Vaiṣṇava shrine. Vide Victor Cousins' 'Medieval temples of the Dakhan' (1931) pp. 68–72 for description of the great temple and of several temples around the margin of a lake in an extinct volcanic crater and plates CIII–CV.

M

Madavāvartanāga—(on the Vitastā in Kāśmīra) HC. X. 252.

Mādhavatīrtha—(on Śrīśaila) P. VI. 129. 12

Mādhavavana M. 13. 37 (Devī is called Sugandhā here)

Madhūdakā—(r.) Vām. 57. 80

Madhukaiṭabha-liṅga—(in VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43

Madhūkavana—(between Agastyāśrama and Pañcavaṭī) Rām. III. 13.23

Madhukulyā—(r. under Gayā) Vā 106. 75, 112. 30.

Madhumatī—A (r. in Kāśmīra) NM 144 (falls into Vitastā), 1444 (shrine of Durgā established on it by Śāṇḍilya), Vik. 18. 5; B (river that flows through Nadia and Backergunge Districts of Bengal and falls into the bay of Bengal; C (r. that joins the river Sindhu in Central India); vide Mālatīmādhava, 9th Act prose passage after verse 3.

Madhunandinī—(r.) Vām. 81. 16

Madhupura—(under Pṛthūdaka) P. I. 27. 38

Madhupurī—same as Mathurā; Bh. VII. 14.31, Vi. I. 12. 2-4

Madhurā—A (the same as Mathurā, capital of Śūrasena country) Br. III. 49.6, Vi. I. 12. 4. Vide pp. 687-690 above and Rām. VII.70,5; B (modern Madurā, the ancient capital of the Pāṇḍyas, called Dakṣiṇa-Madhurā). Vide 'Manimekhalai in its historic setting' (p. 20) by Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar. Madhurā is only the Tamil way of pronouncing Mathurā. Vide Journal, Mythic Society, for 1942, vol. 32 pp. 270-275 for Madurā and Tamil literary tradition and Prof. Dikshitar's translation of the Śilappadikāram pp. 201-208 for a fine description of it and p. 255 for the conflagration in Madurā due to the curse of Kannaki

Madhurātīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 135. 18

Madhusravā—(r.)-A (under Gayā) Vā 106. 75, 112.307 34, N. II. 47. 27; B (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 34. 7, 39. 36-38, V 83. 150 (both read Madhusrava)

Madhuvana—A (under Mathurā) V. I. 12, 31 so called because demon Madhu occupied it), K. II.36.9, Var. 153. 30, Vām. 83.31, 90. 14, Bh. IV. 8. 42 (on the banks of Yamunā) IX. 11. 14 (Śatrughna founded Mathurā in Madhuvana). Growse in 'Mathura' identifies it with Maholi five miles to the south-west of present Mathurā (pp. 32, 54); B (one of seven *vanas* in Kurukṣetra) Vām. 34. 5

Madhuvatī—(a Devisthāna) P. I. 26.88

Madhvatīrtha—G. Uttarakhaṇḍa, Brahmakāṇḍa 26. 46-47. This is rather suspicious

Madhuvilā—(r.) same as Samaṅgā. V. 135.1

Madhyama-Puṣkara—(see Puṣkara), PV. 19. 38, Vām. 22. 19.

Madhyameśvara-liṅga—A (under VS) K. I. 32. 12, K I. 34. 1-2, L. I. 92. 91, 135, P. I. 34. 10 (one of the five main liṅgas in Banaras); B (under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 151

Madhyandinīyaka-tīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 177. 46 (to the west of Vaikuṇṭha tīrtha)

Madotkaṭa—P VI. 129. 9 (9th among 108 tīrthas of Jambudvīpa)

Madrā—(r. rising in Vindhya) Vā 45. 102

Madravā—(a hill) Br. III. 13. 52 and 57. This probably is the same as Maṇḍavā below

Māgadhāraṇya—K. II. 37. 9, Vām. 11. 7, 84. 35

Mahābala—A (Mahableshwar in Satara District) P VI. 113. 29. Vide JBBRAS. vol. X. pp 1-18, for Mahābaleśvara māhātmya; B Mahābaleśvara of Gokarṇa. Vide Gokarṇa plates of Kadamba king Kāmadeva in *śake* 1177 (1236 A. D.) in E. I. vol. 27 p. 157.

Mahābhairava—(one of eight Śiva-tīrthas) M. 181. 29, K. II. 44. 3 Devala q. by T. K. p. 250

Mahābodhitaru—(the pippala tree at Gayā under which Buddha obtained Enlightenment) Ag. 115. 37, M. 22. 33, N. II. 45. 103, Vā. 111. 26; verses 27-29 of Vā 111 are addressed to the tree. P.VI. 117. 26-30 explain how Bodhitaru became touchable on Saturday and untouchable on other days. Vide Dr. Barua in 'Gaya

and Buddha-Gayā' vol. I. p. 234 as to the invocation in Vā 111. 27-29 being to the Bo-tree and vol. II. pp. 2-9 for the vicissitudes of this tree and Cunningham's 'Mahābodhi' p. 3 for the mention of Mahābodhi in Dharmapāla's Inscription dated 850 A. D.

Mahā-Gaṅgā—Anu. 25. 22 q. by T.K. p. 246, VDh.S. 85. 23 (com. says it is Alakanandā).

Mahāgaurī—(r. from Vindhya) M 114. 28, Vā 45.103

Mahāhrada—(near Badrināth) K II. 37. 39, Anu 25. 18 q. by T. K. pp. 245-246

Mahākāla—A (Śiva in Ujjayinī, one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas) V. 82. 49, M. 13. 41, 22. 24, 179. 5 (fight of Siva with Andhakāsura took place in Mahākālavana in the country of Avanti), B. 43. 66, SK. IV. 1. 91; B (a liṅga in VS) L. I. 92. 137

Mahākālavana—(in Avanti territory) M. 179. 5

Mahākāśī—Vām. q. by T. K. p. 239

Mahākūṭa—(a hill fit for śrāddha) Vā. 77. 57, Br. III. 13. 58. It is doubtful whether it is the same as the collection of temples on the hills to the east of Badāmī known even now by the name of Mahākūṭa. The local tradition connects this spot with the destruction of the demon brothers Vātāpi and Ilvala. Vide I. A. vol. X. pp. 102-103 for an inscription of about 696-734 A.D. here

Mahālakṣmeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 69

Mahālaya—V. 85. 91 (dānam dadyāt Mahālaye), VDh. S. 85. 18, M. 181. 25, K. II. 20. 33 (very fit for śrāddha), II. 37. 1-4 (where Pāśupatas worship Mahādeva), P. V. 11. 17, Br. III. 13. 82-84, Vām. 90. 22, P. I. 37. 16

Mahālayakūpa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 63

Mahālaya-liṅga—(under VS) I. 92. 134

Mahāliṅga—(sacred to pitṛs) M. 13. 33, 22. 34 (Devī is called Kapilā here and śrāddha here is most efficacious)

Mahāmuṇḍā—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 56

Mahāmuṇḍeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 56

Mahānāda—M. 22. 53 (dāna is most efficacious here)

Mahānadī—A (r. starting from Vindhya, flowing in Orissa near Cuttack and falling into the Bay of Bengal). Br. 46. 4-5, K. II. 35. 25; Br. II. 16. 28 says it rises in Pāriyātra; B (r. under Gayā, probably Phalgu) P. I. 38. 4, Vā 108. 16-17, 110. 6, Ag. 115.25, V. 84; C (in Draviḍa) Bh. XI. 5. 40

Mahānala—a liṅga established by Mṛtyu (under Go.) B 116. 1

Mahānandā—(r. in north and east Bengal rising in Himālaya near Darjeeling and joining the Ganges in Māldā District). Vide I.G.I. vol. XX. pp. 413-414 (under Purnea)

Mahāpadmanāga—(a lake in Kāśmīra) NM 1120-1122, 1157 (one yojana in length and width). It is same as Ullola and modern Vollur lake. Vide R. IV. 591 for one story, NM 1123-1159 for the story of the wicked Saḍaṅgulanāga and K. R. pp. 9-10 for both

Mahāpāśupateśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 105

Mahāpura—(a tīrtha) Anu 25 26

Mahārudra—M. 22. 34

Mahāśāla—M. 22.34, P V. 11. 27

Mahāśālanadī—M. 22. 42

Mahāsaras—Mahābhārata q. by T. K. p. 246

Mahāsthala—(under Mathurā) Var. 160. 22; one of five *sthalas*, the other four

being Arkasthala, Virasthala, Kuśasthala and Punyasthala.

Mahāśrama—V 84. 53, P. I. 32.17

Mahāśoṇa—same as Śoṇa—S. 20. 27

Mahatkuṇḍa—(under VS) L. by T.K. p. 70

Mahatī (r. from Pāriyātra) M. 114. 23, Vā 45. 97.

Mahāvana—(the 8th *vana* out of 12 at Mathurā)—same as Vraja. Var. 153. 40, 161. 8. Modern Mahaban town is near the left bank of the Yamunā. Kṛṣṇa spent his childhood here.

Mahātīrtha—K.II.37.12 (tatrābhyarcya Hṛṣīkeśam śvetadvīpam sa gacchati).

Mahāveṇā—P. V. 11. 27

Mahendra—(a m. range extending from the mouths of the Ganges or Orissa to Madurā) Bhī. 9. 11, Udyoga 11. 12, M 22. 44, P. I. 39. 14 (Inhabited by Paraśurāma), V. 85. 16, Bh. V. 19. 16, Vām. 13.14–15, 83.10–11, K. I.47.23–24. A Śāktakṣetra according to Bār. S.III.124. In the Ganjam District there is a peak called Mahendragiri about 5000 feet high. Rām. IV. 67.37 shows that Hanūmān used it as a springing board when he jumped off towards Laṅkā. Raghuvaṁśa (IV. 39–40) shows that Kaliṅga country had some portion of Mahendra in it. Pargiter (p. 284 n) holds that it is the portion of the Eastern Ghats between Godāvarī and Mahānadī and hills in Berar. I do not agree. Rām. IV 41. 19–21 speak of Mahendra after Pandyakavāta and as entering the ocean, while Bh. X. 79.11–12 speak of it after Gayā and before Saptagodāvarī, Veṇā, Pampā. Allahabad stone pillar Ins. of Samudragupta mentions it (C. I. I. vol. III. at p. 7)

Māheśvarapura-(where Vṛṣadhvaja i.e. Śiva was to be worshipped) V 84. 129–130.

Māheśvara—(modern town in the Indore State on the north or right bank of the Narmadā) M. 188. 2, P. I. 15.2. I. G. I. Vol. 17. p. 9 asserts that it is the ancient Māhiṣmatī.

Maheśvara-dhārā—V. 84. 117, P. I. 38. 34

Maheśvarakuṇḍa—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 67

Maheśvarapada—P. I. 38. 36, V 84.119

Mahī—One of the ten great rivers that flow from the Himālaya, mentioned in 'Questions of Milinda' SBE vol. 35 p. 171; Mahī occurs in the Nadyādi-gaṇa (Pāṇ. IV. 2. 97); B (a r. rising in Gwalior state and falling into the sea southwards near Cambay) SK I 2.3.23, I. 2.13.43–45 and 125–127, V. 222. 23, Mār. 54.19 (rising from Pāriyātra). It is the Mophis of Ptolemy (p. 103) and Mais of Periplus.

Mahisāgarasaṅgama—SK. I. 2. 3. 26.

Mahītīrtha—Vām. 84. 36

Māhiṣmatī—(on Narmadā). Pargiter identifies with Omkāra Māndhātā (an island) while Mr. Haldar and others hold that it is Maheśvara. Māndhātā island is attached to Nemad District of Central Provinces. Udyogaparva 19. 23–24, 166. 4, Anu. 2, 6, P. II. 92. 32, VI. 115. 4, Bh. IX. 15. 22 (Sahasrārjuna imprisoned Rāvaṇa); the Mbh (vol II. p. 35, Ujjayinyāḥ prasthito Māhiṣmatyām sūryodgamanaṁ sambhāvayate) on Vārtika 10 to Pāṇ. III. 1. 26; in the Suttanipāta (SBE vol. X part 2 p 188) the disciples of Bāvarī going to the north to meet Buddha first go to Patiṭṭhāna of Ataka and then to Māhissatī; vide 'Mahisamaṇḍala and Māhiṣmatī' by Dr. Fleet in JRAS for 1910 pp. 425–447 and Barwani plate of king Subandhu in E. I. vol.XIX.p. 261 of the year 167 issued from Māhiṣmatī (It belongs to the end of the 5th century).

Mahodaya—(generally identified with Kanoj) Vām. 83. 25, 90. 13 (Haya-

grīva here). Vide Daulatpur plate of Bhojadeva I in Harṣa *saṁvat* 100 (corresponding to about 706 A.D.) in E. I. vol. V. p. 208 at p. 211. It was also called Kuśasthala; vide E. I. vol. VII. pp. 28, 30 where Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III. is said to have devastated Mahodaya; but in Bara copperplate of the Gurjar Pratihāra Bhojadeva dated *saṁvat* 893 (836-7 A.D.) Mahodaya is said to be a skandhāvāra (encampment) and Kānyakubja is separately mentioned in the same record, thereby showing that the two were not quite identical (E.I. vol. 19 at p. 17)

Maināka—(m. near Badarī) **A**. V. 139. 17, V 145. 44, Anu. 25. 59, Br. III. 13. 70, Bh. V. 19. 16; **B** (m. in west near Gujarat) V. 89. 11; **C** (m. near Sarasvatī) K. II. 37. 29. Both Dey p. 121 and Prof. Aiyangar p. 29 (of T.K) hold that it is the Sewalik range. Vide Pargiter pp. 287-288 note, which makes out three mountains named Maināka, that are slightly different from those stated here.

Maitreyī-liṅga (under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 47

Makruṇā (r. rising from Ṛkṣa) Vā 45.101.

Mālā (a river) S. 20. 28

Malada—(in Kāśmīra) P. I. 25.4

Malandarā—(r.) M. 22. 41 (śrāddha on it inexhaustible)

Malaprahāriṇī or **Malāpahāriṇī**—(r. rising from Sahya about 22 miles south-west of Belgaum) modern Malaprabhā; SK q by T.S. pp 80 and 101. Vide Bom. G. vol. XXI on Belgaum District p.12 for legend. The famous village of Ayyāvole or Aivalli or Aihole is on this river, 16 miles to the east of Badāmi. Vide I. A. vol. VIII. p. 243 for Aihole Inscription of 634 A.D. Paraśurāma is said to have washed his blood-stained axe in the Malaprabhā here. Vide Bom. G. vol. 23 p. 545.

Malāpahā—(r. in the south). There is a town called Muniparṇā on its bank where there is '*pañcaliṅga Maheśvara*'.

Mālārka—(shrine of the Sun under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 141. 1 and 142.1

Malaya—(one of the 7 principal mountains of India) V. 282. 43, 313. 32, Bhī. 9. 11, K. I. 47. 23 (the sea could be seen from its top.), Vā. 45 88, B 27. 19. Raghu. (IV. 45-51) shows that Malaya was on the Kāverī where it falls in the sea and that cardamom and sandalwood grew thereon; and also on Tāmraparṇī. It is the mountain of the Pāṇḍya country (Raghuvaṁśa IV. 49-51). Agastya had his hermitage on it.

Malayaja—P. VI. 129. 12 (one of the numerous tīrthas where Viṣṇu and Śiva resided).

Malayārjunaka—tīrtha (under Mathurā beyond Yamunā) Var. 157. 1.

Mālinī—(r. on which was situated Kaṇvāśrama) Ādi. 70. 21 and 72.10. According to Hiouen Thsang it was on this river that the District of Maḍāwar in west Rohilkhand was situated. Vide A. G. pp. 349-350.

Mallaka—(on western bank of Ganges) P. V. 5. 74 (where Satī burnt herself)

Mallikākhya—(a great m.) P. IV. 17. 68

Mallikārjunaka—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 155

Mallikeśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 6

Mālyavat—(The Anegundi hill on Tuṅgabhadrā.) Rām. III.49. 31, IV. 27. 1-4 (on north of it in a deep cave on Prasravaṇa Rāma dwelt for four months in the rainy season), V. 280. 26, 282. 1 (not far from Kiṣkindhā)

Mālyavatī—(r. near Citrakūṭa) Rām. II. 56. 38.

Mānasa—**A** (lake in Himālayas embedded between Kailāsa on the north and Gurla Māndhātā on the south) V. 130. 12. Br. II. 18 15 and M. 121.

16-17 (from which the Sarayū rises). Vām. 78.3, 90. 1 (where Viṣṇu appeared in the Matsya form); vide under Kailāsa. Sven Hedin in vol. III of his Trans-Himalaya (1913) p. 198 says 'there is no finer ring on earth than that which bears the names of Manasarowar, Kailas and Gurla Māndhātā; it is turquoise set between diamonds'. The Mānasa lake is at a height of 14950 feet above sea level; **B** (under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 29; **C** (to the west of Mathurā) Var. 154. 25; **D** (near Prayāga on the north bank of the Ganges) M. 107.2; **E** (in Kāśmīra, modern Mānasbal) Vik. 18. 55, K. R. p. 9; **F** (under Narmadā) M. 194.8, P. I. 21. 8; **G** (under Gayā, there are two pools, Uttaramānasa and Dakṣiṇa-mānasa) Vā. 111. 2, 6, 8, 22

Mandagā—(r. rising from Śuktimat) M 114. 32, Vā. 45. 107

Mandākinī—**A** (near mountain Citrakūṭa and rising from Ṛkṣavat) V. 85. 58, Anu 25. 29, Rām. II. 93. 8 and III. 5. 37, Vā. 45. 99, Ag. 109. 23, Br. II. 16. 30, M. 114. 25; **B** (a subtīrtha under VS.) L. q. by T.K p. 66; **C** (r. springing from a lake Mandodaka at the foot of Kailāsa) M 121.4, Br. II. 18. 1; **D** (near Kiṣkindhā) Rām. IV. 1. 95

Maṇḍaleśvara—(under VS) L q. by T.K p. 66

Mandara—(m.) Vi. II.2.18 (it is to east of Meru) and Mār 51 19; V 139. 5, 142.2, 163.4 (extended up to the sea in the east), and 31-33. Udyoga 11. 12, L.I. 92. 187 and 188. 6-12 (gods afraid of Andhaka took refuge on Mandara), N. II. 60. 22, Vām. 51.74 (from Pṛthūdaka Śiva came to Mandara), and practised tapas), M.184.18. 13. 28 (Devī is styled Kāmacāriṇī on m. Mandara), Bh. VII 3. 2 and VII. 7. 2 (Hiraṇyakaśipu here)

Mandāra—Var. 143. 1-51 (Mandāramāhātmya). Var. 143. 2 says it is a sacred place on the south bank of the Ganges and situated on Vindhya and dear to all Bhāgavatas. It puts forth flowers only on dvādaśī and caturdaśī (verse 13). T.K. (pp. 217-218) quotes ten verses from Var. 143 without any comment. A. G p. 508 conjectures it to be south of Bhagalpur in Bihar.

Maṇḍavā—Vā. 77. 56 (a hill very fit for śrāddha)

Mandavāhinī—(r. from Suktimat m.) M 114. 32, Vā 45. 107.

Māṇḍavya—(a tīrtha where Devī is styled Māṇḍavyā) M. 13. 42.

Māṇḍavyeśa—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 119

Mandodarītīrtha—M. 22. 41 (removes sins at sight and śrāddha most efficacious)

Maṅgalā—(a Devīsthāna in Gayā) Devī-bhāgavata VII. 38. 24

Maṅgala-prastha—(hill) Bh. V. 19. 16

Maṅgalā-saṅgama—(under Go.) B 122. 94 and 100 (otherwise called Govinda)

Maṅgaleśvara—(under Narmadā) P II. 92. 33

Maṇikarṇī or Maṇikarṇikā—(under VS) M. 182. 24, 185. 69, N II. 40. 87 and 49. 44, P VI. 23. 44; vide p. 635 above

Maṇikarṇīśvara—(under VS) N. II. 49. 45, L. q. by T. K p 103

Maṇikuṇḍa—(under Stutasvāmin) Var. 148. 52

Māṇikyeśvara—(in Kāśmīra) P. VI. 176. 80-82

Maṇimat or Maṇimanta — (near r. Devikā) V 82. 101, P. I. 25. 8 (same words in both), Vām. 81. 14

Maṇimatī—(r.) M. 22.39 (vary efficacious for śrāddha); Br. S. 14. 20 says Maṇimat is a m.

Maṇimatīhrada—Vām. 90. 7 (Śiva was called Śambhu here)

Maṇimatīpurī—(the same as Vātāpi.

Mataṅgasya Kedāra—V 88. 17, P. I. 39.15 (same verse in both)

Mataṅga-vāpī—**A** (under Gayā) Vā. 111. 23-24, Ag. 115. 34, N. II. 45. 100, VDh.S 85.38; **B** (in Kośalā) Vā. 77. 36; **C** (on Kailāsa) Br. III. 13. 36

Mataṅgeśa—(under Gayā) Ag. 115. 35

Mataṅgeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 87

Māṭharavana—(near Payoṣṇī) V.88.10, Vā. 77.33, Br. III. 13.33

Mathurā—Vide pp. 682-692 above and A. G. pp. 373-375 for Mathurā and Vṛndāvana

Mātṛ—Sal. chap. 46 enumerates numerous Mātṛs

Mātṛgṛha— (where śrāddha yields *ānantya*) M. 22. 76

Mātṛtīrtha—**A** (under Kurukṣetra) V. 83. 58, P. I. 26. 54; **B** (under Narmadā) K II. 41. 40; **C** (under Go.) B 112.1

Matsyanadī—(holy r.) M 22. 49

Matsyaśilā—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 79-83

Matsyodapāna—Nr. q. by T. K p. 251

Matsyodarī—(near Oṁkāreśvara and to the south of Kapileśvara in VS) L. q. by T.K pp. 58-59, SK. IV. 33. 120 and IV. 73. 155. The Tri. S. p. 140 remarks 'matsyākāram Kāśikṣetram udare yasyā iti vyutpattyā Gaṅgaiva Matsyodarī-sañjña'

Māyāpurī—(same as Gaṅgādvāra and Haridvāra) M. 13. 34 (Devī is called Kumārī here), 22. 10, Vā 104. 75, G. I. 81. 7, SK. IV. 7. 114 (kecid-ūcur-Haridvāram mokṣadvāram tataḥ pare I Gaṅgādvāram ca kepyāhuḥ kecin-Māyāpuram punaḥ II). Māyā occurs in the Nadyādigaṇa (Pāṇ. IV. 2. 97). It is one of the seven holy cities of India. Vide p. 678 above and p.762 under Kanakhala. Hiouen Thsang mentions it as Moyulo (Māyura). Māyāpura is now a ruined site at the head of the Ganges canal. Vide A.G. pp. 351-354

Māyātīrtha—(under Kubjāmraka and on the Ganges) Var. 125. 101, 126. 33

Medhātithi—(a holy river) V. 222. 23

Medhāvana—P. I. 39. 52 (place for śrāddha)

Medhāvika—V. 85. 55

Meghakara—M. 22. 40, P. V. 11. 34

Meghanāda—(under Narmadā) P. II. 92. 31

Meghaṅkara—(a town on r. Praṇītā) P. VI. 181. 5

Megharāva—(under Narmadā) P. I. 17. 4

Mehatnu—(r.) Ṛg. X. 75.6 (a tributary of the Krumu, which see)

Mekala—(a range of hills in C. P.). Narmadā is called Mekalakanyakā (daughter of Mekala)

Mekalā—P. V. 11. 34 (is it a river ?)

Mekalā—is a country or people in Rām. IV. 41.9, Br. S. 14. 7 and 16.2

Mekhalā—(a tīrtha in Meghaṅkara town) P. VI. 181. 16, M. 22. 40-41 (from this it appears that Mekhalā here means probably the middle part of the town Meghaṅkara)

Merukūṭa—Nr. 65 q. by T. K. p. 253

Meruvara—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 32-35

Mīnākṣī—(temple of, is situated in Madurā) Devī-Bh. VII. 38. 11

Mirikāvana—(near Mekala regions) Br. III. 70. 32

Miśraka—(under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 26. 85-86 (Vyāsa mixed all tīrthas here), V. 83. 91-92. It is possible that the Miśrakavana occurring in the Koṭarādi-gaṇa (Pāṇ. VI. 3. 117) refers to this.

Mitrapada (a tīrtha on the Ganges) M. 22. 11

Mitravana (Konārka or Sāmbapura in Orissa) SK. Prabhāsakhaṇḍa I. 100. 3 (there are three Ādityasthānas, Mitravana, Muṇḍīra and Sāmbāditya)

Mitrāvaruṇa (under VS) L.q. by T.K. p. 47

Mitrāvaruṇayor—āśrama (on r. Yamunā near Kārapavana) Śal. 54. 14-15

Modāgiri (m.) S. 30. 21

Mokṣakeśvara (under VS.) L. q. by T.K. p. 112.

Mokṣarāja—(under Mathurā) Var. 164. 35

Mokṣatīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 152. 61 (to the south of Ṛṣitīrtha). T. S. p. 101 quotes three verses from Revākhaṇḍa about it.

Mokṣeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 48

Mṛgadhūma—(there is Rudrapada) P I. 26. 94, V. 83. 101 (it is on the Ganges)

Mṛgakāmā—(r. from Mānasa lake) Br. II. 18. 71

Mṛgaśṛṅgodaka—(on r. Vāgmatī) Var. 215. 64

Mṛtyuñjaya—(under Viraja) B 42. 6

Mucukunda—(under Mathurā) Var. 158. 28

Mucukundeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K 114

Mukti-kṣetra—(under Sālagrāma) Var. 145. 105

Muktimat—(a m.) Br. III. 70 32. Is it a misreading for Śuktimat?

Muktisthānas—26 sthānas such as Prayāga, Naimiṣa, Kurukṣetra, Gaṅgādvāra, Kānti, Tryambaka, Saptagodāvara are named in SK, Kāśikhaṇḍa 6. 21-25

Mukuṭā—(r. from Ṛṣyavanta) M. 114. 26, M. 13. 50 (Devī is worshipped here as Satyavādinī)

Mūlasthāna—(modern Multan)—ancient capital of the Mallas. A. G. pp. 220-224 and 230-236. It was known under various names such as Kāśyapapura, Sāmbapura, Prahlādapura, Ādyasthāna (Al. Sachau I. 298)

Mūlatāpī—(river Tāpī is so called, from its source at Multāī, which is a corruption of Mūlatāpī) M. 22.33 (Mūlatāpī Payoṣṇī ca). Multai is a village in Betul District, C. P. and contains a sacred tank which is popularly deemed to be the source of the Tāpī. In the printed Padma V. 11. 25 the words 'Śūlatāpī Payoṣṇī' are a misreading of 'Mūlatāpī Payoṣṇī'. Vide I. G. I. vol. 18 p. 21 for Multai.

Mūlī—(r. rising from Mahendra) M. 114. 31

Muṇḍapṛṣṭha—**A** (a hill situated on the western bank of the Phalgu river at Gayā) K. II. 37. 39-40, N. II. 45. 96, Ag. 115. 22 and 43-44, Vā 77. 102-103, 108. 12 and 111. 15, Br. III. 13. 110-111 (Mahādeva practised severe tapas here). It is no other than the hill on which there is Viṣṇupada, the very centre of Gayāyātrā. On this hill, according to the legend of Gayāsura, the back of the giant's head rested. Vide pp. 656, 665 above; **B** (a hill in Kāśmīra) NM 1247-1254

Muṇḍeśa—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 116

Mūjavat—**A**(a m.) In Ṛg. X. 34. 1 soma plant is called Maujavata and the Nir. IX. 8 explains that Mūjavat is a mountain on which soma grows. In A. V. the form Mūjavat occurs and *takman* (evil spirit of disease) is asked to go to Mūjavat and to Bālhikas beyond it. In A. V. 22. 5 the form is Mūjavantaḥ. It appears to be some m. far to the north-west of India.

Muñjavat—(m. in Himālayan range) Āśvamedhika-parva 8. 1 (where Siva practises penance), Br. II. 18. 20-21 (where Siva resides and from which rise Śailoda lake and Śailodā river), Var. 213. 13 (to the north of Mandara)

Muñjavaṭa—(on the Ganges, which is a Śivasthāna) V. 85. 67, P. I. 39. 63 (same verse in both)

Murmurā—(one of the several rivers that are the mothers of fires) V. 222 25

N

Nābhi—(under Gayā) N. II. 47. 82

Naḍantikā—V. Dh. S. 85. 19 (very fit place for śrāddha).

Nādeśvara—**A** (under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 127; **B** (probably same as Bindusaras) N I. 16. 46 (on Himavat, where Bhagīratha practised *tapas*)

Nadīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 103

Naga—(a hill under Gayā) Vā. 108.28

Nāgadhanvan—(not far to the south of Sarasvatī) Śal. 37. 30 (Vāsuki's image is established there)

Nāgakūṭa—(included under Gayāśiras) Vā. 111. 22, N. II. 45. 95

Nāgapura—Hastināpura, V. 183. 36

Nāgasāhvaya—Hastināpura, on the right bank of the Ganges, 22 miles to north-east of Meerut. Vā. 77.271, M. 50. 78, Nr. 65. 11 q. by T.K p. 252 (Govinda is *guhya* name of Viṣṇu here). The printed text (Govindam nāma sāyake) is corrupt. It should be 'nāgasāhvaye.' Vide under Hastināpura.

Nāgatīrtha—**A** (under VS) M. 22. 33, K I. 35. 7, P I. 28.33 ; **B** (under Go,) B 111. 1 ; **C** (under Tripuṣkara) P V. 26. 51 ; **D** (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 14 ; **E** (location uncertain) V. 84. 33

Nāgeśvara—(a *tapovana* on Narmadā) M. 191. 83

Nāgodbheda—(where Sarasvatī is seen, though lost in the desert elsewhere) V 82. 112, Ag. 109. 13

Nahuṣeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K p. 115

Naimiṣa or Naimiśa—(a forest) **A** country round Nimsār on the Gomatī, 45 miles from Lucknow. In Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā X. 6 we have 'Naimiṣyā vai sattram-āsata'; while in Pañcaviṁśa Br. 25. 6. 4 occurs Naimiśīya and Kauṣītaki Br. 26 5 has Naimiṣīyāṇām' and 28. 4 also. In the great Epic and Purāṇas it is mentioned very often; vide V. 84. 59–64 (all tīrthas on the earth are centred in Naimiṣa). V 87. 5–7 (on Gomatī in east), M. 109.3 (most holy on the earth), K. II. 20. 34, K. II. 43. 1–16 (very dear to Mahādeva), Vā 2.8, Br. I. 2.8 (both derive it as 'bhramato dharmacakrasya yatra nemir-aśīryata' from 'nemi' rim of a wheel and śṛ. 'to be shattered'), B 1. 3–10 (fine description); Vāyu (I. 14–15) makes it clear that the great sattra of the sages of Naimiṣāraṇya was in Kurukṣetra on the Dṛṣadvatī. But Vā. 2,9 and Br. I. 2.9 say that it was on the Gomatī. It is possible that Gomatī is only an adjective. It was here that enmity between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra flourished, Kalmāṣapāda was cursed by Śakti and Parāśara was born. Vi. III. 14.18 states that by a bath in Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Naimiśa-gomatī and other rivers and by honouring pitṛs one destroys all sins. **B**—Bṛ. S. XI. 60 says that a malignant Ketu in Uttarā-Bhādrapadā destroys king of Naimiṣa,

Naimiṣa-kuñja (on Sarasvatī) V. 83. 109, P. I. 26. 102

Nairṛteśvara—(under VS) L.q. by T.K. p. 117

Nakulagaṇa—(under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 46. 2. This probably refers to the followers of Lakulīśa (often written as Nakulīśa). Vide E I. vol. XXI. pp. 1 ff (Mathurā inscription of Candragupta II dated Gupta-saṁvat 61 i. e. 380 A. D.) which shows that Lakulī founder of Pāśupata sect flourished in 1st quarter of second century A.D ; compare Vāyu 23. 22–25 for Nakulī and Kāyārohaṇa as his siddhikṣetra.

Nākuleśatīrtha—(Lakulīśatīrtha?) M. 22. 77, Vām. 7. 26 (Nākuleśvara on Narmadā where Cyavana bathed).

Nakulī—(r. rising from lake Viṣṇupada) Br. II. 18. 68

Nakulīśa—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 107

Nakulīśvara—K II. 44. 12

Nalakūbareśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 103

Nalinī—A—one of the three streams of Gaṅgā proceeding east, Vā. 47. 38 and 56, M. 121. 40, Rām. I. 43. 13; B (a r. in Kāśmīra) HC 14. 101

Nandā—V 87.27. Vā. 77.79. Ādi. 215. 7, V 110. 1 (near Hemakūṭa), Anu. 166. 28, Bh. VII. 14. 32, Var. 214. 47. Even all these passages do no convey the exact position. Bh. IV. 6.24 (in the context) indicates that it was near Kailāsa and Saugandhikavana. Bh. (IV. 6. 23-24) places Nandā and Alakanandā near Saugandhika-vana

Nandanā—(r. rising in Ṛkṣavat m.) M. 144. 25, Vā 45. 97, B 27. 28 (both last read *candanā*, which seems to be a misreading)

Nandanavana—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T.K p. 187

Nandāsarasvatī—the r. Sarasvatī came to be so called. Vide P. V. 18. 456

Nandāvarī—(r) Devala q. by T.K p.249 mentions after Kauśikī. Prof. Aiyangar (TK p. 289) takes it to be the Mahānandā in U. P. east of the Kosī river

Nandigrāma—(where Bharata as representative of Rāma during latter's exile guarded the kingdom) V. 277. 39, 291. 62, Rām. II. 115. 22, VII. 62. 13, Bh. IX. 10. 36. It is Nundgaon in Oudh about 8 miles to the south of Fyzabad.

Nandiguhā—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T.K. p. 193

Nandikṣetra—(in Kāśmira) R. I. 36, NM 1204-1328 (story of Nandin being born as son of Silāda). It is the high valley at the east glaciers of Haramukha peaks which contain the sacred Kālodaka lake

Nandikeśa—(under Narmadā) M. 191.6

Nandikuṇḍa—A (in Kāśmīra) Anu. 25. 60, NM. 1459, Ag. 219. 64; B (from which Sābhramatī rises) P. VI. 133. 1 and 13

Nandikūṭa—(v. l. Nandikuṇḍa) Anu. 23. 60 q. by T.K. p. 248

Nandinī—(r.)—V. 84. 155, P I 38.62

Nandinī-saṅgama—(under Go.) B 128.1 and 73-74

Nandiparvata—(in Kāśmīra) HC. 4. 30 and 32 (near Haramukuṭa-Gaṅgā)

Nandīśa—(Śiva worshipped in Nundkol in Kāśmīra, but in its extended sense applied to the whole sacred territory from the lakes on Haramukuṭa down to Bhūteśvara) R. I. 124

Nandīśeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 57

Nandītaṭa—(under Go.) B. 152.1 and 40 (also called Ānanda)

Nanditīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 37, K. II. 41. 90, P I. 18, 37 (same verse in latter two)

Nāradakuṇḍa—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 37

Nāradatīrtha—(under Narmadā) K II.41. 16-17, P.I.18. 23 (same verse in both)

Nāradeśvara—A (under Narmadā) M. 191. 5; B (under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 53

Naraka—V. 83. 168 (some mss. read Anaraka and some 'Naraka')

Naraka—(under Narmadā) P I. 18. 36, 20. 1-2

Nārasiṁha—(under Gayā) N II. 46.46

Narasiṁhāśrama—(in Kāśmīra) NM 1520

Nārasiṁhatīrtha—A (on the north bank of Go.) B 149. 1; B (destroys sin at very sight) M. 22. 43

Nārāyaṇasaras—(at the mouth of the eastern branch of Indus called Kori) Bh. VI. 5. 3 and 25, Śivapurāṇa II. 2. 13. 13. It is Sindhu-samudra-saṅgama. It is 81 miles north-west from Bhuj, capital of Cutch and between Koteshwar and the sea. There was a great lake in ancient times and a temple of Ādi Nārāyaṇa. Vide Bom. G. vol. V. pp. 245-248

Nārāyaṇāśrama—(near Badarī) V. 145. 26-34, 156. 14 (Naranārāyaṇa-sthānam Badarītyabhiviśrutam), Bh. VII. 14.32, IX. 3.36 (Badaryākhyam gato rājā Nara-nārāyaṇāśramam), X. 87. 4-7

Nārāyaṇasthāna—V. 84.122, P. I. 38. 39

Nārāyaṇatīrtha—**A** (under VS) P. I. 37.5; **B**—B 167.1 and 33 (also called Vipratīrtha under Go.)

Nārītīrthāni—(in the Draviḍa country on the sea) V. 118. 4, Ādi. 217. 17 (dakṣine sāgarānūpe pañca tīrthāni santi vai). Vide Pañcāpsaras

Narmadā—Vide pp. 703-707 above

Narmadā—Eraṇḍi-saṅgama T.P. p. 383

Narmadāprabhava—TP p. 383, P. I. 39.9; V. 85. 9 reads 'Soṇasya Narmadāyāśca prabhede'

Narmadeśa—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 73, P. I. 18. 69

Narmadeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 2

Nāsikya—(modern Nasik) Vide pp. 709-710 above and Vā 46. 130

Naubandhana—(mountain peak to the west of Kāśmīra) NM 62-63

Naubandhanasaras—(on the border of Kāśmīra and Panjab) NM 64-66, 165-166 (also called Viṣṇupada and Kramasāra), HC 4. 27

Nepāla—(modern Nepal) Var. 215. 38, Vā 104. 79, Devī—Bh. VII. 38. 11. (Guhyakālī is a mahāsthāna in). Vide A.G. pp. 450-452; Br. IV. 44. 93 (one of the fifty pīṭhas), Bṛ. S. 4. 22. The country is named in Allahabad Ins. of Samudragupta (C. I. I III. p. 14)

Nigamodbhodhaka—(one *gavyūti* to the west of Prayāga) P. VI. 196. 73-74, 200. 6 (in Indraprastha). Dey p. 140 says that it is Nigambod Ghāṭ in old Delhi on the Yamunā.

Niḥkṣīrā—(a lotus pool on Krauñca-pada in Gayā) Vā 108. 84, N. II. 44. 64, 47. 35, Ag. 116. 8 (reads Niścirā)

Niḥkṣīrā-saṅgama—N. II. 47. 35.

Nīlācala—**A** (a small hill or mound at Purī in Orissa on which the temple of Jagannātha is deemed to be situated) Vide Nīlaparvata; **B** (hill near Gauhati on which temple of Satī stands)

Nīlagaṅgā—(under Go. and rising in Nīlaparvata) B 80. 4

Nīlakaṇṭhaliṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 118

Nīlakaṇṭhatīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P VI. 168. 1

Nīlakuṇḍa—**A** (a pitṛtīrtha) M. 22. 22; **B** Nīlakuṇḍa, Vitastā and Śūlaghāta are three names of the same tīrtha or spring in Kāśmīra. NM 1500, HC 12. 17.

Nīlanāga—(king of Nāgas and protector of Kāśmīra) NM 295-301, R. I. 28, HC. 12. 17, SM p. 182. It is to the south of Bring in Shahabad *pargana*; popularly known as Vernāg, the traditional source of Vitastā. Ain. A. vol. II. p. 361 describes Vernāg as the source of Bihat (Vitastā) and remarks (p. 363) 'Nilanāg, the basin of which measures 40 bighas. Its water is exquisitely clear and is considered a sacred spot and many voluntarily perish by fire about its border'

Nīlaparvata—**A** (near Haridvāra) Anu. 25. 13 'Gaṅgādvāre Kuśāvarte Bilvake Nīlaparvate | tathā Kanakhale snātvā dhūtapāpmā divam vrajet' L. q. by T. K. p.245, VDhS. 85. 13.

M. 22. 70, Bh. V. 19. 16, K. II. 20. 33, Devī-Bh. VII. 38 (Devīsthāna Nīlāmbā); B (mound on which Puruṣottama shrine stands) P. IV. 17. 23 and 35, IV. 18. 2, SK. q. by T. P. p. 562

Nīlatīrtha—Vām. q. by T. K. p. 238

Nīlavana—Rām. II. 55. 8 (one krośa from Citrakūṭa)

Nīlotpalā—(r. rising from Ṛkṣa m.) Vā. 45. 100

Nimbārkatīrtha—(on Sābhramatī) P. VI. 151. 1 and 14 (near Pippalādatīrtha)

Nimnabheda—(on north bank of Go.) B 151. 1

Nīrajeśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 6

Nirañjana—(An Ādityatīrtha on the north bank of Yamunā near Prayāga) M. 108. 29, T.K. p. 149 (reads Nirūjaka)

Nirañjanā—a river which has Mohanā as tributary and after confluence it flows past Gayā; it is famed in Buddhist works. They are Magon and Errhenysis of Arrian (Ptolemy p. 97)

Niravindaparvata—Anu. 25. 42

Nirjareśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 103

Nirvindhyā—(river rising in Vindhya and falling into Chambal) B. 27. 33, M. 114. 27, Mār. 113. 33, Br. II. 16. 32, Meghadūta I. 28, Acc. to Bh. IV. 1. 17-19, Vi. II. 3. 11, the river starts from m. Ṛkṣa and sage Atri had his hermitage on it; Mār. chap. 113 narrates the story of Vidūratha whose capital was near Nirvindhyā and Vatsaprī, son of Bhalandana

Nirvīrā—(r.) V 84. 138-139 (it had Vasiṣṭhāśrama on its bank)

Niṣadha—(m.) V.188. 112; Al. (vol. II. p. 142) says that near the mountain Niṣadha is the lake Viṣṇupada whence comes the river Sarasvatī. Therefore Niṣadha seems to be a part of the great Himālayan range. Vide also Vāyu 47. 64

Niṣadhā—(r. rising in Vindhya) Br. II. 16. 32. Vā 45. 102

Niśākaraliṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 65

Niścīrā—appears to be a variant reading for Nirvīrā; M. 114. 22 reads 'niścalā'

Niṣphaleśa—K. II. 41.8

Niṣṭhāsaṅgama— (where there was Vasiṣṭhāśrama) P I. 38. 56

Niṣṭhāvāsa—P. I. 38. 54

Niṣṭhīvī—(r. rising in Himavat) Br. II. 16.26

Nivāsaliṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 89

Nūpā—(r. rising from Pāriyātra m.) Br. II. 16. 28, Mār. 54. 23 (reads 'Nūpī')

O

Oghavatī—(r. in Punjab) Bhī. 9. 22, M 22. 71 (śrāddha and *dāna* very efficacious here), Vām. 46.50, 57. 83, 58. 115; Pṛthūdaka (modern Pehoa) was situated on it. From Śal. 38. 4 and 27 it appears that it was a name of Sarasvatī. Vide Dey p. 142 for different views about identification

Ojasa—(under Kurukṣetra, probably same as 'Aujasa' above) Vām. 41. 6, 90. 17

Oṁkāra—A (one of five *guhya* liṅgas in VS) K I. 32. 1-11, L. I. 92. 137, P I. 34.1-4; B (Oṁkāra Māndhātā, one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas on an island in Narmadā about 32 miles north-west of Khandwa) M 22. 27, 186. 2, P. II. 92. 32, VI. 131. 67, SK. I. 1. 17. 209. In the Halāyudha-stotra engraved in the Amareśvara temple at Māndhātā on the left bank of the Narmadā dated in saṁvat 1120 (1063 A.D.) in E I. vol. 25 p. 173 it is said that Oṁkāra dwells in Māndhātṛpura on the confluence of Narmadā and

Kāverī. Vide above under Māhiṣmatī

Oṁkāreśvara—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 118

P

Padmāvatī—Śal. 46. 9 (one of the Mātṛs); the city is called Narwar. Vide A. G p. 250 and the Khajurāho Inscription of *saṁvat* 1058 (1001-2 A. D.) for a description of the town which was the scene of Bhavabhūti's Mālatī-Mādhava (E.I. vol. I. p. 147 at p. 151). Narwar is supposed to be the home of Nala, king of Niṣadha

Paiśācatīrtha—(On the south bank of Go.) B 84. 1-2 and 18 (also called Āñjana). B.130.1 speaks of a Paiśācatīrtha on the *north* bank of Go. It is doubtful whether these two are entirely different tīrthas.

Paitāmahatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 4-5, K. II. 42. 18

Pālamañjara—(near Śūrpāraka) Br. III. 13. 37

Pālapañjara (m.) Vā 77. 37 (śrāddha here most efficacious), Br. III. 13. 37 (reads Pālamañjara)

Palāśaka—(where Jamadagni performed sacrifices) V. 90. 16 (Palāśakeṣu puṇyeṣu)

Palāśinī—(r.) **A** (near Girnar in Kathiwar). Vide under Raivataka and Rudradāman's Junagadh Inscription (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 36 at p. 43) and Skandagupta's Ins. of 457 A.D. (C.I.I. III. at p. 64); **B** (r. Paddair which falls into the sea near Kaliṅgapatam in Ganjam) Mār. 54. 30 (rising from Śuktimat), Vā. 45. 107

Pāleśvara—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 134. 2 (where image of Caṇḍī is established)

Pampā—(r. tributary of Tuṅgabhadrā) Bh. X. 79. 12, Vām. 90. 16

Pampā—(v. l. Japā or Jayā) P. I. 26. 20-21 (said to be the door of Kurukṣetra)

Pampāsaras—(Lake Pampā near Ṛśyamūka in the District of Bellary) V. 279. 44, 280. 1, Rām. III. 72, 12, 73. 11 and 32, VI. 126. 35, Vanaparva 280. 1, Bh. VII. 14. 31, X. 79 12 (saptagodāvarīm Veṇām Pampām Bhīmarathīm tataḥ)

Pampātīrtha—M. 22. 50, Bh. VII. 14. 31

Pañcabrahma—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 62

Pañcagaṅgā—The five rivers called Gaṅgā are Bhāgīrathī, Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā, Pinākinī (Pennar) and Kāverī. But in Droṇa 54. 23 (Pañcagaṅgāsu sā puṇyā) only northern rivers seem to be meant

Pañcakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 65

Pañcālakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 65

Pañcakuṇḍa—**A** (under Dvārakā) Var. q. by T.K.p. 226; **B** (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 43 (where five *dhārās* from *himakūṭa* fall)

Pañcanada—(the five rivers in Punjab) V 82. 83, Mausala 7. 45, Vā. 77.56, K II. 44. 1-2, L I. 43. 47-48 (near Japyeśvara), Vām. 34.26, P. I. 24.31. The Mbh. (vol. II. p 239 on Pāṇ.IV. 1.88) derives Pāñcanadaḥ (Pañcanade bhavaḥ) from Pañcanadam. The five rivers in Vedic times were Sutudrī, Vipāś, Paruṣṇī, Asiknī and Vitastā and in modern times they are called Sutlej, Bias, Rāvī, Chenab and Jhelum. The union of these five rivers is called Panjnad in modern times and then the combined stream unites with the Indus a few miles above Mithankot. Bṛ. S. XI. 60 states that a malignant Ketu in Dhaniṣṭhā kills the king of Pañcanada and Bṛ. S. 14.21 states it is a country in the west. Vanaparva 222. 22 mentions the Sindhu (Indus) and Pañcanada separately (Sindhum nadam Pañcanadam Devikātha

Sarasvatī). For Pañcanada as a country, vide Sabhāparva 32.11

Pañcanadatīrtha—(under the Ganges) Br. III. 13. 57, N II. 51. 16–36. Vide p. 636 and note 1458 above.

Pañcanadī—(near Kolhapur) P VI. 176 43 (the image of Mahālakṣmī near it).

Pañcanadīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p 96.

Pañcapiṇḍa—(under Dvārakā) Var. 149. 36–40 (where a man of good deeds sees lotuses of silver and gold, but not an evil-doer). T.K p. 326 reads Pañcakuṇḍa.

Pañcaprayāga—Dey p. 146 mentions (1) Devaprayāga (confluence of Bhāgīrathī and Alakanandā), (2) Karnaprayāga (Alakanandā and Piṇḍara). (3) Rudraprayāga (Alakanandā and Mandākinī) 18 miles from Śrīnagar, capital of Tehri. (4) Nandaprayāga (Alakanadā and Nandā), (5) Viṣṇuprayāga near Joshimaṭha (Alakanandā and Viṣṇugaṅgā).

Pañcāpsaras-tīrtha—(on the southern sea) Bh. X. 79. 18 (Śrīdhara-svāmī, com. of Bh., says that this tīrtha is in Phālguna which is Anantapura in the Madras State. Ādi. (216. 1–4) names them as Agastyatīrtha, Saubhadra, Pauloma, Kāraṇdhama and Bhāradvāja. They were shunned by all, but Arjuna plunged into them and relieved the Apsarases who had been reduced to pools by a curse. SK, Māheśvarakhaṇḍa, Kaumārikā section, chap. 1 is Pañcāpsaraḥ-samuddharaṇa (by Arjuna).

Pañcāruṇakṣetra—(to north of Sluta-svāmin) Var. 148. 45

Pañcasaras—**A** (a pool under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 34; **B** (a pool under Dvārakā) Var. 149. 23

Pañcaśikha—(under Badarī) Var 141. 14–16

Pañcaśikhīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 67

Pañcaśira—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 39–44.

Pañcāśvamedhika—Vā 77. 45, Br. III. 13. 45

Pañcatapa (a Śivatīrtha where piṇḍa-dāna gives inexhaustible results) K. II. 44. 5–6

Pañcatīrtha—(in Kāñcī) Br. IV. 40. 59–61.

Pañcatīrthakuṇḍa—(under Mathurā) Var. 164. 37.

Pañcavana—(under Gayā) Vā 77. 99

Pañcavaṭa—(under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 41. 11, P I. 27. 50 (probably same as Pañcavaṭī in V. 83. 162)

Pañcavaṭī—**A** (in the north) V. 83. 162; **B** (on the Go.) Rām. III. 13. 13 (calls it 'deśa'), III. 13. 19 (two yojanas from Agastya-āśrama), N II. 75. 30, Ag. 7. 3. Vide pp 709–710 above

Pañcayakṣā — (location uncertain) V 84. 10

Pañcāyatana—(five tīrthas on the Narmadā) M. 191. 5–6

Paṇḍārakavana—(very fit for śrāddha) Vā 77. 37

Pāṇḍaveśvaraka—(under Narmadā) P I. 18. 58, M. 191. 61–62

Pāṇḍukūpa—Br. III. 13. 37 (near the sea) very fit for śrāddha

Pāṇḍupura—Vide Pauṇḍarikapura

Pāṇḍura—Vā. 45. 91 (a minor m.)

Pāṇḍisahya—(one of the *guhya-kṣetras* of Viṣṇu) Nr. 65. 9 q. by T.K. p. 251

Pāṇḍuviśālatīrtha—(under Gayā) Vā. 77. 99; Vā. 112. 44–48 (read Pāṇḍuśilā); T.K. p. 168 quoting Vā. reads Pāṇḍuviśalyā

Pāṇikhyāta—P. I. 26. 84, V. 83. 89 (-khāta)

Paṅkajavana—(under Gayā) N. II. 44. 58, Vā. 112. 43 (Pāṇḍuśilā was in this vana)

Pāpamokṣa—(under Gayā) Ag. 116. 8, N. II. 47. 79

Pāpapramocana—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 51–54

Pāpapraṇāśana—**A** (on Yamunā) P I. 31. 15; **B** (under Go.) B 92. 1 and 48–49, also called 'Dhautapāpa' and 'Gālava')

Pāpasūdanatīrtha—(a spring in Kāśmīra) R. I. 32, H. C. 14. 36. Kapaṭeśvara, Saṅkarṣaṇa Nāga and Pāpasūdana are the same. Śiva is worshipped as Kapaṭeśvara at the sacred spring

Pārā—**A** (Viśvāmitra gave that name to Kauśikī) Ādi 71. 30–32; **B** (r. rising in Pāriyātra and falling into Sindhu in Malwa) Vā. 45. 98, M. 13. 44 and 114. 24, Mār. 54. 20. Printed Vāyu reads Parā, though some Mss. read Pārā. In M. 13. 44 it is said that Devī is styled Pārā on the bank of Pārā. Vide Mālatī-Mādhava 4th Act at end, and 9th Act, first verse and Br. S. 14.10

Parihāsapura—(modern Paraspor in Kashmir) built by the great king Lalitāditya. R. IV. 194–195 refer to silver and gold images of Viṣṇu

Pārāśaryeśvaraliṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 59

Pāriplava—(under Sarasvatī) V. 83.12, P. I. 26. 10 (same verse as in V), Vām. 34. 17

Pāriyātra—(or Pāripātra, one of the seven main mountain ranges). It must be deemed to be the western part of Vindhya, as the rivers Chambal, Betwa and Śiprā are said to rise from it. Vide K. I. 47. 24, Bh. V. 19.16, Vā. 45.88 and 98, B.27.29. It is mentioned in the Nasik Inscription No. 2 of Gotamīputa Śātakarṇi in the words rendered into Sanskrit (from Prākrit) as विन्ध्यऋक्षवत्पारियात्रसह्यकण्हगिरि—मच-सिरिटनमलय-महेन्द्र...पर्वतपतेः, Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 550 and as Pāricāta in Nāsik Ins. No. 10 (Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 569) and in Mahābhāṣya as the southern boundary of Āryāvarta (vol. I. p. 475 on Pāṇ. II. 4.10) and also in Baud. Dh. S. I. 1. 27

Parjanyeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 115

Parṇāśā (or Varṇāśā)—**A** (r. Banās in Rajputana which rising in Udaipur State falls into the Chambal) S. 65. 6 (yatkincid anu Parṇāśām prāk Sindhorapi Saubala l etan mama dhanam &c). Parṇāśa would mean 'the hope of foliage). Vā. 45. 97, Var. 214. 48, M. 114. 23, S.9. 21; **B** a river of Western India that falls into the Runn of Cutch. The first is mentioned as Bārṇāsā in Uṣavadāta's Nasik Inscription No. 10 (Bom. G. Vol. 16 p. 569 and p. 633); in Ins. No. 14. at Nasik it is spelt as Banāsā (Bom. G. Vol. 16 p 577) and also in Karle cave Inscription No. 13 in E. I. vol. VII. at p. 57. Vide for this river Bom. G. vol. V p. 283.

Paruṣṇī—**A** (modern Rāvī in Punjab) Ṛg. V. 52.9, VII. 88.8–9 (Sudās met his enemies Kutsa and the latter's allies on this river), VIII. 74. 15, X. 75. 5. Nir. IX. 26 states that Irāvatī was called Paruṣṇī; **B** (a tributary of the Go.) B 144. 1 and 23.

Paruṣṇī-saṅgama—(under Go.) B 144.1.

Parvatākhya—(under VS) K I. 35. 8, P I. 37.8 (same verse in both)

Parvateśvara—(under VS) M 183. 62

Pārvatikā—(śrāddha on this river most efficacious) M 22. 56. It is a river rising in Vindhya and falling into Chambal

Pāśā—(r. rising from Pāriyātra m.) Br. II. 16. 28. Is it a misreading for Pārā?

Pāṣāṇatīrthā—(r.) Devala q. by T.K. p. 249

Pāśinī—(r. rising from Śuktimanta) M 114. 32

Pāśupatatīrtha—M. 22. 56 (śrāddha at this very efficacious)

Paśupateśvara—(under VS) L. I. 92. 135

Paśupatiśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 93

Pāṭalā—(very sacred to pitṛs) M 22.33

Pātandhama—(m.) Vā. 45. 91

Patatritīrtha—(under Go.) B 166. 1.

Pathīśvara—(in Kāśmīra beyond Bharatagiri and Vitastā) NM 1245 (temple of), 1398

Patreśvara-(on north bank of Narmadā) P I. 17. 1

Paulastyatīrtha—(under Go.) B. 97. 1

Pauloma—(vide Pañcāpsarastīrtha) Ādi. 216. 3

Pauṇḍarīka—(a Viṣṇukṣetra, seems to be Pandharpur from context) P VI. 280. 18–19 (Kṛtasauce haret pāpam Pauṇḍarīke ca Daṇḍake । Māthure Veṅkaṭādrau ca)

Pauṇḍra—(Devadāruvane Pauṇḍram) P VI. 129. 27

Pauṇḍravardhana—Vā. 104. 79 (sacred pīṭha), Br. IV. 44. 93

Pauṣka—(in Kāśmīra-maṇḍala) P VI. 129. 27

Pavanasya—hrada V. 83. 105

Pāvanī—(r.) The Ghaggar in Kurukṣetra (Ambala District) Rām. I. 43. 13. Vide Dey p. 155

Payasvinī—(r.) Bh. V. 19. 18, XI. 5. 39 (persons who dwell on this and other rivers of the south are great devotees of Vāsudeva).

Payodā—(r.) Br. II. 18. 70, Vā. 47 67 (rising from lake Payoda).

Payoṣṇī—(r. rising from Ṛkṣa or from Vindhya). Wilson says that it is (vol. II. p.144 n 37) the Pain-Gaṅgā that joins the Waradā or Wardhā river in Central Provinces. V. 85. 40, V. 88. 4, 7–9 (it is superior to all rivers including Gaṅgā and is the river of king Nṛga), 121. 16, Vi. II. 3. 11. Tāpī and Payoṣṇī are separately mentioned in most Purāṇas e. g. Vi. II. 3. 11, M. 114. 27, B 27. 33, Vā 45. 102, Vām. 13. 28, N II. 60. 29, Bh. X. 79. 20, P. IV. 14. 12 and IV. 16. 3 (sage Cyavana had his āśrama on it). Vide under Mūlatāpī. V 121. 16 shows that after Payoṣṇī the Pāṇḍavas came to Vaidūrya-parvata and Narmadā. Hunter in I. G. I. vol. XX. p. 412 holds that Payoṣṇī is the modern Purṇā river in Berar rising in the Gavilgadh hills and falling into the Tāpī. The Nalacampū VI. 29 says (Parvatabhedi pavitram...Harimiva...vahati payaḥ paśyata Payoṣṇī).

Payoṣṇīsaṅgama—(śrāddha yields inexhaustible results) M. 22. 33

Phalakīvana—(under Kurukṣetra, probably modern Pharal, 17 miles to south-east of Thanesar) V. 83. 86

Phalgu—(r.) flows towards the north past the town of Gayā and ultimately joins a branch of the Pūnpūn. Vide District Gazetteer of Gayā p. 8. Ag. 115. 27 derives it from *phala* and *go* (yasmin phalati śrīr-gaur-vā Kāmadhenur-jalaṁ mahī । Dṛṣṭiramyādikam yasmāt Phalgutīrtham na phalguvat). Vā 111. 16 says it is superior to Gaṅgā since the latter is only water from the foot of Viṣṇu while the former is Ādi-Gadādhara himself. Vide pp. 648 n, 653, 660 n, 661–62, 664 n

Phālguna—Bh. VII. 14. 31, X. 79. 18 (Śrīdhara says it is Anantapura)

Phalgunaka—(to the south of Mathurā) Var. 157. 32

Phālguneśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 105

Phenā—(r. falls into Go.) B. 129. 7

Phenā-saṅgama—(with Go.) B. 129 1, 7–8

Piṇḍāraka—(in Khambhalia Mahal of Kathiawar) V. 82. 65–67 (where coins were found marked with lotus), 88. 21, M. 13. 48, 22. 69, Anu. 25 57, Vi. V. 37. 6, Bh. XI. 1. 11 (Kṛṣṇa's son Sāmba dressed as a pregnant woman was cursed here by sages), Var. 144. 10 (as Viṣṇusthāna), P I. 24. 14–15. Dey

p. 157 says it is 16 miles to the east of modern Dvārakā. Vide Bom. G. vol. VIII (Kathiawar) p. 613 for legend connected with Pindar

Piṅgāyāḥ-āśrama—Anu. 25. 55

Piṅgātīrtha—V. 82. 57 (Piṅgatīrtha), P. I. 24. 6 (same verse in both)

Piṅgaleśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 32, K. II. 41. 21, P. I. 18. 32 (same verse in last two)

Pippalā—(r. rising from Ṛkṣavat) Br. II. 16. 30

Pippalādatīrtha—(on Sābhramatī near Dugdheśvara) P. VI. 150. 1

Pippalatīrtha—(under Go. near Cakratīrtha) B. 110. 1 and 226 (Pippaleśvara in this verse)

Pippaleśa—(under Narmadā) M. 190. 13, P. I. 17. 10

Pippalī—(r. rising from Ṛṣyavat) M. 114. 25; probably same as Pippalā

Piśāceśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 114

Piśācamocana-kuṇḍa—(under VS) K. I. 33. 2 and 13–14, P. I. 35.2 ff (almost same verses in both)

Piśācamocana-tīrtha—(in Prayāga) P. VI. 250.62–63

Piśācikā—(r. rising in Ṛkṣavat) Br. II. 13. 30

Pitāmahasaras—same as Puṣkara—**A** V. 89.16; **B** Śal. 42.30 (the source of Sarasvatī), V. 84. 149

Pitāmahatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 4, P. I. 21. 4

Pīṭhas—fifty are enumerated in Br. IV. 44. 93–100 such as Nepāla, Ekavīrā, Ekāmra

Plakṣā—(r.) Vām. q. by T. K. p. 239 (from that river pilgrim goes to Kuṇḍina and then to Śūrpāraka)

Plakṣaprasravaṇa or prasra— (the source of Sarasvatī) Śal. 54. 11, K. II. 37. 29, Br. III. 13. 69, Vā. 77.67 (very efficacious for śrāddha)

Plakṣatīrtha—(sacred tank probably in Kurukṣetra where Purūravas found Urvaśī) Vā. 91. 32

Plakṣāvataraṇa—V. 90. 4 (where sacrificers performed Sārasvata-sattras); V. 129. 13–14 (Yamunātīrtha where those who performed Sārasvata sacrifices came for the final ceremonial bath called avabhṛtha), K II. 37. 8 (a Viṣṇutīrtha), Mār. 21. 29–30 (in Himavat)

Prabhāsa—**A** (in Saurāṣṭra near the sea, had a famous temple of Somanātha, one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas, broken by Mahmud of Gaznī) also called Somanāthapaṭṭana, SK. VII. 1. 2. 44–53 (several origins of the name suggested), V. 82. 58, 130. 7, V. 88. 20, 118. 15, 119. 3, Ādi. 218. 2–8, Śal. 35. 42 (the moon was cured of consumption here), K II. 35.15–17, N. II. 70,1–95 (māhātmya), G. I. 4.81, Vām. 84. 29 (Sarasvatī falls into the sea near it). It is mentioned as a holy place in Usavadāta's Inscription at Nāsik (Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 669 and in Cintra praśasti of Sāraṅgadeva dated *saṁvat* 1343 (1287 A. D.). Prabhāsa is styled Devapattana and it is said that it is on the confluence of the Sarasvatī and the sea [E. I. vol. I. p. 271 at p. 283 and Śrīdhara's praśasti of *saṁvat* 1273 (1216 A. D.)]; **B** (on the Sarasvatī) Śal. 35.78, SK. VII. 1. 11–14; **C** (a hill near Gayā) Vā. 108. 16, 109. 14, Ag. 116. 15; **D** (under VS) K. I. 35. 16, P. I. 37. 15; **E** (under Dvārakā) Mausala 8. 9, Var. 149. 29–33 (there are alligators there but they do no harm), SK. VII. 1 chap. 35–36 (māhātmya of Sarasvatī and Prabhāsa), Bh. XI. 30. 6 (there is pratyak–Sarasvatī there i. e. S. flowing westwards, while in Kurukṣetra it is prācī). Usavadāta's Inscription states that the prince bore the expenditure of the marriages and secured brides for eight brāhmaṇas at Prabhāsa (Prabhase Puṇyatīrthe). It was here that Lord Kṛṣṇa left his mortal coil. Vide 'The life and

times of Sultan Mahmud of Gazni' by Dr. M. Nazim pp. 209-214 for origin, legends and sanctity of Somanātha and for date of invasion by Mahmud (about 1025 A. D.), pp. 219-224 for stories connected with the expedition, and pp. 117-119 for attack on the fort of Somanātha, for the death of 50000 devotees in defence, for the destruction of the linga with pickaxes and fire and for the immense booty of 20 millions of dinārs of those days (i. e. about £10,500,000 in present money); **F** (in Kāśmīra) HC. 14. 111 ; **G** (one of the five *dhārās* near Badarikāśrama) N. II. 67. 57-58.

Prācī-Sarasvatī—(same as Sarasvatī) **A**-Bh. VI. 8. 40, Vām. 42. 20-23 ; **B** (under Gayā) Vā. 112. 23

Pradyumnagiri or—pīṭha (same as Hariparvata in Śrīnagara) R. III. 460, VII. 1616, Vik. 18. 15, SM. p. 148 and K. R. p. 17

Pradyumnatīrtha—N. II. 40. 96. Dey p. 158 says that it is Paṇḍuā in the District of Hughly in Bengal

Prahasiteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 89

Prahlādeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 48

Prajāmukha—(Viṣṇu to be worshipped as Vāsudeva here) Vām. 90. 26

Prajāpatikṣetra—M. 104. 5 (limits defined). It is Prayāga ; vide p. 599 note 1358.

Prājāpatya—(under VS) K I. 35.4, P I. 37. 4 (same verse in both)

Praṇītā—(r. falling into Godāvarī) B. 161. 1, P VI. 181. 5 (on the bank of Go. there was a town called Meghaṅkara) ; same as Praṇahitā

Prāntakapānīya — (near Pañcanada) Var. 215. 100

Prāpaṇa—(to the north of Mandāra) Var. 143. 17

Praśravaṇa-giri—**A** (in Janasthāna) Rām. III. 49. 31; **B** (on the Tuṅgabhadrā) Rām IV. 27. 1-4 (in a cave of which Rāma resided for some months)

Pratīcī—(a great r.) Bh. XI. 5. 40 (persons dwelling on this are devotees of Vāsudeva)

Pratiṣṭhāna—**A** (near Prayāga) V 85.76, 114. 1, Vā. 91. 18 (capital of Purūravas), 91. 50 (on the north bank of Yamunā), M 12. 18, 106. 30 (on the eastern side of the Ganges), Mār. 108. 18 (given to Aila Purūravas at Vasiṣṭha's request) Vi. IV. 1. 16, B 227. 151, Bh. IX. 1. 42 ; **B** (modern Paithan on the left bank of the Go.) B 112. 23, Var. 165. 1, P VI. 172.20, VI. 176. 2 and 6 (refers to sporting Mahārāṣṭra women at). The Pitalkhora Buddhist pillar Inscription records the gift of a pillar by the family of a perfumer Mitadeva of Patiṭhān; A. S. W. I. IV. 83.
Vide A.G.pp.553-554 for Pratiṣṭhāna being the capital of Mahārāṣṭra in Hiouen Thsang's times. Ptolemy mentions it as Baithana and the Periplus as 'Plithāna.' In the 13th edict of Aśoka at Shababazgarhi and elsewhere we have 'Bhoja-Pitinikeśu', which last word probably stands for Pratiṣṭhānakas (C. I. I. vol. I. p. 67).

Pravarā—(r. that joins the Godāvarī) B 106. 46-54 (on which is situated Nivāsapura,modern Nevāse or Nevās). It joins Godāvarī at Toka in Ahmednagar District, Bom. G. vol. 17 p. 6

Pravarapura—(see under Śrīnagara) R. III. 336-349

Pravarā-saṅgama—(with Go.) B 106. 1. Vide Bom. G. vol. XVII. p. 740 for Toka and Pravarāsaṅgam, two holy towns on the left and right banks of the Pravarā at its meeting with the Godāvarī, 7 miles north-east of Nevāsa

Prayāga—**A** (modern Allahabad) Vide pp. 596-617 above and A. G. pp. 388-391 quoting Hiouen Thsang ; **B** (the confluence of the Indus

and Vitastā i. e. Zhelum) NM 394-395 (Sindhu is deemed Gaṅgā and Vitastā Yamunā)

Prayāgeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 45

Pretakuṇḍa—(under Gayā) Vā 108. 68-69, Ag. 116.15. It is now known as Brahmayoni at the foot of the Pretaśilā hill

Pretakūṭa—(a hill under Gayā) Vā. 109. 15

Pretaparvata—(under Gayā) Vā 83. 20

Pretaśilā—(under Gayā) Vā 110. 15, 108. 15. It is a peak 580 feet in height situated 5 miles north-west of Gayā. Vide Gayā District Gazetteer p. 235.

Prītikeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 111

Priyamelaka—(pre-eminent for śrāddha) M. 22. 53

Priyavrateśvara-liṅga—(in VS) SK. IV. 33. 159

Pṛthvītīrtha—P. I. 26. 11 (near Pāriplava)

Pṛthūdaka—(on south bank of Sarasvatī, modern Pehoa) Vide p. 685 above. It was called Brahmayoni in Vām. 39. 16-17 and 23. Vide A. G. pp. 336-337

Pṛthutuṅga—N. II. 60. 25

Pulahāśrama—Bh. VII. 14. 30, X. 79. 10 (near Gomatī and Gaṇḍakī and same as Śālagrāma)

Pulastya-pulahāśrama—(near source of Gaṇḍakī river) Var. 144. 113, Bh. V. 8. 30 (near Salagrama)

Pulastyeśvara—(under VS) L. by T.K. p. 116

Punaḥpunā—(r. under Gayā, modern Pūn-Pūn) Vā. 108. 73, N. II. 47. 75

Punarāvartanandā—(r.) Anu. 25. 45

Puṇḍarīka—**A** (under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 57, P. I. 26. 78; **B** (near Kurukṣetra) Vām. 81. 7-8

Puṇḍarīkā—(r. rising from a lake called Payoda) Br. II. 18. 69-70

Puṇḍarīkakṣetra—(modern Pandharpur) T. S. pp. 7-21

Puṇḍarīkamahātīrtha—(śrāddha most efficacious here) Br. III. 13. 56, Vā. 77. 55

Puṇḍarīkapura—M. 22. 77, N. II. 73. 45

Puṇyasthala—(under Mathurā, one of the five sthalas) Var. 160. 21

Purāṇeśvara—(in VS) SK. IV. 33. 132

Pūrṇā—**A** (r. in Berar); it falls into the Tāpī on its left bank. Vide Ain. A. vol. II. p. 224; Changdev is a village near this confluence and a great tīrtha called Chikar-tīrtha (muddy); **B** Pūrṇā in Surat District falls into the sea (Bom. G. vol. II. p. 26); **C** Pūrṇā which falls into the Godāvarī in Parbhaṇī District. Vide I. G. I. vol. XII. p. 297. Is it the same as the Pūrṇātīrtha in B 105. 22?

Pūrṇamukha—(under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 40-41

Pūrṇatīrtha—(on north bank of Go.) B 122. 1

Puru—(m.) V 90. 22 (where Purūravas went)

Purūravasatīrtha—(under Go.) B. 101. 1 and 19-20 (also called Sarasvatī-saṅgama and Brahma-tīrtha)

Puruṣottama—(Jagannātha or Purī in Orissa) B. chapters 42, 48, 68, 177, 178; M. 13. 35, K. II. 35. 27, N. II. chapters 52-61 (māhātmya). Vide pp. 692-703 above

Pūrvāmukha—(a variant reading for Pūrṇamuka in Var. 126. 40)

Puṣkara—(town, lake and place of pilgrimage, six miles from Ajmer). One of the few temples of god Brahmā exists here. There are three kuṇḍas called Jyeṣṭha, Madhyama and Kaniṣṭha (N. II. 71. 12, P. V. 28. 53). Usavadāta's Nasik Ins. No. 10 mentions gifts made by him at three pools (Puṣkareṣu). Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 570. Vā. 77. 40, K. II. 20. 34 and VDHS. 85. 1-3 state that śrāddha at Puṣ-

kara yields inexhaustible results. This is one (western) of the five Vedis of Brahmā (P. V. 15. 150), Vām. 22. 19, Br. III. 34. 11 and Vām. 65. 31 mention Madhyama Puṣkara and Br. III. 35. 39 says that Kaniṣṭha Puṣkara was 1½ yojanas from Madhyama Puṣkara, and Jyeṣṭha Puṣkara was one krośa to the west of Madhyama Puṣkara. It is said that the sacred Sarasvatī flowed to the ocean from here (P. V. 19. 37). P. V. 15. 63 and 82 explain how this place was called Puṣkara from the lotus (puṣkara) that Brahmā cast here. Br. (III. 34. 7 ff) states that the hero Paraśurāma practised *tapas* here along with his disciple Akṛtavraṇa for 100 years. The T. K. pp. 182–185 quote verses 20–39 of Vanaparva chap. 82 and twelve verses from P. V. 27 relating to Puṣkara. Al. (vol. II. p. 147) states: 'Outside the town in three places they have constructed ponds which stand in high veneration and are places of worship'. The principal temples are five, but all of them are modern, the earlier ones having been destroyed by Aurangzeb. There are several sub-tīrthas under it (V. 82). Puṣkara is in the Varaṇādigaṇa (Pāṇ. IV. 2. 82); **B** (Puṣkara, on Sarasvatī, called Suprabha, m.) Ādi. 221. 15, Śal. 38. 13–15; **C** HC. 14. 111 (in Kāśmīra among the group of tīrthas at Kapaṭeśvara); **D** (one of the five *dhārās* at Badarikāśrama) N. II. 67. 57–58

Puṣkarāraṇya—P. V. 18. 217, S. 32. 8 (Prācī Sarasvatī flowed through it), Br. S. XI. 35

Puṣkarāvatī—a r. probably known to Pāṇ. (IV. 2. 85, on which the Kāśikā mentions it and also several others)

Puṣkariṇī—**A** (under Narmadā) M. 190. 16, K. II. 41. 10–11, P. I. 17. 12; **B** (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 13

Puṣpabhadrā—(r. on the northern slopes of Himālaya) Var. 51. 2, 98. 5, Bh. XII. 8. 17, XII. 9. 10, Nr. q. by T. K p. 253

Puṣpabhadrā (r.) Bh. XII. 9. 10

Puṣpagiri—(one of the lesser mountains in Bharatavarṣa) Vā. 45. 92, Br. II. 16. 22. Vide I. G. I. vol. 23 pp. 114–115 for this

Puṣpajā—(r. rising from Malaya) M. 114. 30, Vā 45. 105 (reads Puṣpajāti, which means the same thing)

Puṣpadanteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 117

Puṣpasthala—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 17 (a Śivakṣetra)

Puṣpavahā—(r.) Bh. XII. 9. 30 (near Himālaya)

Puṣpavatī—(r.) V. 85. 12, P. I. 39. 12 (same verse in both)

Putratīrtha—(under Go.) B. 124. 1 and 137

R

Rādhākuṇḍa—(under Mathurā) Var. 164. 34

Rāghaveśvara—M. 22. 60 (śrāddha renders inexhaustible results)

Raivataka—(hill at Junagadh opposite to Girnar) Ādi. 218. 8 (near Prabhāsa) and chap. 219 (festivities on it by Vṛṣṇyandhakas), S. 14. 50, Var. 149. 66 (q. by T. K. p. 227), SK. VII. 2. 1. 68 (western part of Udayanta hill near Somanātha in Vastrāpatha), M. 22. 74. Raivataka i. e. present Girnar is very sacred to the Jainas (vide Uttarādhyayanasūtra, SBE. vol. 45 p. 115). But the present Dvārakā is about 110 miles from it. The original Dvārakā, which was swept away by the sea, was much nearer. Pargiter (p. 289) was not aware of two Dvārakās and hence proposes to identify Raivataka hills with Baradā hills in Hālār, the western corner of Kathiawad. In the Junagadh Inscription of Skandagupta of 136–138 Gupta era

i.e. 455–458 A.D. the river Palāśinī is said to spring from Ūrjayat which (C.I.I. vol. III. at p. 64) is opposite to vataka

Rājagṛha—**A** (Rājgir, the ancient capital of Magadha) V. 84. 104, Vā. 108. 73 (puṇyaṁ Rājagṛhaṁ vanam), Ag. 109. 20, N. II. 47. 74, P. I. 38. 22; vide A. G. pp. 467–468 and I. G. I. vol. XXI. p. 72 for the five hills surrounding it; it was also known as Girivraja and was the capital of Jarāsandha under this name; **B** (in the Punjab) P. I. 28. 13 (it is a Devīsthāna)

Rājakhaḍga—(on Sābhramatī) P. VI. 131. 116 and 134

Rājāvāsa—(Viṣṇu shrine established by Paraśurāma in Kāśmīra) NM. 1384, 1447

Rajeśvara—(under Śrīparvata). L. I. 92. 156

Rāmādhivāsa—(śrāddha and *dāna* most efficacious here) M. 22. 53

Rāmagiryaśrama—G. I. 81. 8, Meghadūta 1 and 12 (Rāmagiri is Rāmṭek, 28 miles north-east of Nāgpur in C. P. and two miles from Vākāṭaka capital Nandivardhana)

Rāmagṛha—(under Sānandura) Var. 150. 10

Rāmahrada—(five lakes on the north of Thaneswar) V. 83. 26–40, Anu. 25. 47, Bh. X. 84. 53, P. I. 26. 23–37 (where Paraśurāma filled five lakes with the blood of kṣatriyas killed by him and his pitṛs transformed them into tīrthas at his request), NM. 1387–99 (it is Brahmasaras where Bhārgava Rāma practised *tapas* after washing his bloodstained hands), Bh. X. 84. 53. Also called Cakra-tīrtha (vide p. 742 above)

Rāmajanma—(to the east of Saraka) P. I. 26. 76

Rāmaliṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 113

Rāmasaras—(under Sānandūra) Var. 150. 14–18 (one krośa in extent)

Rāmatīrtha—**A** (under Gayā) Vā. 108. 16–18, M. 22. 70 (anantam śrāddhadānayoḥ), Ag. 116. 13; **B** (in Śūrpāraka) V. 85. 43, Śal. 49. 7 (where Bhārgava Rāma gave the earth as dakṣiṇā to Kaśyapa in Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices). Vide Usavadāta's Nasik inscription recounting the gifts he made at Rāmatīrtha in Śorpāraga in Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 570; **C** (under the Ganges) N. II. 40. 85; **D** (on Gomatī) V. 84. 73–74, P. I. 32. 37; **E** (under Go.) B. 123. 1; **F** (under Mahendra) P. I. 39. 14

Rambhāliṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 105

Rambheśvara-liṅga—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 46. 39.

Rāmeśvara—**A** (one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas, said to have been established by Rāma himself) M. 22. 50, K. II. 30. 23 (bath at R. saves from sin of brahmahatyā), G. I. 81. 9. Vide T. S. p. 47 which quotes passages from Vi., K. and Ag. It is situated on the island of Pāmban. It is one of the most venerated shrines in the whole of India. Vide I. G. I. vol. XXI pp. 173–175 for a brief description of the great temple; **B** (under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 149 (established by Viṣṇu himself).

Ratneśvara-liṅga—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 165

Rantuka—(one boundary of Kurukṣetra) Vām. 22. 51 and 33. 2. Vide p. 683 n 1551 above

Rantukāśrama—(on Sarasvatī) Vām. 42. 5

Rasā—(a river) Ṛg. V. 53. 9, X. 75. 6. It is difficult to identify it. It appears to have fallen into the Indus. But from Ṛg. X. 108. 1 (katham Rasāyā ataraḥ payāṁsi) in which the Paṇis ask Saramā how she crossed the waters of Rasā, it

appears to be a mythical river. It is identified with Panjkora by E. Thomas in JRAS. vol. 15 p. 361 (n. s.)

Rathacaitraka—(a tīrtha) P VI. 129. 9

Rathaspā—(r.) It was included in the Pāraskarādigaṇa (Pāṇ. VI. I. 157). The Mbh. (vol. III p. 96) mentions 'Rathaspā nadī.' In Mb. (Vanaparva 170. 20) a river Rathasthā is mentioned between Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī on the one hand and before Sarayū and Gomatī on the other. Rathākhyā r. is mentioned in Br. S. 16. 15. Vide Ādi 170. 20.

Rāvaṇeśvaratīrtha—**A** (under Narmadā) M. 191. 26; **B** (under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 98

Ravistava—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 19

Reṇukāsthāna—(one of the Devīsthānas) Devī-Bh. VII. 38.5 (probably at Paraśurāma, in the Ratnagiri District.)

Reṇukāṣṭaka—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 41. 5

Reṇukātīrtha—V 82.82, P. I. 24.30 and 27.47. Dey (p. 168) says it is about 16 miles north of Nahan in the Panjab. Nahan is the capital of Sirmur State.

Retodaka—(under Kedāra) Devīpurāṇa q. by T.K p. 230

Revā—(Narmadā). Vide pp. 703-707 above

Revanteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 96

Revatī-saṅgama—(under Go.) B. 121. 1 and 22

Ṛkṣa or Ṛkṣavat—('abounding in bears', one of the seven main mountain ranges of Bhāratavarṣa) Vā 45. 99-101 and 95.31, M. 114.17, B. 27. 32, Var. 85 (prose). Rivers like Śoṇa, Narmadā, Mahānadī are said to rise from it. Hence it is the eastern part of Vindhya from Bengal to the sources of Narmadā and Śoṇa. Ṛkṣavat is mentioned in the Nasik cave Inscription No. 2 (Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 550 as विन्ध्यर्क्षवत् i. e. विन्ध्य-ऋक्षवत्. It is the Ouxention of Ptolemy (p. 76). Wilson (vol. II. p. 128) holds that Ṛkṣa is the mountain of Gondawana. There is great difficulty in identification, since the same rivers that are said to rise in Ṛkṣa in M and V are said to rise from Vindhya in Mār. 54. 24-25.

Ṛṇamocana or Ṛṇapramocana—**A** (under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 41.6. Vide A.S.R. of India, vol. XIV p. 76 (which says that it is situated to the south of Kapālamocanatīrtha on the Sarasvatī); **B** (near Prayāga) M. 22. 67 (śrāddha gives inexhaustible results), 107. 20; **C** (under Go.) B 99. 1; **D** (a sub-tīrtha under Āmalakagrāma) Nr. 66. 28 q. by T. K p. 255; **E** (under VS) SK. IV. 33. 117

Ṛṇamokṣa—(under Gayā) N II. 47. 79, Ag. 116. 8

Ṛṇāntakūpa P. I. 26. 92

Ṛṇatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 27, K II. 41. 19 and 29.

Rodhasvatī—(r.) Bh. V. 19. 18

Rohītaka (m.) S. 32. 4

Ṛṣabha—(m. in Pāṇḍya country) V. 85. 21, Bh. V. 19. 16, X. 79. 15, M. 121. 72 and 163. 78. Dey p. 119 suggests that it is the Palni hills in Madurā

Ṛṣabhā—(r. rising in Vindhya) M. 114. 27

Ṛṣabhadvīpa—V. 84. 160, P I. 38 67

Ṛṣabhatīrtha—**A** (under VS) K. I. 35. 3, P. I. 37. 3; **B** (in Kosalā i. e. Dakṣiṇa-Kosalā); vide the Guñji Rock Inscription of Kumāravaradatta read by M. M. Prof. Mirashi in E. I vol. 27. p. 48 where it is recorded that at Ṛṣabhatīrtha of the Bhagavat (probably meaning Śiva) an *amātya* of the king made a grant of two thousand cows to brāhmaṇas. Prof. Mirashi points out that Guñji is a small village, 14 miles north-west of Sakti

in the Chhatisgarh Division of C.P., that at the foot of a hill near that village there is a kuṇḍa (pool) called Daman Dahrā, that the record is engraved on a rock on one side on this pool, that not many miles from Guñji inscriptions of centuries before and after the Christian era have been found and that the Guñji Inscription is to be assigned to the 1st century A. D. Vanaparva 85. 10 states that the pilgrim who fasts for three days at Ṛṣabhatīrtha secures the rewards of Vājapeyayajña. Vide V. 85. 10, P. I. 39. 10

Ṛṣabhañjanakatīrtha or Uṣātīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 191

Ṛṣikā—(r. from m. Śuktimat) Vā 45. 107.

Ṛṣikanyā—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 14

Ṛṣikulyā—(r.) V 84. 49, P I. 32. 12, M. 114. 31, B. 27. 37, N. II. 60 30 (rising from Mahendra m). Vā 45. 106 reads 'Ṛtukulyā. It is the river of Ganjam, acc. to A. G. p. 516. The famous Jaugada fort in the midst of which on a huge granite mass thirteen edicts of Aśoka are inscribed is on this river.

Ṛṣisaṅgheśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 54

Ṛṣisattra—(under Go.) B. 173. 1

Ṛsyamūka or Ṛśyamūke—(m.) Rām. III. 72. 12, III. 75. 7 and 25 (on the borders of lake Pampā), Bh. V. 19. 16, V. 280. 9, V. 147. 30 (on which Sugrīva resided), 279. 44 (near Pampā lake). Vide Pargiter (p. 289 note) for identification which is rather vague.

Ṛṣitīrtha—A (under Narmadā) M. 191. 22 and 193. 13 (sage Tṛṇabindu became free from curse here), K. II. 41. 15, P. I. 18. 22; B (under Mathurā) Var. 152. 60

Ṛṣyaśṛṅgeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 115

Ṛsyavanta or Ṛṣya—(m.) M. 114. 26, Vā. 45. 101, B. 27. 32

Rucikeśvaraka—L. I. 92. 167

Rudragayā—(near Kolhapur) P. VI. 176. 41

Rudrakanyā—(under Narmadā) P. I. 20. 76

Rudrakara—(under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 46 11

Rudrakarṇa—(under VS) M. 181. 25

Rudrakarṇahrada—(under VS) P. I 37. 15

Rudrakoṭi—A (under Kurukṣetra and Sarasvatī) V. 82. 111-124, Vām. 46. 51, P. I. 25. 25-30, K. II. 36 1-8 (where Hara assumed a crore of Rudra forms for the competing sages); B (under VS) M. 181. 25; C (under Narmadā) P. I. 13. 12, V. 17. 103, M. 186. 16-17

Rudramahālaya—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 63, Devala q. by T.K. p. 250

Rudramahālayatīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 139. 1

Rudrapada—A (under Gayā) Vā. 111. 64-67, Ag. 115. 48; B (under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 26. 94

Rudraprayāga—on confluence of the Mandākinī and Alakanandā in Garhwal district (I. G. I. vol. XXI p. 338)

Rudrāvarta—(after Sugandhā) V. 84. 37

Rudravāsa—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 62

Rukmiṇīkuṇḍa or Rukmikuṇḍa—(under Gayā) Vā 108. 57, Ag. 116. 5

Rūpadhārā—(Viṣṇu's form on Irāvatī) Vām. 90. 5

Rurukhaṇḍa—(under Śālagrāma) Var 145. 105; chap. 146 explains why it is so called.

S

Śabarītīrtha—(on Go.) P. VI. 269. 277-78

Sābhramatī—(modern Sābarmatī river that rises in the Mewar hills and falls into the gulf of Cambay). The original of Sābarmatī is given as Śvabhravatī in I. G. I. vol. XXI. p. 344.

Vide P. VI.131. Up to chap. 170 of P. various sub-tīrthas of the river are described at great length. Verses2-6 of chap. 133 speak of seven streams of it, viz. Sābhramatī, Seṭikā (Śvetakā), Bakulā, Hiraṇmayī, Hastimatī (modern Hathimati) Vetravatī (modern Vātrak) and Bhadrāmukhī

Sābhramatī-sāgara-saṅgama — P. VI. 166. 1

Śacīśvara-liṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 105

Saḍaṅgula—(*Sthāna* of a *nāga* in Kāśmira) NM. 1133-1140

Sadānīrā—(r.) Śat. Br. I. 4.1.17 states 'even now this river is a boundary of Kosalas (Oudh) and Videhas. This river came rushing from the northern mountain and though all other rivers were burnt up, this was not burnt'. Sāyaṇa explains Sadānīrā as Karatoyā. Bhī (9. 24 and 35) keeps the two distinct. S. 20. 27 indicates that it was between the Gaṇḍakī and Sarayū, while B. (27. 28-29) states that it rises from Pāriyātra m. Vā. 45. 100 states that Karatoyā comes from Ṛkṣa range. Pargiter (Mār. chap. 57 p. 294) says that it is the Rapti. The Amarakośa regards Sadānīrā and Karatoyā as synonyms

Sagareśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 51

Sāhasrakatīrtha—V. 83. 158, P I. 27. 46 (same words in both)

Sahasrākṣa—M 22. 52 (*dāna* most efficacious here)

Sahasrakuṇḍa—(under Go.) B. 154. 1, q. by T.S p. 59

Sahya or Sahyādri—(one of the seven main mountains of Bharatavarṣa) B. 161. 2, M. 13. 40, Br. III. 56. 22, Ag 109. 21

Sahyāmalaka—Vide Āmalaka

Sahyāraṇya—Devīpurāṇa q. by T. K. p. 244

Śaileśvara—(under VS) L. I. 92. 86, Var. 216 23, N. II. 50. 57, SK. IV. 33. 135

Śaileśvarāśrama—Var. 215. 57 and 83-84

Śailoda—(lake at the foot of m. Aruṇa) Vā. 47. 20, Br. II. 18. 21-23

Śailodā—(r. which springs from Śailoda lake) Vā. 47. 21, Br. II. 18. 22. Vide Dey p. 172 for identification

Saindhavāraṇya—(where Cyavana resided with Sukanyā) V. 125. 13, Vām. q. by T.K. p. 239. V. 89. 15 speaks of S. as being in the west

Śākambharī—A (Sāmbhara salt lake in Western Rajputana on the borders of the Jaipur and Jodhpur States) V. Dh S. 85. 21; in an inscription of Cāhamāna Vigraharāja dated Vikrama era 1030 (973-74 A. D.) Śākambharī is mentioned (E. I. vol. II. p. 116 at p. 124). Vide I. G. I. XXII pp. 19-20 for legends about it. Near the south-eastern extremity of the lake there is Sāmbhar town which is an ancient one and was once the capital of Chauhān Rajputs: B (in Kumaon on the road from Haridvāra to Kedāra) V. 84. 13, P. I. 28. 14-16 (a Devīsthāna, where Devī subsisted on vegetables alone for 1000 years)

Sāketa—(same as Ayodhyā). It is the Sāgeda of Ptolemy. Vide Br. III. 54. 54. The Mbh. (vol. I. p. 281 on Pāṇ.I. 3. 25) has 'this road leads to Sāketa' and vol. II. p. 119 (on Pāṇ. III. 2. 111) 'aruṇad-Yavanaḥ Sāketam' (the Yavana besieged Sāketa). The Yavana referred to is deemed to be Menander. The Suttanipāta (SBE. vol. X part 2 p. 188) mentions it as existing in the time of Buddha. Fa Hien (about 400 A.D.) refers to it as 'Sha-chi' and Hiouen Thsang as Viśākha Vide A.G. pp. 401-407. The Raghuvaṁśa (XIII. 79, XIV. 132, XV. 38) treats Sāketa and Ayodhyā

as synonyms). The Kāśikā on Pāṇ. V. 1. 116 cites 'Pāṭaliputravat Sākete parikhā'. This shows that in the 7th century Sāketa was a flourishing town with a wide ditch. A. C. (p. 182) notes that Sāketa, Kośalā and Ayodhyā are synonyms (verse 975)

Śakrarudra—(three *krośas* from Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 65

Śakrasaras—(under Sānandūra) Var. 150. 33

Śakratīrtha—**A** (on the south bank of Narmadā) M. 22. 73, K. II. 41. 11-12, P. I. 24. 29; **B** (under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 81

Śakrāvarta—V. 84. 29, P. I. 28. 29

Śakreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 75

Śālagrāma—(a sacred place near the source of the Gaṇḍakī river) V. 84. 123-128, Vi. II. 1. 24, II. 13. 4 (king Bharata, a yogin, and a devotee of Vāsudeva resided there), M. 13. 33 (Umā was called Mahādevī in Śālagrāma), 22. 62, P. I. 38. 41, Var. 144.3 and 14 (all stones there are to be worshipped, particularly those marked with *cakra*); verse 29 says 'the Śālagrāma hill is Viṣṇu'; v. 145 says it is also called 'Devaṭa', that it is twelve yojanas in extent (v. 159). The sacred stones called Śālagrāma and worshipped as Viṣṇu are found in the bed of the Gaṇḍakī towards its source. It was also called Pulahāśrama (Vi. II. 1. 29). T. K. (pp. 219-221) quotes verses of Var. and V. 84. 123-128

Śāligrāma—(same as above) K. II. 35. 37, Nr. 64. 22-26 (Puṇḍarīka came to this Mahākṣetra)

Śālagrāmagiri—Var. 144. 13 and 29

Śālakaṭaṅkaṭeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 48

Śālisūrya—V. 83. 107, P. I. 26. 100 (a tīrtha probably established by Śālihotra)

Śālūkinī—(under Kurukṣetra) V. 83.13. The Mbh. (vol. I. p. 474 on Vārtika 2 to Pāṇ. II. 4. 7) speaks of Śālūkinī as a village)

Śālvikinī—(probably the same as above) P. I. 26. 11

Sāmalanātha—(same as Śyāmalanātha) M. 22. 42, P. V. 11. 35. Dey p. 200 identifies with Sāmalji in Mahī kāṇṭhā Agency.

Samaṅgā—(a r. also called Madhuvilā) V. 134. 39-40, V. 135. 2 (where Indra was freed from the sin of Vṛtravadha). Samaṅgā is so called because it makes all limbs as they should be. Aṣṭāvakra's limbs became straight after a bath in it.

Samantapañcaka—(same as Kurukṣetra) Ādi. 2. 1-5 (five pools of kṣatriya blood that were transformed into holy pools of water), Śal. 37. 45, 44. 52, 53. 1-2 (the northern Vedī of Brahmā), P. IV. 7. 74 (written as Syamanta—), Br. III. 47. 11 and 14. Vide pp. 682-83 above. Vām. 22. 20 (printed as Syamanta—), 51-55 (lake is called Sannihita and it is half a yojana all round, but Vām. 22. 16 says it is five yojanas)

Samasrotaḥ—(under Mandāra) Var. 143. 24-26

Sāmbapura—**A** (under Mathurā) Var. 177. 55 (also called Kuleśvara); **B** (on the banks of Candrabhāgā) Bhav., Brahma 140. 3. It is modern Multan

Śambhalagrāma—B. 213. 164 (Kalkin Viṣṇuyaśas will be born here to destroy mlecchas), P. VI. 269. 10-12 (speaks of Śambhalagrāma), G. I. 81. 6, Bh. XII. 2. 18. Vā. 98. 104-109, M 144. 51, Br. II. 31.76, Vi. IV. 24. 98 speak of the future exploits of Kalkin or Pramati (but all don't mention Śambhalagrāma). The I. G. I, vol. XXII p. 18 identifies it with the town Sambhal in the Moradabad District, U. P.; many

Sannihitā—(a tract more extensive than Kurukṣetra, but including it) Br. III. 13. 68 (puṁsām Sannihitāyām tu Kurukṣetre viśeṣataḥ। arcayitvā pitṛṁs-tatra sa putrastvanṛṇo bhavet). TP. p. 466 reads 'Sannihata', states it is a lake eight krośas in extent and that there are four lakes called Sannihata, Sannihatyā, Sānnihatya and Sannihatā.

Sannihatī—(another name of Kurukṣetra, according to several works) V. 83. 190-195 (Nīlakaṇṭha explains that Sannihatī is another name of Kurukṣetra). Verse 195 derives as 'tīrtha-sannihanād-eva Sannihatyeti viśrutā' i. e. all tīrthas gather together here every month on Amāvāsyā; P.I. 27. 77-78 (same verses as in V), Vām. 41. 9 and 45. 29, Ag. 109. 15 (employs the word Sannihitī 'Sarasvatyām Sannihityām snānakṛd-brahmalokabhāk')

Sannihatya-saras—(in Kurukṣetra) Vām. 47. 56, 48. 23, 49. 6 (on the north bank of Sarasvatī and near Dvaitavana)

Sanniti—(in Kurukṣetra) NM. 168-169 (seems to be the same as Sannihatī above)

Sānteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66

Saptacarutīrtha—see 'Vadavā'

Saptadhārā—(under Sābhramatī) P VI. 136. 16 (same as Saptasārasvata)

Saptagaṅgā—V. 84. 29, Anu. 25. 16, P I. 28-29 (same verse as in V). The seven Gaṅgās are Gaṅgā, Godāvarī, Kāverī, Tāmraparṇī, Sindhu, Sarayū and Narmadā. Acc. to NM, 720 the seven Gaṅgās are Bhāgīrathī, Pāvanī, Hrādinī, Hlādinī, Sītā, Sindhu, Vaṅkṣu.

Saptagodāvara—V. 85. 44, Vā. 77. 19, M. 22. 78, Bh. X. 79. 12, P. I. 39, 41, IV. 108. 39, Br. III. 13. 19, SK. IV. 6. 23. See Khairha plate of king Yaśaḥkarṇa in Kalacuri year 823 (i. e. 1071-2 A.D) in E. I. vol. XII. p. 205 ff. where in verse 23 the seven streams are named; in the Godāvarī District Gazetteer p. 6 the seven mouths of the Godāvarī are said to be sacred to seven sages viz. Kāśyapa, Atri, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Vasiṣṭha. R. VIII. 3449 speaks of Godāvarī as falling into the sea with seven mouths.

Saptanada—Br. III. 13. 58 (deyam Saptanade śrāddham Mānase vā viśeṣataḥ).

Saptakoṭīśvara—T. P. p. 557 quoting SK. VII.

Saptapuṣkariṇī—(seven springs at Thid in Kāśmīra) SM. p. 160. It is also called 'Stanakuṇḍa' in HC. IV. 45. Ain. A. (vol. II p. 361) refers to it: 'In the village of Thid is a delightful spot where seven springs unite'.

Saptārṣa—V. Dh. S. 85. 39 (śrāddha very efficacious at it). Dr. Jolly identifies it with Sātārā.

Saptarṣikuṇḍa (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 46 (where seven dhārās fall from Himavat).

Saptasāgara-liṅga—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 136.

Saptasāmudraka—(under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 91.

Saptasāmudraka-kūpa (under Mathurā) Var. 157. 12

Saptasārasvata—(in Kurukṣetra) where sage Maṅkaṇaka pierced his hand with the tips of kuśa grass when vegetable fluid began to flow from it and he danced with joy. V 83. 115, Śal. 38. 4-31 (where seven names, for which p. 686 above may be referred to, are mentioned), K. II. 35. 44-76 (story of Maṅkaṇaka), P. I. 27. 4 ff. (follows V. 83), Vām. 38. 22-23 (story of Maṅkaṇaka), N. II. 65. 101-102 (seven rivers are named).

Saptavatī—(r.) Bh. V. 19. 18.

Śarabhaṅgakuṇḍa (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 49.

Śarabhaṅgāśrama—V 85. 42 and 90.9. Rām. III. 5.3, P. I. 39. 39, Raghuvaṃśa XIII. 145 (near Sutīkṣṇāśrama).

Śarabindu—(under Āmalakagrāma) Nr. 66. 34

Śāradātīrtha—(in Kāśmīra) M. 22. 74, R. I. 37. Foremost among tīrthas of Kāśmīra is modern Śardi on the right bank of river Kisangaṅgā. In front of the temple sacred Madhumatī falls into Kisangaṅgā. Vide SM. p. 206. Ain. A. (vol. II. pp. 365–66) says that the temple of Śāradā dedicated to Durgā is on the bank of the Padmatī river which comes from Dardu country and that on every 8th day of the bright half of a month it begins to shake.

Saraka — (under Kurukṣetra) V. 83. 75–76. P I. 26. 76, N. II. 65. 62-63. Vide p 684 above

Sarastamba — (near Devadāruvana), Anu. 25. 28

Sārasvata—A (śrāddha very efficacious here) M. 22. 63; B (under VS) K. I, 35. 12, P I. 37. 15

Sārasvata—liṅga (under VS) SK IV. 33. 134

Sārasvatatīrtha — Śal. 50 (story of Asita Devala and Jaigīṣavya), 51 (birth of Sārasvata from Sarasvatī, who taught the Vedas to sages in a drought for twelve years)

Sarasvatī—(modern Sarsuti). A—The river starts from Brahmasaras, acc. to Śalya 51. 19, from Badarikāśrama acc. to Vām. 2.42–43 and from Plakṣa tree acc. to Vām. 32. 3–4, P. V. 18. 159–160 (say that Sarasvatī was asked to cast the Vāḍava fire into the sea in the west). This is probably an allusion to volcanic action whereby Sarasvatī disappeared. Vām. 3. 8 says that as Śaṅkara guilty of Brahmahatyā plunged into it, it disappeared, while elsewhere (e. g. in V. 130. 3–4) it is said that it disappeared through fear of the touch of Śūdras, Niṣādas and Ābhīras and Anu. (155. 25–27) states that Sarasvatī went to Marudeśa owing to curse by Utathya and became dry and unholy. After disappearing it becomes visible at Camasodbheda, Śivodbheda and Nāgodbheda. The Sarasvatī in Kurukṣetra was called prācī Sarasvatī (P. V. 18. 181–182). See Dey pp. 180–181 for several Sarasvatīs. V 130. 1–2 state that those who die on the Sarasvatī go to heaven and this was the blessing conferred by Dakṣa when he performed a sacrifice there. Vide Oldham's paper in JRAS for 1893 pp. 49–76; B—There is another holy river of the same name rising in the south-west end of Aravali hills and flowing south-west through the districts of Palanpur, Mahikantha and Baroda and past the ancient cities of Anhilvād and Siddhapur and falling into the lesser Runn of Cutch; Vide under Prabhāsa.

Sarasvatī-Aruṇā-saṅgama—V. 83. 151, K II. 30. 22, Śal. 43. 31 and chap. 44.

Sarasvatīpatana—(under Mathurā) Var. 154. 20.

Sarasvatī-sāgara-saṅgama—V. 82. 60, P. I. 24.9, Vām. 84. 29.

Śarāvatī—(Probably Rāpti in Oudh) Bhī. 9.20; Pāṇ. VI.3.120 (Śarādīnām ca) knew the river Śarāvatī; Kṣīrasvāmin (in com. on Amara 'Śarāvatyāstu yo'vadheḥ') quotes a verse 'prāgudañcau vibhajate haṃsaḥ kṣīrodake yathā। viduṣāṃ śabdasiddhyarthaṃ sā naḥ pātu Śarāvatī॥' Dr. Agrawala in (J.U.P.H.R.S. vol. 16 p. 15 surmises that it is the Ghagghar flowing through Ambala District. I have grave doubts about

this. It is possible that when the Sarasvatī became dried and only a marshy bed was left it was called Sarāvatī, but that in the times of the Amarakośa, Śarāvatī is probably the river Śarāvatī which falls into the sea near Honavar (North Kanara District) on which are the famous Gersappa falls. In the Raghuvaṁśa (XV. 97) Śarāvatī is said to have been the capital of Lava, son of Rāma.

Sarayū—(r.) Ṛg. IV. 30. 18, V. 33. 9, X. 64. 9 (Sarasvatī, Sarayu and Sindhu are mentioned together). In all these places the word is Sarayu, while in classical Sanskrit it is Sarayū or Sarayū (M. 22. 19, Vā 45 94, N II. 75. 71, Raghuvamsa 15. 95 and 100). M. 121. 16-17 and Br II. 18. 70 show that Sarayū springs from the Mānasa lake situated at the foot of the Vaidyutagiri. Ayodhyā was situated on the Sarayū (Rām. II. 49. 15). Sarayū rises from Himālaya (Vā 45. 94, M. 114. 21). According to Pāṇ. VI. 4. 174 (Dāṇḍināyana—) the water of Sarayū was called Sārava (Kāśikā says 'Sarayvām bhavam sāravam udakam'). In the Cullavagga (SBE vol. XX p. 302) it is one of the five great rivers of India and in 'Questions of Milinda' (SBE vol. 35 p. 171) it is one of ten great rivers, but in both places it is written as Sarabhū. Vide T.P pp. 300, 301 where it is stated that it rises from the left toe of Viṣṇu and is joined by Ghargara. It is the Sarabos of Ptolemy (p.99). It is also called the Ghogra or Gharghara.

Sārdūla—a Śaivakṣetra, according to Bar. S. III. 122.

Sargabindu—(under Narmadā) K. II. 42. 23.

Sarkarāvartā—(r.) Bh. V. 19. 18.

Sarvahrada—V 85. 39 (uncertain location)

Sarvatīrtha—P. II. 92. 4 and 7 (Prayāga, Puṣkara, Sarvatīrtha and Vārāṇasī) are the four tīrthas that remove all sins including *brahmahatyā*.

Sarvatīrtheśvara—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 134.

Sarvātmaka—(under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 37.

Sarvāyudha—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145. 56

Śaśāṅkeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 97

Śaśayāna—(under Sarasvatī) V. 82. 114-116, P I. 25. 20-23 (same verses in both) Some mss read 'Śaśapāna').

Ṣaṣṭihrada—Anu 25. 36

Śatadru—(Sutlej) same as Śutudri which see; Ādi. 177. 8-9 (derivation given), M. 22. 12, Bh. V. 19.18. The Amarakośa gives Śutudrī and Śatadru as synonyms.

Śatakumbhā—(under Sarasvatī) V. 84. 10. P I. 28. 11 (same verse in both).

Śatarudrā—M. 22. 35 (śrāddha here is inexhaustible).

Śatasahasraka—(under Sarasvati) P. I. 27. 45, Vām 41. 3, V 83. 157 and 84. 74 (Śatasāhasraka).

Śataśṛṅga—(m.) Devala q. by T.K p. 250.

Śātātapeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 92.

Śatikātīrtha—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 41. 3.

Satyavatī—(became river Kauśikī) Vā 91. 88.

Saubhadra—Ādi. 216, 3 (one of the five Nārītīrthas on the southern sea).

Saukarava—(as printed in Var. 137. 7 of the Veṅkaṭeśvara press edition) is a misreading for Saukaraka. Vide under Sūkaratīrtha.

Śaurpāraka—Br. III. 13. 37. Vide Śūrpāraka.

vide Pāṇ. IV. 3. 93. On Pāṇ. IV. 3. 83 (prabhavati) the Kāśikā gives the example 'Dāradī Sindhuḥ' (the river Sindhu rises in Darat). Some mss. of Kāśikā include 'Darat' in Sindhvādigaṇa. Sindhu country is mentioned in Rudradāman's Junāgadh Ins ; **B** (a r. rising from Pāriyātra and falling into Yamunā) Vā. 45. 98, M. 114. 23, B. 27. 28. It is the same as Kālisindhu between the Chambal and Betwa Mālatīmādhava refers to its confluence with Pārā (Act IV end) and with Madhumatī (Act IX prose passage after verse 3). Padmāvatī, the scene of the drama, was situated on the confluence of Pārā and Sindhu.

Sindhuprabhava—(source of Sindhu) V. 84. 46, P. I. 32. 10 (same verse in both)

Sindhusāgara—Nr. 65. 13 q. by T. K. p. 252

Sindhusāgarasaṅgama—V. 82. 68, Vā. 77. 56, P I. 24. 16 (same verse as in V)

Sindhūttama—(a lake) V. 82. 79

Śiphā—(r.) Ṛg. I. 104. 3 (in which the two wives of Kuyava met death)

Śiprā—(r. from Pāriyātra, flowing past Ujjayinī) M. 22. 24, 114. 24, Vā. 45. 98. Every mile of the river is marked by sacred spots, the reputed haunts of ṛṣis or the scenes of miraculous incidents; the river is said to have sprung from the blood of Viṣṇu and is believed to flow with milk at certain periods. Vide Ain. A. vol II. p. 196 for this.

Sītā—(a branch of Gaṅgā) Vā. 47. 21 and 39, Bh. V. 17. 5

Sītātīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 179. 28

Sītavana—(under Kurukṣetra ?) P. I. 26. 55

Śivadhārā—M. 22. 49

Śivahrada—Br. III. 13. 52

Śivakāñcī—(at Conjeeveram in South India) P. VI. 204. 30

Śivanadī—Nr. 65.23 q. by T.K. p. 253

Śivasarasvatī—a Śaivakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 122

Śivodbheda — (where Sarasvatī reappears after disappearing) V. 82. 112, P I. 25. 19

Skandatīrtha — (under Narmadā) P I. 18. 49, M 191. 50

Skandeśvara—(in VS) SK. IV. 33. 125, L. q. by T.K, p. 68

Śleṣmātakavana — (on Himavat) Var. 214. 24–26, 215. 12–13 and 115. Dey. p. 188 says that it is Uttara Gokarṇa two miles to north-east of Paśupatinātha in Nepāl. For two Gokarṇas, north and south, vide p. 754 above.

Śmaśāna—Avimukta, which see ; M. 184.19

Śmaśānastambha—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 54.

Snānakuṇḍa—(under Mandāra) Var. 143. 18–20

Sodaranāga—(in Kāśmīra) NM 13–14. It is modern village Sudarbal situated on a deep inlet of the Dal lake. Vide R.I. 123–26 and II. 169 and SM p. 164. Stein notes that Sodara is an ancient name of the spring now called Nārān Nāg situated close to temple ruins at Bhūteśvara. NM mentions it in connection with Bhūteśa and Kanakavāhinī and the distance from Bhūteśvara to Śrīnagara is about 32 miles.

Somakuṇḍa—(under Gayā) Ag. 116.4.

Somanātha—**A** (in Saurāṣṭra near Verawal) Ag. 109.10 (Somanātham Prabhāsakam), P. VI. 176. 37; vide A. G. p. 319 and under Prabhāsa; **B** (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 23. A popular verse is 'Sarasvatī samudraśca Somaḥ somagrahas-tathā । darśanam Somanāthasya sakārāḥ pañca durlabhāḥ).

Somapada—V 84. 119.

Somapāna—M. 22. 62.

Somāśrama—V. 84. 157

Somatīrtha—**A** (on the banks of Sarasvatī) Vām. 41.4, V. 83. 114, M 109. 2; **B** (under Narmadā) M. 191. 30, P. I. 18. 30 and 27. 3, K. II. 41. 47; **C** (under VS) K. I. 35. 7, P. I. 37. 7 (same verse in both); **D** (under Go.) B 105. 1, 119. 1; **E** (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 18; **F** (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 26–28; **G** (under Viraja) B. 42, 6; **H** (under Sūkara) Var. 137. 43 (where Soma secured highest *siddhi*; **I** (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 154. 1

Someśa—(under VS) K. I. 35. 9

Someśvara—**A** (removes all diseases) M. 22. 29, K. II. 35. 20; **B** (under Śālagrāma) Var. 144. 16–29

Śoṇa—(a *nada*, also called Hiraṇyavāha, rising in m. Ṛkṣa in Gondwana according to the Purāṇas and falling into the Ganges some miles from Bankipore) M. 22. 35 (a *nada*), 114. 25, B 27. 30, Vā. 45. 99, Br. II. 16. 29. It is the Soa of Ptolemy (p. 99) and Sonas of Arrian. It rises near where the Narmadā rises in the Amarakaṇṭaka hill. Vide AG pp. 453–454 for its confluence with the Ganges.

Śoṇa-Jyotirathyā-saṅgama—V. 85. 8, P. I. 39. 8, V. Dh. S. 85. 33 (reads Śoṇa-Jyotiṣāsaṅgama, while the com. Vaijayantī notes the v. l. Śoṇa-Jyotirathā)

Śoṇaprabheda—(prabhava?) V 85. 9, P. I. 39. 9

Śoṇitapura—(capital of Bāṇāsura, where Aniruddha was kept in confinement for his intrigue with Uṣā) B 206. 1, Harivaṃśa, Viṣṇuparva 121. 92–93. Dey p. 189 says that it exists under the same name in Kumaon and that several other places claim to be the Śoṇitapura of Bāṇāsura. In the Harivaṃśa it is said that Śoṇitapura was 11000 yojanas from Dvārakā. BV. (Kṛṣṇajanmakhaṇḍa, Uttarārdha, 114. 847) mentions Śoṇitapura as capital of Bāṇāsura. A. C. (p. 182) states it was also called Koṭīvarṣa (v. 977)

Śrāvastī—(Sāhet-māhet on the Rāpti in Oudh) said to be the capital of Lava in Uttara Kosala. It is 58 miles north of Ayodhyā; Rām. VII. 107. 4-7, Vā 88.200 and A. G. p. 409; but some mss. of Raghuvaṃśa (XV. 97) state that Śrāvastī was the capital of Lava. Vide Marshall's article in JRAS for 1909 pp. 1066–1068 for the reasons for identifying Śrāvastī with Saheṭh-Maheṭh and the Saheṭh Maheṭh plate of Govindacandra in E. I. vol. XI. p. 20. In JRAS for 1898 pp. 520–531 Vincent Smith disputed the identification of Sahet-Mahet with Śrāvastī and holds that Śrāvastī was near Nepalganj in Nepalese territory. B 7. 53 says that it was called after Śrāvasta of Ikṣvāku race.

Śrīkṣetra—Jagannātha Puri.

Śrīkuṇḍa—V 82. 86 (now called Lakṣmīkuṇḍa, in VS) L. q. by. T.K. p. 62

Śrīkuñja—(under Sarasvatī) P. I. 26. 19, V. 83. 108

Śrīmādaka—(the guardian nāga in the south of Kāśmīra) NM 1117

Śrīmukhī—(guhā) L. q. by T.K. p. 60 (under VS).

Śrīnagara—**A** (capital of Kāśmīra). It has a long history. R. I. 104 states that Aśoka built Śrīnagarī with 96 lakhs of houses. Stein in note on this says that Cunningham (A. G. p. 93) located Śrīnagarī of Aśoka at the site of the present village Pandrethan (Kalhaṇa's Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna) on the right bank of Vitastā, three miles above modern Śrīnagar. Pandrethan is at the foot of the hill Takhta-i-Sulaiman. Pravarasena I erected the shrine of Pravareśvara

and Pravarasena II built the new capital in the beginning of the 6th century. Hiouen Thsang speaks of the new city (Pravarapura). Vide Beal's B. R. W. W. vol, I. pp. 96, 148 and 158 and A. G. pp. 95-96. Ain. A. (vol. II. p. 355) states that Koh-i-Sulaiman is to the east of Śrīnagara. Al. (vol. I p. 207) notes that Addiṣṭhan (adhiṣṭhāna the capital of Kāśmīra) is built on both banks of the Zhelum. For the Dal lake close to Śrīnagara and one of the most beautiful spots in the world, vide, I. G. I. vol. XI. pp. 124-125; B—a town in Garhwal District on the left bank of the Alakanandā (U. P. Gazetteer vol. 36 p. 200).

Śṛṅgātakeśvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 155.

Śṛṅgatīrtha—(under Narmadā) P. I. 21. 31.

Śṛṅgaverapura—(or Śṛṅgibera) V. 85. 65, P. I. 39. 61 (same verse in V and P), Rām. II. 113. 22, VI. 126.49, Ag. 109. 23. Here Rāma crossed the Ganges when going from Ayodhyā into exile. It is modern Sringraur or Singor on the left bank of the Ganges about 22 miles north-west of Prayāga.

Śṛpā—(r. rising from Vindhya) Br. II. 16. 32.

Śrīparṇī—(*dana* most efficacious here) M. 22. 49

Śrīparvata or Śrīśaila—A (hill situated in Karnal District on the south side of the Kṛṣṇā river 50 miles from Kṛṣṇā station). There are numerous liṅgas here including the famous Mallikārjuna (in L. I. 92.155), one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas; many are named in L. I, 92. 147-166. Vide V. 85. 18-20 (Mahādeva with Umā is there), Vā 77. 28, M. 13. 31 (Devī is called Mādhavī here), 181.28 (one of the eight main Śivasthānas), 188. 79 (one tripura of Bāṇāsura burnt by Rudra fell here), P. I. 15. 68-69 (same story as in M. 188), Agni 113. 4 (Gauri, assuming the form of Lakṣmī practised penance here). Pargiter (p. 290 n) does not correctly interpret Ag.; K. II. 20.35 (Śrāddha most efficacious here), II. 37. 13-14 (religious suicide allowed here), P. I. 39. 17, VI. 20. 15 (a great place for yogins and those practising penance). It is a Śāktakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 124. The Mālatīmādhava mentions it several times. Vide E. I. XX. p. 9, E. I. IV. p. 193 (Chikkulla plate of Viṣṇukundin Vikramendravarman). In the Nagārjunikoṇḍa Inscription F of about 3rd century A. D. edited by Dr. Vogel, Śrīparvata is mentioned (E. I. vol. XX p. 1 at p. 23); B (a liṅga in VS) Ag. 112. 4; C (under Narmadā) Ag. 113. 3.

Śrīpatitīrtha—(śrāddha here leads to highest goal) M. 22. 74.

Śrīraṅga—(modern Śrīraṅgam, an island between Kāverī about 2 miles north of Trichinopoly and Coleroon) M. 22. 44 (śrāddha here yields inexhaustible results), Bh. X. 79. 14, P. VI. 280. 19, Bār. S. III. 120 (a Vaiṣṇava-kṣetra). It is mentioned in the Śilappadikāram chap. X. (tr. by Prof. Dikshitar p. 163). Rāmānuja, the founder of the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy died here. Vide I. G. I. vol. XXIII. pp. 107-108 for a brief description of the temple of Viṣṇu (called Raṅganāthasvāmin here).

Śrītīrtha—(under VS) V. 83. 46, K. I. 35. 8, P. I. 37, 8.

Stambhatīrtha—(modern Khambayat situated on the gulf of Cambay) K.II. 41. 51, P. I. 18. 93 (both speak of it under Narmadā). A Stambhatīrtha is mentioned in T. S. p. 101. Vide I. A. vol. 54. p. 47

Stambhākhyatīrtha—(near Mahīsāgara-saṅgama) SK. I. 2. 3. 67. Probably same as above.

Stambheśvara—SK. I. 2. 3. 40

Stanakuṇḍa—V. 84. 152, Var. 215. 97 (Stanakuṇḍe Umāyās-tu)

Sthaleśvara—(a Śivatīrtha) M. 181. 27

Sthāneśvara—(a liṅga in VS) L. I. 92. 136

Sthāneśvara—(modern Thaneswar 25 miles south of Ambala) M. 13. 3 (Devī is called Bhavānī here). Vide A. G. pp. 329–332. It was sacked by Mahmud of Gazni in 1014 A. D. In Harṣacarita Bāṇa mentions Sthāṇvīśvara country.

Sthāṇutīrtha—(under Sarasvatī where Vasiṣṭha had his āśrama) Śal. 42. 4 (Vasiṣṭha had his āśrama to the east of this tīrtha and Viśvāmitra had his on the west), Vām. 40. 3 (on the north bank of the Sarasvatī), 42. 30 (it has one thousand liṅgas), 49. 6–7 (it is on the lake called Sānnihatya). Vām. chapters 47–49 deal with the māhātmya of this tīrtha. Dey p. 194 says it is the same as Sthāneśvara.

Strītīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 31.

Stutasvāmin—(a Viṣṇukṣetra on Manipūragiri) Var. 148. 8–81. T K pp 222-224 quote about twenty verses from Var. 148 without a word of comment. Verses 75–76 explain the name (as the god was *stuta* by other gods and the sages Nārada, Asita and Devala). Dey does not notice it and Prof. Aiyangar does not identify it.

Subhadrā-sindhu-saṅgama P. VI. 129. 25.

Subhūmika—(a tīrtha on Sarasvatī) Śal. 37. 23 (visited by Balarāma)

Sucakra—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 57. 89.

Śuddheśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 122

Sudīna—V. 83. 100.

Sugandha—(under Sarasvatī) P. I. 32. 1.

Sugandhā—V. 84. 10, V. Dh. S. 20.10 (according to com. it is a river near Saugandhika m.), P. I. 28. 1 (under Sarasvatī). P and V have same verse.

Sugrīveśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 51.

Sūkaratīrtha—(*Soron on the west bank* of the Ganges between Bareli and Mathurā (according to A. G. pp. 364–365). Vide I. G. I. vol. 23 pp. 88–89. Var. chapters 137–139; TK pp. 209–212 quote 37 verses from Var. 137 for this tīrtha and from no other source. N. II. 40 31. and 60. 22 (Acyuta in the form of Varāha appeared here), P. VI. 121. 6–7 (the extent is four yojanas). Some texts read Sūkaratīrtha.

Śukasya-āśrama V. 85. 42, P. I. 39. 39 (same verse in both)

Śukeśvara—(on north Gokarṇa) Var. 173. 9

Śuklatīrtha—(on the north bank of Narmadā about ten miles north-east of Broach) K. II. 41. 67–82, M. 192. 14, SK. I. 2.3.5. Vide p. 706 above for Cāṇakya's association with it, also I. G. I. vol. 23 p. 128 and Bom. G. vol. XI. pp. 568–569 for legend of Cāṇakya's connection; P. I. 19. 2–35 (about Cāṇakya rājarṣi having obtained *siddhi* here)

Śukratīrtha—(on north bank of Go.) B. 95 1, M. 22. 29

Śukreśvara—(under VS) K. I. 35. 15, L. I. 92. 93, N. II 50. 65

Śuktimat—(one of the seven great mountains of India, being a portion of the Vindhya) K. I 47. 39, Vā. 45. 88 and 107, N. II. 60. 27, Bh. V. 19. 16. Vide Dr. B. C. Law on 'Mountains and rivers of India' in Department of Letters, Cal. University, vol 28 pp. 20–21 for different identifications. It is the least

known of the seven principal mountains, and the rivers that flow from it are few and their names are mutilated in the texts. Vide Dr. Ray Chaudhari's 'Studies' etc. pp. 113-120 for discussion and Dr. B. C. Law on 'Mountains and Rivers of India' in Journal of Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. 28 pp 20-21 for different identifications.

Suktimatī—(r. obstructed by m. Kolāhala in Cedi) Bhī. 9. 35. Vide Dey p. 196 for different identifications. B. 27.32 and M. 114. 101 say that it rises in Ṛkṣa mountain, while Mār. 57. 23 says it flows from Vindhya

Sukumārī—(r. rising from Śuktimat m.) Vā. 45. 107

Śūlabheda—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 3, K. II. 41. 12-14, P I. 18. 3

Śūlaghāta—(in Kāśmīra) Vide under Nīlakuṇḍa

Śūleśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T K. p. 52

Sumantu-liṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 97

Sunandā—(r.) Bh. VIII. 1. 8

Sundarikā—(r.) P I. 32. 21. It is one of the seven holy rivers quoted in a *Pāli* couplet (SBE. vol. X, part 2, p. 74)

Sundarikābrada—Anu. 25. 21

Sundarikātīrtha—V. 84. 57, Anu. 25. 21 (after Devikā), Var. 215. 104

Śuṇḍika—(tīrtha in Kāśmīra) NM. 1459

Sunila—(under VS) P. I. 37. 3

Suparṇā—(a tributary of Go.) B. 100.1

Supārśva—P. VI. 129. 16

Suprayogā—(one of the rivers that are mothers of fires) V. 222. 253, Mār. 54. 26, Vā. 45. 104. It cannot be identified, though it is said that it rises in Sahya (Br. II. 16. 35). Some identify it with the Pennar. Vide E. I. vol. 27 p. 273

Surabhivana—(in the Himālaya on river Śilodā) Br. II. 18. 23

Surabhikeśvara—(under Narmadā) P I. 18. 36

Surasā—(r.) Vi. II. 3. 11 (rises from Vindhya), Br. II. 16. 29 (rising from Ṛkṣavat). Bh. V. 19. 18

Sureśvarī-kṣetra—(present village of Isabar in Kāśmīra, two miles north of Dal lake shore) R. V. 37, NM. 1532, S. M. p. 161. The chief attraction here is a sacred spring known as Gupta-Gaṅgā

Śūrpārakatīrtha—(modern Sopara near Bassein) V. 85. 43 (resorted to by Paraśurāma), 88. 12 (in it was the Vedi of Jamadagni), 118. 8-10, Śānti 49. 67 (reclaimed from the sea by Jamadagni's son Paraśurāma), Anu. 25. 50, Harivaṁśa, Viṣṇuparva 39. 29-31 (in Aparānta Śūrpāraka city was five hundred *dhanus* long and 500 *iṣus* broad and was established by discharging an arrow by Paraśurāma), Br. III. 58. 17-18 and 32-33 (the strip taken by Paraśurāma from the sea is 400 yojanas from north to south), Bh. X. 79. 20, B. 27. 58 (Śūrpāraka is mentioned as the first of the Aparānta countries). It is mentioned as 'Sorpāraga' in Nasik Inscription No. 10 q. in Bom. G. vol. 16 on p. 569. The Nānāghāṭ Ins. No. 9 (A S. W. I. vol. V. p. 64) mentions a Govindadāsa Sopārayaka. There is a Suppārakajātaka (No. 463, vol. IV p. 86 ed. by Cowell), where we are told of the seaport called Bharukaccha and a kingdom named Bharu. It is probable that the Ophir of the Old Testament is Śūrpāraka, though some scholars dispute this. A. G. (pp. 497-499 and 561-562) argues that Ophir or Sophir (in the Septuagint translation of the Bible) is the country of Sauvīra and not Śūrpāraka as many scholars hold. Ptolemy mentions it as

Soupara. Some eminent scholars hold that Ophir is Abiria (i. e. Ābhīras) of Ptolemy (p. 140). Vide JRAS for 1898 pp. 253 ff. for discussion and JBBRAS vol. 15 p. 273 for a long note on Śūrpāraka.

Sūryatīrtha—**A** (under VS) V. 83. 48, K. I. 35. 7, P. I. 37. 7; **B** (under Mathurā) Var. 152.50,156. 12 (where Bali, son of Virocana, propitiated the Sun)

Susartu—(r., tributary of the Indus on the west of it) Ṛg. X. 75. 6. Keith does not know which tributary of of the Indus it was.

Śuṣkanadī—(under VS)—same as Asi, M. 183. 62, L. q. by T. K. p. 118.

Śuṣkeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 118.

Suṣomā—(r) Ṛg. VIII. 64. 11. In Ṛg. X. 75. 5 also it is probably the name of some river, though the Nir. IX. 26 takes it to be Sindhu; Bh. V. 19. 18; Stein in Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration volume pp. 21–28 ('River names in Ṛgveda') says (on p. 26) that Suṣomā is Sohan (Suwan) flowing through the Rawalpindī District and reaching the Indus to the north of the Salt Range.

Suṣumnā—**A** (r. under Gayā) N II. 47. 36; **B** (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 35 (same as Matsyodarī)

Sutīkṣṇāśrama—Rām. III. 7, Raghuvaṃśa XIII. 41 (at some distance from Agastyāśrama)

Sutīrthaka—V. 83. 56

Śutudrī—(same as Sutlej in the Punjab, the Śatadru of classical Sanskrit works) Ṛg. III. 33. 1, X. 75. 5. It is the Greek Hupanis or Huphasis (A. I. p. 65), which formed the limit of Alexander's march in India. It rises on the southern slopes of Kailāsa and once issued from the Mānasa lake. Pargiter (p. 291 n) says that in ancient times this river did not probably join the Beas as it does now but pursued an independent course and that it formerly flowed along the dry bed now called Hakra or Ghaggar at a distance of 30 to 50 miles south of its present course.

Suvarṇa—V 84. 18, Ag. 109. 16, P. I. 28. 19 (where Viṣṇu sought for the favour of Rudra)

Suvarṇākṣa—(under VS) M. 181. 25, K. II. 35. 19.

Suvarṇarekhā (holy river near Raivataka) SK VII. 2. I. 1–3 (probably same as the next). There is a river of same name in Bengal. Vide I G. I. vol. XXIII. p. 114.

Suvarṇasikatā—(in Jungadh Inscription of Rudradāman to be assigned to 150 A.D., E. I. VIII. p 36 at p. 42) now called Sonrekhā in Kathiawad

Suvarṇatilaka—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18, 46.

Suvāstu—(r., modern Swāt that falls into Kabul river) Ṛg. VIII. 19. 37 (*Suvāstvā adhi tugvani*). The Nir. IV. 15 explains that Suvāstu is a river and 'tugvan' means 'tīrtha'. It is the Soastos of Arrian (A. I. p. 191). Pāṇ. IV. 2. 77 (Suvāstvādibhyoṣin) knew Suvāstu and makes it the first word of 'Suvāstvādi-gaṇa'. Inscriptions in Sanskrit containing famous Buddhist gāthās have been found near Swāt. Vide E. I. vol. II. p 133 for three Buddhist inscriptions in Swāt.

Suvratasya—āśrama (on Dṛṣadvatī) V. 90. 12–13

Svacchoda—(lake) Vide Acchoda

Svacchodā—(r) Br. II. 18. 6 (rising from lake Svacchoda on m. Candraprabha)

Svāmitīrtha—M. 22. 63, K II. 37. 19–21 (Skanda is always present there). Dey p. 107 identifies it with the temple of Kumārasvāmī situated about a mile from Tiruttani on the M and S. M. Railway on a hill called Krauñca-parvata

Svargabindu—(under Narmadā) P. I. 21. 15

Svargadvāra—**A** (under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 27. 55; **B** (under VS) K. I. 35. 4, P. I. 37.4; **C** (under Gayā) Ag. 116.4 (the word here is 'Svargadvārī'); **D** (under Puruṣottama) N II. 56 31

Svargamārgahrada—Anu. q. by T. K. p. 248

Svarga-mārga-pada—V. DH. S 85. 41

Svargatirtha—Anu. *25. 33*

Svargeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 48

Svarlineśvara—(under VS) L. I. 92.78, SK. IV. 33. 123 (explains why it is so called)

Svarṇabindu—(under Narmadā) Anu. 25. 9, M. 194 15

Svarṇalomāpanayana—P. I. 26. 58

Svarṇarekhā—(r. in Vastrāpathakṣetra i. e. modern Girnar and surrounding territory) SK. VII. 2. 3. 2 and VII. 2. 10. 209

Svarṇavedi (r.)—Vā. 77.95, K. II. 37.37

Svastipura—(near Gaṅgāhrada and Gaṅgākūpa) V. 83. 174

Svatantreśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 6

Svayambhūrtirtha—(modern Suyam in Kāśmira in the Machipur *pargana*) R. I. 34, HC. 14 80. Volcanic phenomena are observed here and sometimes vapours rise from fissures in the ground sufficiently hot to boil śrāddha offerings placed by pilgrims.

Śvāvillomāpaha—V. 83 61

Śvetā—(r. that joins Sābhramatī) P. VI. 133. 19–20

Śvetādri—(m.) P. VI 280. 19, M. 113. 38 (eastern part of Meru is so called).

Śvetadvīpa—G. I. 81. 7, K. I. 1. 49, I. 49. 40–47, Vām. 25. 16 and 60.56, Śānti 336 8 ff. 337. 27 ff. In most of these texts it is a mythical country to the north of Kṣirodadhi

Śvetamādbava—N. II. 55. 3

Śvetatirtha—(under Go.) B 94. 1

Śvetayāvarī—(r.) Ṛg. VIII 26. 18

Śveteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 99

Śvetī—(r., tributary of Indus on the west) Ṛg.X. 75.6. Lit. it would mean the white one. It is difficult to identify it with Suvāstu

Śvetodbhava—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 133. 15

Syandika—(r. Sai, seven miles south of Jaunpur, mentioned after Gomatī) *Rām. II. 49. 12*

Śyāmāyāḥ-āśrama—Anu. 25. 30

Śyenī—(r. *rising in Ṛkṣaparvata*) M. 114. 25. Dey p. 200 iden'ifies it with Ken in Bundelkhand

T

Taijasa—(to the west of Kurukṣetra where Skanda was crowned commander of the gods) P.I. 27. 52–53.

Takṣaśilā—(modern Taxilā) Svargārohaṇa-parva 5. 34. Vā 88. 189–90, Br. III. 63. 190–91 (established by Takṣa son of Dāśarathi Bharata as his capital in Gandhāra); in the Jātakas Takkasilā is mentioned as a seat of learning (as in Bhīmasena-Jātaka, Fausböll's ed. vol. I. p 356). Vide Ptolemy p. 118–121 for its history from Alexander's time onwards. Ptolemy calls it Taxila. It is mentioned in the Dhauli first separate Rock Edict of Aśoka (C.I.I. vol. I. p 93) and the word occurs in Pāṇ. IV. 3.93. Vide for description of its ruins A. G. pp. 104–113, Marshall's 'Guide to Taxilā' and other works.

Takṣaka-nāga (sacred spring in Kāśmīra near Jayavana, modern Zevan). V. 82. 90. R. I. 220, P. I. 25. 2 (says Vitastā is the home of Takṣaka-nāga). It is worshipped to this day in the large pool close to the village Zevan. Vide S. M. p. 166, K. R. p. 5

Tālakarṇeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 72.

Tālatirtha—(under VS) P I. 37. 2

Tālavana—(to the west of Mathurā) Var. 157. 35

Tamasā—A(r., modern Tonse, flowing 12 miles west of the Sarayū and falling into the Ganges) Rām. I. 2. 3, II. 45. 32, Raghuvaṁśa IX. 20, XIV. 76 (on which stood Vālmiki's āśrama). Vide C.I.I. vol. III. p. 128 where a village Āśramaka on Tamasā is granted in A.D. 512-13; B (r. rising from Ṛkṣa), M. 114. 25, Vā. 45. 100; C (r. falling into Yamunā) Devī Bh. VI. 18.12

Tāmraparṇī—(r. in Pāṇḍya country rising from mountain Malaya and falling into the sea) B 27.36, M 114. 30, Vā 45.105 and 77. 24-27, V. 88. 14, Rām. IV. 41. 17-18, K. II. 37. 21-22, Br III. 13. 24, Bh. X. 79. 16 and XI 5. 39. The Taprobane of Megasthenes (A. I, p. 62) and Tambapaṇṇī of Aśoka's Girnar Inscription II; it is said to be Ceylon but that may refer to the river as well; E. I. XX at p. 23 (Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Ins); Br III. 13. 24 and 25, Raghuvaṁśa IV.49-50 show that pearls were found there

Tāmraprabha—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 191

Tāmrāruṇa—V. 85. 154

Tāmravatī—(one of the rivers that are mothers of fires) V. 222. 23

Taṇḍulikāśrama—(near Puṣkara and Jambūmārga) V 82. 43, Ag. 109. 9, P.I. 12. 3

Tāpaseśvara—(under Narmadā) K II. 41.66, P. I. 18. 96

Tapastīrtha—(under Go.) B 126. 1 and 37 (it is also called Sattratīrtha)

Tapatī—(r.) M.22.32-33 (Tapatī seems to be Tāpī here as distinguished from Mūlatāpī). In Ādiparva chapters 171-173 Tapatī is a daughter of the Sun whom king Saṁvaraṇa married and had a son Kuru from her; Mār. 105. 26 (younger daughter of the Sun became river).

Tāpeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 104

Tāpī—(r. rising from Vindhya and falling into the Arabian sea at Surat, also called Tapatī) M 114. 27, B 27. 33, Vā. 45. 102, Ag. 109. 22. Tāpī is mentioned in Uṣavadāta's Nasik Inscription No. 10 (Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 569). Vide under Payoṣṇī above and TP pp. 544-547 (for māhātmya and sub-tīrthas)

Tāpikā—same as Tāpī. Devīpurāṇa q. by T. K. p. 242

Tāpī-samudra—saṅgama—T.P. p. 547

Tapovana—A (on south bank of Go.) B 128.1; B (in Vaṅga country) V. 84. 115, P. I. 38. 31. 'Tato vanam' is a misreading in Vanaparva

Tārakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 104. Tārakeśvara is also a village in Hooghly District of Bengal famous for its shrine of Śiva. Vide I.G.I. vol. 23 p 249

Taraṇḍa or Taraṇtuka—(a dvārapāla of Kurukṣetra) V. 83. 15, P. I. 27. 92 (reads 'Taraṇḍa), Vām. 22.60. Vide p. 683 note 1551 above.

Timi—(to the right of Śaṅkukarṇeśvara) P. I. 24. 20-23

Tīrthakoṭi—V 84.121, P.I. 38.38 (same verse in both)

Tosalaka—(the *guhya* name of Viṣṇu is Garuḍadhvaja here) Nr. q. by T.K. p. 252. Is it the same as Ptolemy's Tosalei (p. 230) and the Tosali in Aśoka's Dhauli Inscriptions (C. I. I. pp. 92 and 97) and the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscription (E. I. vol. XX. at p. 23); Tosali (modern Dhauli in the Purī District) was the chief city of northern Kaliṅga in the days of the Mauryas.

Toyā—(r. rising in Vindhya) M. 114.28, Vā 45 103

Traiyambaka-tīrtha—A (under Go. and sacred to Pitṛs) M. 22.47, K. II. 35. 18; B (under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 112

Trastāvatāra—(an *āyatana*) Devala q. by T. K. p. 250

Tribhāgā—(r. rising from Mahendra) M. 114. 31, Vā 45. 104

Tridaśajyoti—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 11

Tridivā—**A** (r. rising from Himavat) Br. II. 16. 26; **B** (r. rising from Mahendra) M. 114. 31, Vā. 45, 106, B 27. 37; **C** (r. rising from Ṛkṣavat) Br. II. 16. 31.

Tridivābalā—(r. from Mahendra m.) Br. II. 16. 37. Probably Tridiva and Balā.

Trigaṅga—V 84, 29, Anu 25. 16, P. I. 28. 29

Trigarteśvara—(under Mathurā) Var. 176. 16.

Trihalikāgrāma—(where śrāddha is very efficacious) V. Dh. S. 85. 24 (com. Vaijayantī says it is Śālagrāma).

Trijaleśvara-liṅga—(where Gaṇḍakī and Devikā join) Var. 144. 83

Trikakud—(m. part of Himavat) A.V. IV. 9. 8 and 9 (for a salve therefrom), Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā III. 6. 3, Śat. Br. III. 1. 3. 12 (all these mention Traikakuda or Traikakubha añjana), Pāṇ. V. 4. 147 (trikakut-parvate) teaches that Trikakud is the *name* of a mountain and the name is a Bahuvrīhi compound (trīṇi kakudāni kakudākārāṇi śṛṅgāṇi asya) Vide Br. III. 13. 58 where it is Trikakudagiri (very eminent place for śrāddha), Vā. 77. 57-63.

Trikoṭi—(a r. in Kāśmīra) NM 308, 386-87. At Kaśyapa's request Aditi became Trikoṭi. It joins Vitastā.

Trikūṭa—(m.) Vām. 85. 4, (son of Sumeru), Nr. 65. 21, P VI. 129. 16. In Bh. VIII. 2. 1 Trikūṭa m. appears to be mythical. From Raghuvaṁśa IV. 58-59 it follows that Trikūṭa was in Aparānta. Dey p. 205 specifies three hills as Trikūṭa. Kālidāsa's Trikūṭa appears to be the Tirahnu or Trirasmi hill at Nasik. Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 633 and E. I. vol. 25 p. 225 at p. 232 (copper-plate Ins. discovered at Anjaneri near Nasik of about 709 A. D. mentions 'Pūrva-Trikūṭaviṣaya'). The Khanapur plates of Mādhavavarman (about 510-560 A. D.) speak of him as the 'lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya' (E. I. vol. 27 p. 312 at p. 315)

Triliṅga—country which has three famous liṅgas viz. Kālahastin, Śrīśaila, Drākṣārāma.

Trilocana-liṅga—(in VS) SK. IV. 33. 120, K. I. 35. 14-15, P. I. 37. 17.

Tripadi (Tirupati)—in the District of north Arcot at a short distance from Renigunta Station. It is the same as Veṅkaṭagiri on the top of which is the celebrated temple of Veṅkaṭeśvara or Bālāji.

Triplakṣa—(śrāddha most efficacious here) Br. III. 13. 69

Tripura—**A** (a very fit place for śrāddha) M. 22. 43; **B** (capital of Bāṇāsura) P. I. chapters 14-15, Karṇaparva 33.17 ff and 34. 113-114, M. chapters 129-140 (give the story of Tripuradāha at great length). Vide also Anu. 160. 25-31 and an interesting paper on 'The Tripura episode in Sanskrit literature' in Journal, Ganganath Jha R. I. vol. VIII. pp 371-395 by Miss Bhakti Sudhā Mukhopādhyāya.

Tripurāntaka—(near eastern gate of Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 150.

Tripureśvara (modern village Triphar in Kāśmīra, three miles from Dal lake) R. V. 46, HC. 13. 200. Some identify it with Jyeṣṭheśvara.

Tripurī—(on the Narmadā) T. S. p. 100 quotes three verses about it It is modern Tewar, six miles west of Jabbalpur. It was the capital of the Kalacuris or Cedis. Vide Jabalpur plate of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva in 1122 A.D., E. I. vol. II. p. 1 at p. 3 and E. I. XIX p. 75 (for extent of Mahākosala). M. 114. 53, Sabhāparva 21. 60 and Br. S. 14.9 mention Traipura country as situated

on the back of Vindhya. Tripurī is known from very ancient copper coins of early 2nd century B. C. Tripurī-viṣaya occurs in Betul plates of Saṅkṣobha as situated in Dabhālā country. Vide R. D. Banerji's 'Haihayas of Tripurī' p. 137.

Tripuṣkara—Vide Puskara.

Triśāmā—(r. rising from Mahendra) Vā 45. 106, Vi. II. 3. 13, Bh. V. 19. 18 (does not mention source).

Trisandhyā or Trisandhyam) A–M.22. 46 (sacred to pitṛs): B (spring of goddess Sandhyā) one of the holiest Kāśmīra tīrthas. It is modern Sundabrār in Bring *pargana*; NM 1471, R. I. 33. SM. p. 181.

Tristhāna—(probably same as Vārāṇasī) Anu. 25. 16

Triśikhara—(m.) Vā. 42. 28, M. 183.2.

Triśūlagaṅgā—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145. 84 (confluence of Gaṇḍakī and Kṛṣṇā)

Triśūlakhāta—V. 84. 11. It is probably the same as the Kāśmīra tīrtha Śūlaghāta

Triśūlapāta—(under Sarasvatī) P. I. 28. 12. Probably the same as above

Tritakūpa-a tīrtha visited by Balarāma, Bh. X. 78. 19 (after Pṛthūdaka and Bindusaras). Ṛg. I. 105. 17 speaks of Trita who had been thrown into a well and was helped by Bṛhaspati. Vide Nir. IV. 6

Triveṇī—A (at Prayāga) Var. 144. 86–87; vide p.602 above; B (confluence of three rivers, viz. Gaṇḍakī, Devikā and another r. called Brahmaputrā) Var. 144. 83 and 112–115. It was here that Gajendra was drawn into water by the grāha (crocodile), Var. 144. 116–134.

Triviṣṭapa—P. I. 26. 79 (where there is Vaitaraṇī river)

Tṛṇabindusaras—(in Kāmyakavana) V. 258. 13.

Tṛṇabinduvana—Nr. q. by T. K. p. 252.

Tryambakeśvara—(near Nasik, at the source of the Godāvarī) N. II. 73. 1–152 (is the māhātmya), SK. IV. 6. 23, P. VI. 176. 58–59, B. 79. 6.

Tulajāpura—(a Devīsthāna) Devī-Bh. VII. 38. 6

Tuṅgā—(r. that falls into the Kṛṣṇā) Nr. 66. 7 (reading differs) q. by T.K. p. 254 (Tuṅgā ca dakṣiṇe Gaṅgā Kāverī ca viśeṣataḥ).

Tuṅgabhadrā—(The two rivers Tuṅgā and Bhadrā rise in the Mysore state and join to form the Tuṅgabhadrā near Kudli in Mysore State. The river falls into the Kṛṣṇā near Alampur in the Raichūr District) M. 22. 45, Nr. 66 6 q. by T.K p. 254, Bh. V. 19. 18, M. 114. 29, B. 27.35, Vā 45. 104 (last three say that it rises in Sahya). From E.I.vol. XII at p. 294 and Vik. IV. 44–68 it is clear that Cālukya king Someśvara I, being attacked by a malignant fever, perished by entering Tuṅgabhadrā in 1068 A.D.

Tuṅgakūṭa—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 29–30.

Tuṅgāraṇya—V. 85. 46–54, P. I. 39.43 (where Sārasvata instructed sages).

Tuṅgaveṇā—(one of the rivers that are the sources of fire) V. 222. 25

Tuṅgeśvara—(in VS) L. I. 92. 7

Turāsaṅga—(a tīrtha under Narmadā) M. 191. 29.

Tvāṣṭreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 96

U

Udabhāṇḍa—was the residence of Śāhi kings and identified by Stein with capital of Gandhāra; vide R.V. 152–155, VI. 175. It is the Wayhand of Alberuni and Ohind or Und of modern times (on the right bank of the Indus 15 miles above Attock).

Udapāna—V. 84. 110, P. I. 38. 27.

Udayanta—(m. near Somanātha in Kathiawar) SK. VI. 2 11. 11

Uddālakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 59

Uḍḍiyāna—Kāl. 18. 42 (where the two thighs of Satī's corpse fell).

Udīcitīrtha—(under Gayā) Vā 111. 6. Vide p. 663 above

Udyantaparvata—(the Brahmayoni hill in Gayā to the left of the Śilā) V. 84. 93, Vā 108. 43–44, N. II. 47. 51, P.I. 38.13. Vide p. 647 note 1472 above

Ugra—(under VS) P. I. 37. 15; also called Kedāra

Ugreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 70;

Ujjānaka—(where Skanda and Vasiṣṭha secured peace of mind) V. 130. 17, Anu.25. 55. It is probably a corrupt form of Udyantaka or Udyānaka.

Ujjayanta (Girnar in Saurāṣṭra and near Dvārakā) V. 88. 21–24, Vā. 45, 92 and 77. 52, Vām. 13. 18, SK. VII. 2. 11. 11 and 15 (southern boundary of Vastrāpathakṣetra). Vide A. G. p. 325.

Ujjayinī—(modern Ujjain in Central India) B. 43. 24 (called Avanti), 44. 16 (capital of Mālava.) Vide under Avanti and Māhiṣmatī above. Ujeni is mentioned in the Dhauli first separate Rock edict (C. I. I. vol. I. p. 93) of Aśoka. The Mbh. (vol. II, p. 35 on Vārtika 10 on Pāṇ. III. 1. 26 mentions it. It is famous for the shrine of Mahākāla, one of the twelve Jyotir-liṅgas and is situated on the Śiprā river. Kālidāsa immortalizes it in the Meghadūta and Raghuvaṃśa VI 32–35. A. G. (pp. 489–90) gives the boundaries of the kingdom of Ujjayinī in the 7th century. A. C. (p. 182) gives Viśālā, Avantī and Puṣpakaraṇḍinī as synonyms of Ujjayinī 'Puṣpakaraṇḍakajīrṇodyāna' is mentioned in the Mṛcchakaṭika. The Periplus and Ptolemy speak of it as Ozene. Vide Ptolemy pp. 154–155. Vide J. A O. S. vol. 66 for 1946 p. 295 for Jaina sources on Udayana and Vāsavadattā and I. A. vol. III. p. 153 for inscription of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa about migration of Jainas under Bhadrabāhu from Ujjayinī and S. B. E. vol. X part 2 p. 188 (Suttanipāta)

Umābaka—(under Narmadā) K. II. 41. 57

Umākuṇḍa—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 64

Umātuṅga—K. II. 37. 32–33, Vā. 77. 81–82 (best place for śrāddha, japa, homa)

Umāvana—(where Śaṅkara assumed the Ardhanārīśvara form) Vā. 41. 36. Dey p.211 says that it is Kotalgad in Kumaon. A. C. p. 182 says it is also called Devīkoṭa

Upajalā—(r. near Yamunā) V. 130.21

Upamanyuliṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 97

Upaśāntaśiva—(under VS.) P. I. 37. 17, L. I.92 107

Upaveṇā—(one of the rivers that are mothers of fires) V. 222. 24

Ūrjanta—(in Aparānta) Br. III. 13. 53 (here are Yogeśvarālaya and Vasiṣṭhāśrama)

Ūrjayat— m. in Rudradāman's Junāgadh Inscription (in E. I. VIII p. 36 at p. 42) and in Gupta Inscriptions at p. 45

Urvaśīkuṇḍa—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 51–64, N. II. 67. 65

Urvaśīliṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 66

Urvaśīpulina—(under Prayāga) M. 22. 66 and 106. 34–35, Anu. 25. 46. Vide p. 615 note 1399 above

Urvaśīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 72

Urvaśītīrtha—**A** (under Prayāga) V. 84, 157, M. 106. 34, P. I. 38. 64; **B** (under Go.) B. 171. 1

Uṣṇatīrtha—M. 13. 42 (Devī is called Abhayā in tīrthas of hot water)

Vaikuṇṭhatīrtha—**A** (under Gayā) M. 22. 75, N II. 47. 75; **B** (under Mathurā) Var. 163. 1-4 and 10-12

Vaimānika—Anu. 25 23.

Vaināyakatīrtha—M. 22 32, G. I. 81.8.

Vairā—(r.) M. 22. 64

Vairocaneśvara—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 140.

Vaiśākha—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 156 (established by Viśākha i. e. Skanda).

Vaiśravaṇeśvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 148

Vaiśvānara-kuṇḍa—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 58

Vaitaraṇī—**A** (r. in Orissa rising in Vindhya) V. 85.6, 114. 4, Vā. 77 95, K II. 37. 37, P. I. 39. 6, Ag. 116, 7, M. 114. 27, B 27. 33; Jajpur (i. e. Yayātipura) stands on this river, which is the boundary between Balasore and Cuttack (I. G. I. vol. VI. p. 223). Sometimes Utkala and Kaliṅga are held to be separate as in B 47. 7 and Raghuvaṁśa IV. 38. Utkala is said to be derived from Utkaliṅga (what is outside Kaliṅga); **B** (in Gayā) Vā. 105. 45. 109, 17, Ag. 116. 7; **C** (in Phalakīvana) Vām. 36. 43-44, P. I. 26. 79; **D** (a well in VS) L q by T. K. p. 63.

Vaivasvatatīrtha—(under Sūkara) Var. 137. 240 (where the sun practised *tapas* for a son), Anu. 25. 39

Vaivasvateśvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p. 104.

Vajrabhava—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 61 (the water falls into Kauśikī).

Vajreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 104

Vālakhilyeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 66.

Vālīśvara—(under VS) L q. by T.K. p. 51.

Vālmīkeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 66

Vālmīki—āśrama (on the Ganges) Rām. VII. 47. 15-77. Vide under Sthāṇutīrtha and Tamasā.

Vāmana or Vāmanaka—(under Kurukṣetra) V. 84 130, V. 83. 103, Ag. 109. 20, P. I. 26. 96 (Vāmanaka), I. 38. 47; **B** (under Gayā) N. II, 46. 46; **C** (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 153.2 (where seven rivers flow). Vide I A. vol.54 (at end) p.41 where it is said that Vanthali about 8 miles south-west of Junāgad is the Vāmanatīrtha of the Mahābhārata.

Vāmaneśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 26

Vaṁśadharā—(r. rising from Mahendra) Vā. 45. 106, Mār. 54. 29 (reads Vaṁśakarā) and Var. 85 (prose) reads Vaṁśavarā. Pargiter (p. 305*n*) says that it is the modern Bansdhara on which Kaliṅgapatam stands, 17 miles from Chicacole. Vide Santa-Bommali plates of Indravarman (E. I. vol. XXV p. 194) issued from Kaliṅganagara

Vaṁśagulma—(on confluence of Narmadā and Soṇa) V. 85. 9

Vaṁśamūlaka—P. I. 26. 36

Vaṁśodbheda—M. 24. 25

Vānaraka—(under Gayā) Ag. 116. 6. It may be a misreading of 'cānarake'.

Vandanā—(r) Bhī. 9. 18

Vāṇī-saṅgama—(under Go.) B. 135. 1 and 23

Vañjarā—(r. on south bank of Go.) B. 159.45. It is probably the modern Manjarā river that falls into Godāvari in Nander District

Vañjarāsaṅgama—(under Go) B. 159 1

Vañjulā—**A** (r. rising from Sahya and falling into Go.) M. 114. 29, Vā. 45. 103, Vām. 57. 76; **B** (r. rising in Mahendra) B. 27. 37

Vaṅkṣu—(modern Oxus) Sabhā 51, 20 (*rāsabhas* were brought as presents)

Varadā—(the Vardhā river in C. P) Rām. IV. 41. 9, Ag. 109. 22, Nalacampū VI. 66 (Vīrapuruṣam tad-

etad Varadātaṭanāmakam Mahārāṣṭram) See under Varadāsaṅgama.

Varadāna—V. 82. 63–64, P. I. 24. 12 (both contain story about Durvāsas conferring a boon on Viṣṇu)

Varadā-saṅgama—V. 65. 35, P. I. 39. 32

Varāhamūlakṣetra or Varāhakṣetra—(modern Bārāmūla in Kāśmīra). It is on the right bank of the Vitastā at the head of the western entrance to the Kashmir valley and is sacred to Ādivarāha: R. VI. 186, H.C. XII. 43, K. R. pp. 11–12 and SM. pp. 201–202

Varāhaparvata — (probably Bārāmūla in Kāśmīra) V. Dh S. 85. 7

Varāha-sthānas—(places sacred to the Great Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu are Kokāmukha, Badarī and Lohārgala) Var. 140. 4–5

Varāhatīrtha—**A** (under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 34.32, P I. 26. 15; **B** (under VS) P I. 37. 6, K I. 35.5; **C** (under Mathurā) Var. 166 23 (there were four golden imges of Varāha, Nārāyaṇa, Vāmana, Rāghava); **D** (on Vitastā in Kāśmīra) NM 1559; **E** (a sub-tīrtha of Sahyāmalaka) Nr. 66 34; **F** (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 165. 10; **G** (on Narmadā) M. 193. 74, K II. 42. 14, P. I. 20. 71; **H** (on Payoṣṇī) V 88. 7 and 9 (king Nṛga performed yajña here and the tīrtha is holiest of all rivers), K II. 20 32, Vām. 90. 4; **I** (under Go.) B 79. 6.

Varāheśvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K. p. 98.

Varaṇā—(r. northern boundary of Banaras) M. 22. 31, 183. 62. Vide pp. 625–626 above; L. I 92 87 calls it Varuṇā.

Vārāṇasī—Vide pp. 618–642. Though Kāśī and Vārāṇasī are treated as synonyms almost everywhere (pp 624–626) still it seems to me that Kāśī was on the eastern side of the Ganges and Vārāṇasī on the western.

Varaṇāvatī—(r.) Atharvaveda IV. 7.1.

Vāraṇeśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 29.

Vardhanadruma—(in Kāśmīra, an *āyatana* of Vināyaka Gāṅgeya) NM 1161

Vāridhāra—(m.) Bh. V. 19. 16

Varṇāśā—(r. Banas in Rajputana rising from Pāriyātra and falling into Chambal) Br. II. 16. 28; see under Parṇāśā.

Varṇu—(r.)Pāṇ IV. 2 103 (varṇau vuk). Kāśikā explains that the country on Varṇu was also called Varṇu. This appears to be modern Bannu. Varṇu occurs in Suvāstvādi-gaṇa. (IV. 2. 77).

Vārtraghnī—(r. rising in Pāriyātra and falling into the sea) P. VI. 131 56, 68, VI 164, 1 and 71, Mār. 57. 19; Vā 45. 97 reads Vṛtraghnī and B. 27. 28 Vātaghnī.

Varuṇasrotasa—(m.) V. 88 10

Varuṇā—(r. tributary of the Go.) P. VI. 176. 59

Vāruṇatīrtha—V. 83. 164, 88. 13 (in Pāṇḍya country), Bār. Sūtra III. 88 (on the shores of the eastern sea).

Varuṇeśa—**A** (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 66; **B** (under Narmadā) M 191. 6.

Vāruṇeśvara—**A** (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 103; **B** (under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 6

Vasiṣṭha-kuṇḍa—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151 40. There is a Vasiṣṭha-kuṇḍa on the Alakanandā at Devaprayāga. Vide I. G. I. vol. XI. p 274.

Vasiṣṭhāpavāha—(on Sarasvatī) Sal. 42. 41.

Vasiṣṭhāśrama—**A** (near Jyeṣṭheśvara in Kāśmīra) R. I 107 (and Stein's note thereon in vol. I, pp. 20–21), NM 1323; **B** (on mount Arbuda (*which see*) V. 102. 3; **C** (on Badarīpācana, which see) V. 102.3 (narrates that in Vasiṣṭhāśrama Kāleyas devoured 188 brāhmaṇas

and 9 *tāpasas*. The location is uncertain.

Vasiṣṭhatīrtha—M. 22. 68 (śrāddha and dāna most efficacious here).

Vasiṣṭheśa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 47.

Vāsiṣṭhī—V. 84. 48, P. I. 32. 12 (same verse in both, but P. reads Vāsiṣṭham).

Vasordhārā—V 82. 76, P I. 24. 24 (same verse in both, P reading Vasudhārā).

Vastrāpathakṣetra—(territory round about Girnar in Kathiawad) SK. VII. 2 2. 1-3 (it is quintessence of Prabhāsa, Raivataka-kṣetra is so called). VII. 2. 11. 16 (it is four yojanas in extent). The holy river therein is Suvarṇarekhā (which see)

Vāsuka—(under Viraja in Orissa) B. 42. 6

Vāsukīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 48.

Vāsukitīrtha—A (under VS) P. I. 39. 79, L. q. by T. K. p. 48; B (under Prayāga) V. 85 86 (also called Bhogavatī)

Vāsuprada—M 22. 72 (śrāddha here makes a man reach highest goal).

Vasutuṅga—(Jagatpati is the *guhya* appellation of Viṣṇu here) Nr. q. by T. K. p. 251

Vaṭa—A (in Prayāga) M 104. 10, 111. 10; B (in Gayā) V. Dh. S. 85.5.

Vāṭanadī—M. 22. 37 (śrāddha here yields inexhaustible fruit).

Vaṭeśvara—A (under Narmadā) M. 191. 27, K. II. 41. 19, P. I. 18. 27 (same verse in K and P), Ag. 109.20; B (under Gayā) Ag. 115. 73, P. I, 38. 46, N. II. 47. 59; C (under Prayāga) M. 22. 9; D (under Puruṣottama) N II. 56. 28

Vāteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp. 66

Vāteśvarapura P. I. 38.46

Vātika—(in Kaśmīra) NM 1459.

Vātodakā (r. in Pāṇḍya country) Bh. IV. 28. 35

Vatsakrīḍanaka—(under Mathurā) Var. 156. 1

Vāyavyatīrtha—(under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 75

Vāyutīrtha—A (under VS) K. I. 35. 5; P. I. 37. 5 (same verse in both); B (under Mathurā) Var. 152. 65; C (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 5.

Vedadhāra—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 20.

Vedagiri (hill in Sahya range to the south of Brahmagiri and a sub-tīrtha under Kṛṣṇa-Veṇyā) TS. p. 78

Vedaśiras—(most efficacious for śrāddha) M. 22. 71.

Vedasmṛti—(r. rising from Pāriyātra) Anu. 165. 25, M. 114. 23, Vā. 45.97, Br. II. 16.27. Dey p. 223 opines that it is the river Bosuli in Malwa and a tributary of the Sindh; Bṛ. S. 16.32 mentions it.

Vedaśruti—(r. after Kosala towards the south) Rām. II. 49. 10

Vedavatī—(r. rising from Pāriyātra) M. 114. 23, Br II. 16. 27, B. 27. 29, Anu 165. 25; this and the above two rivers cannot really be identified. There is a river called Vedāvatī or Hagarī which rises in Mysore and ultimately falls into the Tuṅgabhadrā. Vide I. G. I. vol. XIII p. 5.

Vedeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 44.

Vedītīrtha—(v. l. Devitīrtha) P I, 26. 92.

Vegavatī—(r. modern Vaiga or Baiga on which Madurā in south India is situated) Var. 215. 58, Vām. 84. 6, P VI. 237. 9. Vide E. I. vol. XIII p. 194 where there is a gift of Ambikāpura on north bank of Vegavatī to the Śaṅkarācārya of Kāmakoṭī pīṭha. The form Vaigai appears in the Silappadikāram (Prof. Dikshitar's tr. p. 270).

Veṇā—A (r. rising from Vindhya) B. 27. 33, M. 114. 27. This is the Wain-Gaṅgā in C. P. and falls into Godāvarī; B-r. rising from Sahya m.

near Mahabaleshwar. The Pengaṅgā falls into Wardha, acc. to I. G. I. vol. V p. 22, vol. XIII. p. 229, vol. XX. p. 102 and the united stream of the Waingangā and Wardhā is known as Prāṇahitā which ultimately falls into the Godāvarī. Vide I. G. I. vol. 24 p. 349, Bhī. 9. 20, 28, V. 85. 32, 88. 3, 222. 24, Anu. 165. 20, Bh. X. 79. 12, Veṇā is often mentioned as Kṛṣṇaveṇā or—Veṇyā or—Veṇī as in M. 114. 29. Rājaśekhara in Kāvyamimāṅsā p. 94 mentions 'Veṇā' and 'Kṛṣṇāveṇā' separately in the first quarter of the 10th century. Vide Pargiter p. 303n for the various forms of this name.

Veṇāsaṅgama—V 85. 34, P. I. 39.32

Veṇī—A (confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā) Vide above p. 603 n 1369. Vide Banaras Ins. of Karṇadeva in Kalacuri year 793 (i.e 1042 A.D.) in E. I. vol. II. p. 297 at p. 310 (Veṇyām snātvā...Trilocanam...samabbyarcya), Kamauli plate of Jayacandra in E. I. IV. at p. 123 (dated saṁvat 1230 i. e, 1173 AD); B (r. rising in Sahya from the root of an āmalaka tree and falling into Kṛṣṇā) TS. p. 78

Veṅkaṭa—(m. in Dravida country, Arcot District, near Tirupati) G. Brahmakhaṇḍa. chap. 26 deals with Veṅkaṭagiri-māhātmya), Bh. V. 19. 16, X. 79. 13 (in Draviḍa), R. VI. 280. 19, SK. III. Brahmakhaṇḍa, 52. 102; SK. I. Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa is Veṅkaṭācalamāhātmya. The shrine was once considered so holy that till 1870 no Christian or Moslem was allowed to ascend the hill of Tirumala.

Veṇumatī—(śrāddha thereon most efficacious) M. 22. 20

Veṇyā—(r. rising from m. Sahya and falling into the Kṛṣṇā) Vām. 13. 30, Anu. 165. 22 (Godāvarī ca Veṇyā ca Kṛṣṇaveṇā tathāpi ca), Bh. V. 19.18, P. VI. 113. 25 (Mahādeva became Veṇyā)

Vetasikā--(r.) V. 84. 56, P. I. 32. 20, P. VI. 29. 20 (speaks of Vetasī-Vetravatī-saṅgama)

Vetravatī—A (modern Betwa river, which rises in the Bhopal State and falls into the Yamunā) M. 22. 20, 114. 23 (rises from Pāriyātra), Br. II. 16. 28 (rises from Ṛkṣavat), K. II. 20.35; Meghadūta (I. 24) says that Vidiśā (modern Bhilsā), the capital of Daśārṇa, was situated on Vetravatī; B (a tributary of the Sābhramatī) P. VI.130 and 133.4-5. In 'Questions of Milinda' (S. B.E. vol. 35 p. 171) among ten great rivers flowing from the Himālaya Vetravatī is one. This must be different from the above two

Vibhāṇḍeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115

Vidarbhā-saṅgama—(under Go.) B. 121. 1 and 23; acc. to AC p. 182 Vidarbhā is the name of Kuṇḍinapura (v. 979)

Vidbiśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 116

Vidiśā—A (r. rising from Pāriyātra m.) B 27. 29, Br. II. 16.28, Mār. 54. 20. Vide Vetravatī above; B—A city mentioned in Raghuvaṁśa 15. 36 (Rāma gave to the two sons of Śatrughna, Śatrughātin and Subāhu, the cities of Madhurā and Vidiśā); Meghadūta I. 24 states that Vidiśā was the capital of the Daśārṇa country. In the Mālavikāgnimitra (V. 1) Agnimitra is shown as enjoying himself on the banks of the Vidiśā river and later on Puṣyamitra refers to his son Agnimitra as Vaidiśastha (i. e. Vaidiśa would mean a city on the Vidiśā). Vide Vaḍnera plates of Kaṭacchuri Buddharāja in 360 of the Kalachuri era (i. e. about 609 A. D.) issued from 'Vaidiśa-vāsakāt vijaya

skandhāvārāt' (E. I. vol. XII. at p. 30

Vidyādhara—(under Gaṇḍakī and Śālagrāma) Var. 145. 62

Vidyādhāreśvara—(under VS) K. I. 35. 11, P I. 37. 14

Vidvara—(m.) Devala q. by T. K. p. 250. Is it Vidūra?

Vidyātīrtha—(same as Sandhyā) V. 84. 52, P. I. 32. 16

Vidyeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 49

Vihaṅgeśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 21. 1

Vihāratīrtha—(of Madana, under Sarasvatī) Vām. 42. 10

Vijayeśvara—(modern Vijabror in pargana Vular in Kāśmīra) HC. X. 191-195 (HC calls it mahākṣetra). Ain. A. vol. II. p. 356 refers to this. Vitastā is to its east and north, Gambhīrā to the west and Viśvavatī to the south

Vijaya—(a liṅga) M. 22.73, K. II. 35.21

Vijaya-liṅga—(under VS) L.q. by T.K. p. 112

Vijayeśa—(in Kāśmīra) NM. 1240, R. I. 38, SM. p. 173; one of the most famous tīrthas in Kāśmīra. It is less than two miles above Cakradhara

Vijayeśvara—A (in Kāśmīra) R. I. 105 and 113; B (under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 76

Vijvareśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 43

Vikīrṇatīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 133. 7

Vimala—V. 82. 87 (where silver and golden-coloured fish were found), P. I 24. 35 (same verse in both)

Vimalā—(a city) P. IV. 17. 67 (destroys sins of numerous murders, just as Avantī and Kāñcī do)

Vimala—(a famous spring near Mārtāṇḍa temple in Kāśmīra). Vide Mārtāṇḍa p. 780 above

Vimalāśoka—V. 84. 69-70, P. I. 32. 33 (almost same verse in both).

Vimaleśa—(under VS.) L. q. by T.K. p. 56

Vimaleśvara—A (under Narmadā) M. 190. 14, 194 38-39, 22. 8, K. II. 41. 5 and II. 42. 36, P. I. 17. 11; B (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 34. 15, P. VI. 131. 50

Vimocana—V. 83. 161, P. I. 27. 49

Vinaśana—(where Sarasvatī disappears in the great desert in Ambala and Sirhind in Punjab). It was known from Brāhmana period; vide pp. 682 and 684 above and V. 82. 111, 130. 3-4. Śal. 37, 1 (śūdrābhīrān prati dveṣāt yatra *naṣṭā* Sarasvatī), K. II. 37. 29, Br. III. 13. 69. Manu II. 21 mentions it as the eastern boundry of Madhyadeśa. Devala q. by T.K. p 250 speaks of it as one of the Sārasvatatīrthas. Mbh. (vol. I. p. 475 on Pāṇ. II. 4.10 and vol. III. p. 174 on Pāṇ. VI. 3. 109) speaks of it as 'ādarśa' and as eastern boundary of Āryāvarta. The Kāśikā on Pāṇ. IV. 2. 124 speaks of Ādarśa as a Janapada (country). As Oldham says (in JRAS for 1893 at p. 52) the exact position of Vinaśana is unknown, but Oldham surmises that it was not far from Sirsa.

Vināyakakuṇḍa—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 53

Vināyakeśvara—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 126

Vindhya—one of the seven great mountain ranges of Bharatavarṣa) V. 313. 2, Bhī. 9. 11, Vā 77.34, M. 13. 39, Bh. V. 19. 16. It is the Ouindion of Ptolemy (p. 77)

Vindhyavāsinī—(a Devīsthāna) M. 13. 39, Devī—Bh. VII. 38. 8.

Vipāś—(modern Beas river in Punjab and Hyphasis or Hypasis of Greek writers) Ṛg. III. 33. 113, IV. 30. 11. The Nir. IX. 26 explaining Ṛg. X. 75. 5 states that Vipāś was originally called Uruñjirā, and then Ārjīkiyā and that when Vasiṣṭha threw him-

self into it bound by ropes through grief he rose up from the river with the ropes rent asunder. Pāṇ. (IV. 2. 74 'udak ca Vipāśaḥ') mentions Vipāś in connection with hills to the north of it; Ādi. 177. 1-5 refer to Vasiṣṭha's attempt to commit suicide, V. 130. 8-9 (Vipāśā here), Anu. 3. 12-13 refer to the same story. Vide Rām. II. 68. 19, Vām. 79.6, N II 60. 30

Vipratīrtha—(under Go.) B 167. 1 and 33 (also called Nārāyaṇa)

Vīrabhadreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 87.

Viraja—**A** (country round Jājpur in Orissa) V 85 6 ; **B** (acc. to Tīrthenduśekhara p. 6) it is Lonāradeśa and lake i. e. in Buldana District in Berar ; **C** (on Sahya m. near Godāvarī and Bhīmā) B 161. 3.

Virajā—(r. in Orissa) K II. 35. 25-26, Vām. q. by T. K. p. 235

Virajamaṇḍala—(northern boundary of Oḍradeśa) B. 28. 1-2

Virajatīrtha—(on Vaitaraṇī river in Orissa) V. 85. 6, P. I. 39. 6, I. 45. 28-29, (it is an Ādityatīrtha), B. 42. 1 (Viraje Virajā mātā brahmāṇī sampratiṣṭhitā), Vām. 22 19 (the southern *vedi* of Brahmā), Br III. 13. 57. Vide T. P. pp. 598-599 for Viraja-kṣetra, which is the popular name of Jājpur in Orissa

Virajādri—(under Gayā) Vā. 106. 85 (Gayāsura's navel rested on it)

Vīrapatnī—(r.) Ṛg. I. 104.4

Vīrapramokṣa—V. 84. 51, P I. 32. 14 (same verse in both) ; probably near Bhṛguliṅga

Vīrāśrama—V. 84. 145 (where Kārtikeya resides)

Vīrasthala—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 14, 160.20

Virūpākṣa—**A** (Hampī) P V. 17. 103, SK., Brahmakhaṇḍa 52. 102 ; **B** (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 102

Viśākhayūpa—(near Kurukṣetra) V 90. 15, 177. 16, Vām. 81. 9, Nr. 65. 14 (Viṣṇu's *guhya* name is Viśveśa here)

Viśālā—**A**—same as Ujjayinī ; Meghadūta I. 30 ; vide under Avantī and Ujjayinī. A. C. says '*Ujjayinī syād—Viśālāvantī Puṣpakaraṇḍinī*' ; **B** (*āśrama* near Badari) V 90.25, 139. 11, Anu. 25. 44, Bh. V. 4.5, XI. 29. 47 ; **C** (under Gayā) Vām. 81. 26-32 (a river), Ag. 115. 54, P. I. 38.33

Viśālākhyavana—Mār. 106. 57 (on a mountain in Kāmarūpa)

Viśālākṣī—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115

Viśalyā—**A** (r.) V. 84. 14; **B** (under Narmadā) M. 186.43 and 46-48 (also called Viśalyakaraṇī), K. II. 40. 27. P. I. 13 39, Br. III 13. 12

Viṣaprastha—(hill) V 95. 3 (near Gomatī probably)

Viṣṇucaṅkramaṇa—(under Dvārakā) Var. 149. 80 q. by T. K. p. 227

Viṣṇudhārā—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 17

Viṣṇu-Gayā—P. VI. 176. 41 (where there is Lonārakuṇḍa)

Viṣṇukāñcī—P. VI. 204. 30

Viṣṇupada—**A** (under Kurukṣetra) V. 83. 103, 130.8, NM 1238; **B** (lake on Niṣadha mountain) Br. II. 18. 67, Vā 47. 64; **C** (under Gayā) vide pp. 645, 646, 653 and note 1471 above and R. D. Banerji's 'Pālas of Bengal' (Memoirs of A. S. B. vol. V pp. 60-61 for Viṣṇupāda temple Inscription of the 7th year of Nārāyaṇapāla's reign ; **D** (under Śālagrāma) Var. 145. 42

Viṣṇupadī—(name of Gaṅgā, as it is said to rise from the left toe of Viṣṇu) Bh. V. 17. 1. Amarakośa mentions it as a synonym of Gaṅgā (Gaṅgā Viṣṇupadī Jahnu-tanayā)

Viṣṇusaras—**A** (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 24 ; **B** (under Goniṣkramaṇa) Var. 147. 43

Viṣṇutīrtha—**A** (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 71-74 ; **B** (under Narmadā)

M 191. 99, K. II. 41.52 (it is Yodhīpuram Viṣṇusthānam); P I. 18. 94 (known as Yodhanīpura); **C** (under Go.) B. 136. 1 and 41 (also called Maudgalya)

Viṣṇutīrthas—(108 enumerated) P. VI. 129. 5-36.

Viśokā—(r in Kāśmīra) modern Vesan NM. 307, 373, 381, 1493, HC. XII. 35. NM. 307 says that Lakṣmī at the request of sage Kaśyapa became Viśokā; NM. 381 says that it formed Vitastā below Vijabror; NM. 1491-1493 speak of the confluence of Kauṇḍinī rising from lake Kramasāra with Viśokā.

Viśrāntitīrtha—**A** (the most sacred spot in Mathurā) Var. 163. 162, 167.1 ff. P. VI. 209.5 (on the bank of Yamunā where Kaṁsa was killed by Kṛṣṇa); **B** (a different kṣetra from the above in Madhuvana, where Viṣṇu assumed the form of Varāha) P. VI. 209. 1-3 and 5

Viśvā—(r.) Bh V. 19. 18

Viśvakarmeśvara—(under VS) L q. by T.K. p. 55

Viśvakāya—P. VI. 129, 8

Viśvāmitranadī—V. 89. 9, Bhā. 9 26 (has Viśvāmitra as a river)

Viśvāmitra—mahānadī (in Punjab) NM. 151

Viśvāmitrāśrama—Rām. I. 26. 34

Viśvāmitratīrtha—**A** V. 83. 139; **B** (under Go) B 93 4 and 27 (where *Rama honoured Viśvāmitra*), P I. 27. 28

Viśvamukha—(tīrtha on Jālandhara) Vide under Jālandhara p. 758 and P. VI. 129. 26

Viśvapada—(a pitṛtīrtha) M. 22. 35

Viśvarūpa—(under VS) P. I. 37. 2

Viśvarūpaka—P. VI. 129. 14 (in Māyāpurī, it appears)

Viśvavatī—same as Viśokā HC. X. 192 (it is southern boundary of Vijayeśvara)

Viśvedeveśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 87.

Viśveśvara—(one of five liṅgas in VS) K. I. 32. 12 and II. 41.59, P. I. 34. 10. N II. 51. 4; vide pp 632-33 above; **B** (in Girikarṇa) P.VI. 129.10.

Viśvāvasveśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 116.

Vitaṁsā—one of the ten great rivers that flow from the Himālaya, mentioned in 'Questions of Milinda' (S B. E. vol. 35 p. 171). Dey p. 40 identifies it with the Vitastā without assigning any reason.

Vitaṅkā—saṅgama (with Narmadā) P. II. 92 33.

Vitastā—(r. in Kāśmīra, now known as Zhelum) Ṛg. X. 75. 5. Vide under Kāśmīra and Takṣakanāga; V. 82. 88-90 (Vitastā is the home of Takṣakanāga), 130. 20, K. II. 44. 4, Vām. 90. 7, NM 45, 305-06 (Umā became Vitastā), 336-341 (Śaṅkara struck with his trident and made a hole as big as *vitasti* i. e. 12 aṅgulas and Satī came bubbling forth as a river which is called Vitastā from the word Vitasti). R. V. 97-100 inform us that the great and self-taught engineer Suyya in the days of king Avantivarman of Kāśmīra (9th century) changed the course of the Vitastā and the spot of its confluence with the Sindhu. Vide Stein's note I in translation of R. vol. II pp. 329-336 and the note of Mr. J. C. Chatterji challenging the correctness of Dr. Stein's remarks (in 'confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu', 1906)

Vitastā-Gambhīrā-saṅgama—SM. pp. 101, 110

Vitastā-madhumatī-saṅgama- NM 1442

Vitastā-sindhu-saṅgama—(exceptional sanctity) R. IV. 391, V. 82. 97-100, NM 394-95. The place where these two rivers meet enjoys among Kāśmīra people the same sanctity as the confluence at Prayāga.

Yamunāsaṅgama—Var. 174 deals with its power.

Yamunātīrtha—Śal. 49. 11-16 (where Varuṇa performed Rājasūya), M. 108. 23-24 (as the daughter of the sun), P. I. 29. 6.

Yamuneśvara—**A** (under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 66 ; **B** (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 12

Yantreśvara—(on north bank of Narmadā) M. 190. 1.

Yaṣṭi—(under Gayā) N. II. 47.82. Dey p. 215 says it is 'Jetbian' about two miles north of Tapovana in Gayā

Yavatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 88.

Yāyātatīrtha—**A** (under Sarasvatī). Vām. 39. 36; **B** (under VS) Śal. 41. 32, P. I. 37.9

Yayātipatana—V 82. 48, P. I. 12. 8 (same words in both)

Yayātipura—(modern Jājpur) on the Vaitaraṇī river in Orissa; A.G. p. 512. In E. I. vol. XI. p. 189 there is a Yayātinagara. It is doubtful whether it is the same as Jājpur.

Yayātīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115.

Yogitīrtha—(under Sūkara) Var. q. by T. K. p. 210

Yonidvāra—(on the Brahmayoni hill in Gayā) V. 84. 94-95, P. I. 38. 15 (same words in both), N. II. 44. 76-77

Yugandhara—**A**—a country or people acc. to Pāṇ. IV. 2. 130 and the Kāśikā mentions it as one of Śālvāvayavas; **B** (a m.) acc. to Kāśikā on Pāṇ. III. 2. 46. Vām. 34. 47 'Yugandhare dadhi prāśya uṣitvā cācyutasthale। tadvad-Bhūtālaye snātvā saputrā vastum-icchasi'. Br. S. 32. 19 appears to mention Yaugandhara as the name of a people or country.

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON TĪRTHAS

At the end of this long list of tīrthas a few words, as promised on p. 722 above, must be said about the attitude that we Indians of the 20th century should adopt towards the mountains, rivers and other holy places in Bhārata. Modern secular education and the prevailing economic conditions, stresses and trends leave hardly any room for moral and spiritual uplift. We are surrounded on all sides by anxiety, want, misery, hardness of heart and crime. Therefore, the endeavour of all those who have the good of our country at heart must be to cherish all such institutions as tend to lift the mind out of narrowness and to make it concentrate for some time at least on noble thoughts and aspirations and on detachment from the all-engrossing pursuit of money. Pilgrimage is one of such institutions. Those who have faith in pilgrimages as enabling a pilgrim to attain heaven, to collect merit and reach release from saṁsāra should give pilgrimages a new orientation, should see that their charity is not wasted on indolent, ignorant and vicious priests, should improve the methods of worship at holy places in such a way as will satisfy all hygienic requirements. The priestly class at holy places should remember that in the coming generations they are likely to find their occupation gone, unless they improve themselves, unless they try to be less ignorant and indolent than they are at present and really serve as honest business agents or Travellers' Guides. The number of people visiting holy places in the belief of accumulating merit is sure to become less and less, as modern secular education spreads. But it would be a calamity for the moral and spiritual greatness of India if pilgrimages to holy mountains and rivers came to be stopped altogether. I would very strongly recommend to all men, however highly educated, the undertaking of pilgrimages to certain hallowed spots. Our country has recently secured independence and it now rests entirely with us to make or mar the character of the teeming millions of this our land. All things that tend to create in Indians the deep feeling that amidst diversities of physical features, food, dress and habits, all of them are one people, that there is no part or district of this vast land which cannot claim to have made some substantial contribution in religious and philosophical thought, in abiding literature, in works of art and in holy places, that the destinies of the Indians

of one part of Bhārata are bound up with the destinies of all others. Frequent visits to distant places in Bhārata, mixing up among people of other parts and understanding their peculiar good points, needs and failings is absolutely necessary if we are to keep our freedom. India is thrice blest in the mountain ranges of the Himālaya, which contains the highest peaks in the world and is full of large and life-giving rivers and of numerous shrines associated with the names of the greatest sages and heroes of antiquity. Every Indian who is proud of the great religious and spiritual heritage of our country must make it a point to devote some part of his time to frequenting holy mountains, rivers and other places of pilgrimage. When we see even from a distance the purity, the whiteness and the serenity of the snow-capped peaks of the Himālaya, the play of delicate and exquisite hues and tints of blue, mauve, and pink when the sun begins to shine on them, a sense of wonder, joy and elevation comes upon us. The glorious view of a peak like Kinchinjunga, which is an unforgettable experience, lifts up the whole life of the onlooker to a higher plane for long. Similarly, the sight of the holy Ganges at night or at sunrise in Haridvāra or on the majestic Ghats in Banaras surely empties our minds of meanness and for the moment at least fills our hearts with a sense of nature's beauty and with purity, and brings us in tune with the Infinite. I may state here that the talk of the conquest of Everest in which some members of European expeditions indulge jars on my ears. This great peak has so far vanquished (physically) all those who attempted the conquest § But in a figurative sense Everest and other high peaks have been for ages conquering the hearts of men. Even the members of these expeditions will admit that Everest and its brethren have drawn men to themselves from all parts of the world, made them give up their usual uneventful and placid activities, have evoked in those who attempt the climbing of these giants unbelievable courage, endurance, resourcefulness and self-abnegation and have been instrumental in exhibiting to the world what unknown powers the human spirit possesses. Therefore, these silent but awe-inspiring peaks should be looked upon as teachers of mankind and not as material things to be conquered and dealt with by human beings as they please.

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§ While these pages were passing through the Press, news was broadcast on the very morning of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II that Sherpa Tensing Norkay and Mr. Edmund Hillary, two members of Col. Hunt's British Expedition, had successfully climbed to the top of Mount Everest.

APPENDIX—of long Sanskrit Passages

Page 118 Note 267. On pp. 117–118 above reference has been made to the re-admission into the Hindu fold of those that had been converted to Christianity or Islam by force or fraud or even voluntarily. Not only was there re-admission of those that were converted, but non-Hindus, such as Yavanas, Kirātas, Śakas, were absorbed into the Hindu fold and were induced to adopt the practices of Hindus (such as śrāddhas and gifts to brāhmaṇas). Vide Śāntiparva chap. 65. 13–21 quoted above in note 830 (p. 364). A Greek ambassador of king Antalikita (Antialkidas) named Heliodora, son of Diya (Dion), was accredited to the court of king Bhāgabhadra, called himself Bhāgavata and raised a column in honour of Vāsudeva in the 2nd century B. C. (JRAS 1909, pp. 1053 and 1087 and JBBRAS vol. 23 p. 104). Usavadāta, son of Dinika and son-in-law of Kṣatrapa Nahapāna, is described in one of the Nasik inscriptions (No. 14a in E. I. vol. VIII at p. 85) as a *śaka*, but made very extensive donations to brāhmaṇas at Broach, Prabhāsa and other places. Part of one of his inscriptions is cited on p. 710 note 1618 above. Though the name Usavadāta (Ṛṣabhadatta) is a Sanskritized one the two names Dinika and Nahapāna of the Kṣaharāta race appear to be non-Indian. Ābhīras, Hūṇas and Gurjaras became absorbed into the Hindu community. People, after being made Moslems, returned to their original communities and gods. Moslem writers make this clear. Vide Elliot and Dowsons' 'History of India' vol. I. p. 126 ('the people of India had returned to idolatry, excepting those of Kasa') and Alberuni's India (tr. by Sachau) vol. II. pp. 162–163 where he refers to the return of Hindu slaves in Moslem countries to their country and religion. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in 'Some aspects of Ancient Indian Culture' (1940) pp. 59–65 presents a very lucid and informing summary of the evidence on this point of the re-admission of those that were converted and of the absorption of non-Hindus. But it is not known what procedure was followed for this purpose. Therefore, a model rite for the return of a convert is set out here.

परावर्तिष्णुः (एकः अनेके वा पुरुषाः स्त्रियो वा) स्नात्वा धौतं शुभ्रं वासः परिधाय (स्त्रियस्तु यथायोग्यं यथाचारं वा परिधाय) चन्दनादिभिस्तिलकं कृत्वा (स्त्रियस्तु कुङ्कुमादिद्रव्येण तिलकं कृत्वा) शिष्टसभां प्रार्थयेत्। सर्वे धर्मविवेक्तारो ज्ञानशीलसमन्विताः। विज्ञिताहं परावर्त्य संग्राह्यः स्यां मनीषिभिः। इति। अथ शिष्टाः परावर्तिष्णोः (परावर्तिष्णूनां वा)

देशकाल-कामाकामशक्त्यादि विचार्य अत्यल्प-अल्प-गुरूणामन्यतमं प्रायश्चित्तं निश्चित्य 'ओं तथा। अमुकप्रायश्चित्तं कृत्वा परावर्तनविधिना भवान् संगृहीतो भविष्यति' इति ब्रूयुः। परावर्तिष्णवे नूतनं वासश्च दद्युः। स च तत्परिदध्यात्। ततः परावर्तिष्णुरासने पूर्वाभिमुख उपविश्य आचम्य प्राणानायम्य 'इह पृथिव्यां जम्बूद्वीपे भरतवर्षे दक्षिणापथे ('आर्यावर्ते' इति नर्मदाया उत्तरतः) अमुकग्रामे अद्य अमुकनामसंवत्सरे अमुकमासे अमुकपक्षे अमुकतिथौ अमुकवासरे अमुकनक्षत्रे हिन्दुधर्मं परावर्तिष्णुरहं शिष्टैरुपदिष्टं प्रायश्चित्तं करिष्ये' इति सङ्कल्प्य प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यात्। सङ्कल्पोत्तरमाचार्य आसने प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य स्वदक्षिणतः परावर्तिष्णुमुपवेश्य आचमनं कारयित्वा स्वयं द्विराचम्य पवित्रपाणिः प्राणानायम्य गणपतिं ध्यायेत्। 'ओं गणानां त्वा गणपतिं हवामहे कविं कवीनामुपमश्रवस्तमम्। ज्येष्ठराजं ब्रह्मणां ब्रह्मणस्पत आ नः शृण्वन्नूतिभिः सीद सादनम्॥' इति प्रार्थयेत्। 'ओं महागणपतये नमो नमः। निर्विघ्नं कुरु' इति नमेत्। ततो देशकालौ संकीर्त्य 'इह पृथिव्यां... नक्षत्रे अस्य परावर्तनेच्छोः परावर्तनविधिं करिष्ये' इति सङ्कल्प्य पुण्याहवाचनं कुर्यात्। 'अस्य परावर्तनेच्छोः परावर्तनाख्यस्य कर्मणः पुण्याहं भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' इति प्रार्थयेत्। शिष्टाः 'ओं पुण्याहम्' इति ब्रूयुः। आचार्यः 'अस्य परावर्तिष्णोः करिष्यमाणपरावर्तनाख्याय कर्मणे स्वस्ति भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' इति ब्रूयात्। शिष्टास्तु 'ओं स्वस्ति' इति प्रतिब्रूयुः। आचार्यः 'अस्य परावर्तिष्णोः करिष्यमाणपरावर्तनाख्यस्य कर्मण ऋद्धिं भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' इति ब्रूयात्। शिष्टाः 'ओं कर्म ऋध्यताम्' इति प्रतिब्रूयुः। ततः शिष्टान्सत्कृत्य प्रणम्य च विसर्जयेत्। तत आचार्यो गोमयालिप्ते शुद्धे स्थले शुद्धमृदा चतुर्विंशत्यङ्गुलमात्रं समचतुरस्रं चतुरङ्गुलोन्नतं स्थण्डिलं कृत्वा अभ्युक्ष्य तत्र, ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः प्रवेशकनामानमग्निं प्रतिष्ठापयामीत्युक्त्वाग्निं प्रतिष्ठापयेत्। प्रोक्षितेन्धनानि निक्षिप्य धमन्यादिना प्रज्वाल्य 'अग्ने वैश्वानर शाण्डिल्यगोत्र मेषध्वज मम संमुखो वरदो भव' इति प्रार्थयेत्। अग्निं परिसमुह्य परिस्तीर्य पर्युक्ष्य प्रादेशमात्रं पञ्चदशसमिध्मं प्रादेशमात्रं बर्हिश्च संनह्याग्नेरुत्तरतो निदध्यात्। तत आत्मनोऽग्रतो भूमिं प्रोक्ष्य तत्र बर्हिरास्तीर्य तत्राज्यस्थालीमाज्यस्य पूर्णां निदधाति। दक्षिणेन हस्तेन दर्वीमग्नौ निष्टप्य वामहस्तेन गृहीत्वा दक्षिणेन हस्तेन दर्भाग्रैर्दर्वीबिलं संमार्ष्टि दर्भमूलैश्च दर्वीमूलम्। पुनर्निष्टप्य प्रोक्ष्य आज्यस्थाल्या उत्तरतो बर्हिषि निदधाति। संमार्गदर्भानग्नौ प्रहरेत्। इध्मबन्धनरज्जुं भूमौ निधाय तत्रेध्मं संस्थाप्य दर्व्याज्येन मूलमध्याग्रेष्वभिघार्य दक्षिणेन हस्तेन गृहीत्वा 'ओं, अयं त इध्म आत्मा जातवेदस्तेनेध्यस्व वर्धस्व चेन्द्धि वर्धय चास्मान्प्रजया पशुभिर्ब्रह्मवर्चसेनान्नाद्येन समेधय स्वाहा' इति मन्त्रेणाग्नावभ्याधाय 'जातवेदसेऽग्नय इदं न मम' इति त्यजेत्। दर्व्याज्यमादाय स्थण्डिलस्य वायव्यकोणमारभ्याग्नेयकोणपर्यन्तमखण्डधारयाऽग्नौ जुहोति। पुनर्दर्व्याज्यमादाय नैर्ऋतकोणमारभ्य ऐशानकोणपर्यन्तं तथैव जुहोति। तूष्णीमेतावाघारहोमौ। पुनर्दर्व्याज्येन 'ओं अग्नये स्वाहा' इत्यग्नावुत्तरभागे जुहोति। अग्नय इदं न ममेति त्यागः। पुनर्दर्व्याज्येन 'ओं सोमाय स्वाहा' इत्यग्नौ दक्षिणभागे जुहोति। 'सोमायेदं न मम' इति त्यागः। अस्मिन्काले परावर्तिष्णुराचार्यस्य दक्षिणतः प्रह्वः कृताञ्जलिस्तिष्ठन् आचार्यं प्रार्थयते। 'हिन्दुत्वमागाम्। हिन्दुरस्मि' इति। आचार्यः 'ओं तथास्तु' इति ब्रूयात्। तत आचार्यः अभ्यग्नि कृताञ्जलौ तिष्ठति प्रविविक्षौ (अथवा कृताञ्जलिषु प्रविविक्षुषु) दर्व्या आज्येन चतुर्भिर्मन्त्रैश्चतस्रः प्रधानाहुतीर्जुहोति। 'ओं भूः स्वाहा। अग्नय इदं न मम। ओं भुवः स्वाहा। वायव इदं न मम। ओं स्वः स्वाहा। सूर्यायेदं न मम। ओं प्रजापतये स्वाहा। प्रजापतय इदं न मम'। अथासीनः प्रविविक्षुः अग्नौ समिधमाधाय प्रदीप्तायां तस्यां दर्व्या आज्येन पञ्च प्रधानाहुतीर्जुहोति। ओं उद्वयं तमसस्परि पश्यन्तो ज्योतिरुत्तरम्। देवं देवत्रा सूर्यमगन्म ज्योतिरुत्तमं स्वाहा। सूर्याय ज्योतिष इदं न मम॥ ओं उद्यन्नद्य मित्रमह आरोहन्नुत्तरां दिवम्। हृद्रोगं मम सूर्य हरिमाणं च नाशय स्वाहा। सूर्यायेदं न मम। ओं असतो मा सद्गमय स्वाहा। परमात्मन इदं न मम। ओं तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय स्वाहा। परमात्मन इदं न मम। ओं मृत्योर्माऽमृतं गमय स्वाहा। परमात्मन इदं न मम इति।

अथाचार्यः प्रविविक्षुं स्वदक्षिणत उपवेश्य होमशेषं समापयेत्। ओं यदस्य कर्मणोऽत्यरीरिचं यद्वा न्यूनमिहाकरम्। अग्निष्टत् स्विष्टकृद्विद्वान् सर्वं स्विष्टं सुहुतं करोतु मे॥ अग्नये स्विष्टकृते सुहुतहुते सर्वहुत आहुतीनां कामानां समर्धयित्रे स्वाहा इति स्विष्टकृतं जुहोति। 'अग्नये

स्विष्टकृत इदं न मम' इति त्यागः। इध्मबन्धनरज्जुमग्नावभ्याधाय संस्रावं जुहोति। 'ओं विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्यः स्वाहा' इति। 'विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्य इदं न मम' इति त्यागः।

तत आचार्यः प्रविविक्षुणा (अथवा प्रविविक्षुभिः) सह कृताञ्जलिस्तिष्ठन्नुपतिष्ठते। 'ओं च मे स्वरश्च मे यज्ञोप च ते नमश्च। यत्ते न्यूनं तस्मै त उपयत्तेऽतिरिक्तं तस्मै ते नमः। श्रद्धां मेधां यशः प्रज्ञां विद्यां बुद्धिं श्रियं बलम्। आयुष्यं तेज आरोग्यं देहि मे हव्यवाहन।' इति।

ततो होमावशिष्टं गोघृतं पात्रान्तरेण प्रविविक्षवे (अथवा प्रविविक्षुभ्यः प्रत्येकं) दद्यात्। प्रविविक्षुश्च 'ओं मित्राय स्वाहा' इति मन्त्रेण प्राश्नीयात्। ततः स्थण्डिलस्थां विभूतिमाचार्यः प्रविविक्षुश्च ललाटे धारयेताम्।

तत आचार्यस्तिष्ठन् दर्भैः तीर्थोदकं गृहीत्वा 'ओम्' इत्यभिमन्त्र्य तेन आसीनप्रविविक्षुशिरसि 'ओं आप उन्दन्तु जीवसे दीर्घायुत्वाय वर्चसे' 'ओं' इति मन्त्राभ्यां सकृत् प्रोक्षेत्।

ततः शिष्टैः प्रविविक्षोर्व्यावहारिकं किञ्चिन्नाम कार्यम्। ततः प्रविविक्षुहस्ते भगवद्गीता-पुस्तकं दत्त्वा साधारणधर्मः, दैवासुरसम्पत्तिः, अध्यात्मं चोपदेष्टव्यानि। ततः प्रविविक्षुः कृताञ्जलिस्तिष्ठन् वदेत्। 'भवद्भिरनुगृहीतोऽहं धर्मं मनो निधाय प्रवर्तिष्ये। ओं ओं ओं।' ततो भगवन्तं सूर्यं दृष्ट्वा नमस्कृत्य प्रार्थयेत्। 'ओं सा मा सत्योक्तिः परिपातु विश्वतो द्यावा च यत्र ततनन्नहानि च। विश्वमन्यन्निविशते यदेजति विश्वाहापो विश्वाहोदेति सूर्यः॥' इति।

तत आचार्योऽग्नेः पश्चात् प्रविविक्षुणा (प्रविविक्षुभिः वा) सहोपविश्य 'अनेन विधिना सर्वोद्धारकः श्रीसूर्यनारायणः प्रीयताम्' इति कर्मसमाप्तिं सोदकं ब्रूयात्। 'ओं तत्सत्' इत्युक्त्वा द्विराचामेत्। ततः सर्वेभ्यः प्रसादं दत्त्वा सभां विसर्जयेत्।

This procedure is based on the हिन्दूकरणविधि prepared by the Dharmanirnayamandala, Lonavla. The late Lala Lajpat Rai in his work on the Aryasamaj gives (on pp. 221-222) a much briefer rite adopted by that body,

N. B.—These hymns are translated and annotated above at pp 191-201.

Note 441. ऋ. १०. १४. परेयिवांसं प्रवतो महीरनु बहुभ्यः पन्थामनुपस्पशानम्। वैवस्वतं सङ्गमनं जनानां यमं राजानं हविषा दुवस्य॥ १ यमो नो गातुं प्रथमो विवेद नैषा गव्यूतिरपभर्तवा उ। यत्रा नः पूर्वे पितरः परेयुरेना जज्ञानाः पथ्या ३ अनु स्वाः॥ २ मातली कव्यैर्यमो अङ्गिरोभिर्बृहस्पतिर्ऋक्वभिर्वावृधानः। यांश्च देवा वावृधुर्ये च देवान्स्वाहान्ये स्वधयान्ये मदन्ति॥ ३ इमं यम प्रस्तरमा हि सीदाङ्गिरोभिः पितृभिः संविदानः। आ त्वा मन्त्राः कविशस्ता वहन्त्वेना राजन् हविषा मादयस्व॥ ४ अङ्गिरोभिरा गहि यज्ञियेभिर्यम वैरूपैरिह मादयस्व। विवस्वन्तं हुवे यः पिता तेऽस्मिन्यज्ञे बर्हिष्या निषद्य॥ ५ अङ्गिरसो नः पितरो नवग्वा अथर्वाणो भृगवः सोम्यासः। तेषां वयं सुमतौ यज्ञियानामपि भद्रे सौमनसे स्याम॥ ६ प्रेहि प्रेहि पथिभिः पूर्व्येभिर्यत्रा नः पूर्वे पितरः परेयुः। उभा राजाना स्वधया मदन्ता यमं पश्यासि वरुणं च देवम्॥ ७ सं गच्छस्व पितृभिः सं यमेनेष्टापूर्तेन परमे व्योमन्। हित्वायावद्यं पुनरस्तमेहि सं गच्छस्व तन्वा सुवर्चाः॥ ८ अपेत वीत वि च सर्पतातोऽस्मा एतं पितरो लोकमक्रन्। अहोभिरद्भिरक्तुभिर्व्यक्तं यमो ददात्यवसानमस्मै॥ ९ अति द्रव सारमेयौ श्वानौ चतुरक्षौ शबलौ साधुना पथा। अथा पितॄन्सुविदत्राँ उपेहि यमेन ये सधमादं मदन्ति॥ १० यौ ते श्वानौ यम रक्षितारौ चतुरक्षौ पथिरक्षी नृचक्षसौ। ताभ्यामेनं परि देहि राजन्स्वस्ति चास्मा अनमीवं च धेहि॥ ११ उरूणसावसुतृपा उदुम्बलौ यमस्य दूतौ चरतो जनाँ अनु। तावस्मभ्यं दृशये सूर्याय पुनर्दातामसुमद्येह भद्रम्॥ १२ यमाय सोमं सुनुत यमाय जुहुता हविः। यमं ह यज्ञो गच्छत्यग्निदूतो अरंकृतः॥ १३ यमाय घृतवद्धविर्जुहोत प्र च तिष्ठत। स नो देवेष्वा यमद्दीर्घमायुः प्रजीवसे॥ १४ यमाय मधुमत्तमं राज्ञे हव्यं जुहोतन। इदं नम ऋषिभ्यः पूर्वजेभ्यः पूर्वेभ्यः पथिकृद्भ्यः॥ १५ त्रिकद्रुकेभिः पतति षळुर्वीरेकमिद्बृहत्। त्रिष्टुब्गायत्री छन्दांसि सर्वा ता यम आहिता॥ १६

ऋग्वेद १०. १५. उदीरतामवर उत्परास उन्मध्यमाः पितरः सोम्यासः। असुं य ईयुरवृका ऋतज्ञास्ते नोऽवन्तु पितरो हवेषु ॥ १ इदं पितृभ्यो नमो अस्त्वद्य ये पूर्वासो य उपरास ईयुः। ये पार्थिवे रजस्या निषत्ता ये वा नूनं सुवृजनासु विक्षु ॥ २ आहं पितॄन्सुविदत्राँ अवित्सि नपातं च विक्रमणं च विष्णोः। बर्हिषदो ये स्वधया सुतस्य भजन्त पित्वस्त इहागमिष्ठाः ॥ ३ बर्हिषदः पितर ऊत्यर्वागिमा वो हव्या चकृमा जुषध्वम्। त आ गतावसा शंतमेनाथा नः शं योररपो दधात ॥ ४ उपहूताः पितरः सोम्यासो बर्हिष्येषु निधिषु प्रियेषु। त आ गमन्तु त इह श्रुवन्त्वधि ब्रुवन्तु तेऽवन्त्वस्मान् ॥ ५ आच्या जानु दक्षिणतो निषद्येमं यज्ञमभि गृणीत विश्वे। मा हिंसिष्ट पितरः केन चिन्नो यद्व आगः पुरुषता कराम ॥ ६ आसीनासो अरुणीनामुपस्थे रयिं धत्त दाशुषे मर्त्याय। पुत्रेभ्यः पितरस्तस्य वस्वः प्र यच्छत त इहोर्जं दधात ॥ ७ ये नः पूर्वे पितरः सोम्यासोऽनूहिरे सोमपीथं वसिष्ठाः। तेभिर्यमः संरराणो हवींष्युशन्नुशद्भिः प्रतिकाममत्तु ॥ ८ ये तातृषुर्देवत्रा जेहमाना होत्राविदः स्तोमतष्टासो अर्कैः। आग्ने याहि सुविदत्रेभिरर्वाङ् सत्यैः कव्यैः पितृभिर्घर्मसद्भिः ॥ ९ ये सत्यासो हविरदो हविष्पा इन्द्रेण देवैः सरथं दधानाः। आग्ने याहि सहस्रं देववन्दैः परैः पूर्वैः पितृभिर्घर्मसद्भिः ॥ १० अग्निष्वात्ताः पितर एह गच्छत सदःसदः सदत सुप्रणीतयः। अत्ता हवींषि प्रयतानि बर्हिष्यथा रयिं सर्ववीरं दधातन ॥ ११ त्वमग्न ईळितो जातवेदोऽवाड्ढव्यानि सुरभीणि कृत्वी। प्रादाः पितृभ्यः स्वधया तेऽक्षन्नद्धि त्वं देव प्रयता हवींषि ॥ १२ ये चेह पितरो ये च नेह याँश्च विद्म याँ उ च न प्रविद्म। त्वं वेत्थ यति ते जातवेदः स्वधाभिर्यज्ञं सुकृतं जुषस्व ॥ १३ ये अग्निदग्धा ये अनग्निदग्धा मध्ये दिवः स्वधया मादयन्ते। तेभिः स्वराळसुनीतिमेतां यथावशं तन्वं कल्पयस्व ॥ १४

ऋ. १०. १६. मैनमग्ने वि दहो माभि शोचो मास्य त्वचं चिक्षिपो मा शरीरम्। यदा शृतं कृणवो जातवेदोऽथेमेनं प्र हिणुतात्पितृभ्यः ॥ १ शृतं यदा करसि जातवेदोऽथेमेनं परि दत्तात्पितृभ्यः। यदा गच्छात्यसुनीतिमेतामथा देवानां वशनीर्भवाति ॥ २ सूर्यं चक्षुर्गच्छतु वातमात्मा द्यां च गच्छ पृथिवीं च धर्मणा। अपो वा गच्छ यदि तत्र ते हितमोषधीषु प्रति तिष्ठा शरीरैः ॥ ३ अजो भागस्तपसा तं तपस्व तं ते शोचिस्तपतु तं ते अर्चिः। यास्ते शिवास्तन्वो जातवेदस्ताभिर्वहेनं सुकृतामु लोकम् ॥ ४ अव सृज पुनरग्ने पितृभ्यो यस्त आहुतश्चरति स्वधाभिः। आयुर्वसान उप वेतु शेषः सं गच्छतां तन्वा जातवेदः ॥ ५ यत्ते कृष्णः शकुन आतुतोद पिपीलः सर्प उत वा श्वापदः। अग्निष्टद्विश्वादगदं कृणोतु सोमश्च यो ब्राह्मणाँ आविवेश ॥ ६ अग्नेर्वर्म परि गोभिर्व्ययस्व सं प्रोर्णुष्व पीवसा मेदसा च। नेत्त्वा धृष्णुर्हरसा जर्हृषाणो दधृग्विधक्ष्यन् पर्यङ्खयाते ॥ ७ इममग्ने चमसं मा वि जिह्वरः प्रियो देवानामुत सोम्यानाम्। एष यश्चमसो देवपानस्तस्मिन्देवा अमृता मादयन्ते ॥ ८ क्रव्यादमग्निं प्र हिणोमि दूरं यमराज्ञो गच्छतु रिप्रवाहः। इहैवायमितरो जातवेदा देवेभ्यो हव्यं वहतु प्रजानन् ॥ ९ यो अग्निः क्रव्यात्प्रविवेश वो गृहमिमं पश्यन्नितरं जातवेदसम्। तं हरामि पितृयज्ञाय देवं स घर्ममिन्वात्परमे सधस्थे ॥ १० यो अग्निः क्रव्यवाहनः पितॄन्यक्षदृतावृधः। प्रेदु हव्यानि वोचति देवेभ्यश्च पितृभ्य आ ॥ ११ उशन्तस्त्वा नि धीमह्युशन्तः समिधीमहि। उशन्नुशत आ वह पितॄन्हविषे अत्तवे ॥ १२ यं त्वमग्ने समदहस्तमु निर्वापया पुनः। कियाम्ब्वत्र रोहतु पाकदूर्वा व्यल्कशा ॥ १३ शीतिके शीतिकावति ह्लादिके ह्लादिकावति। मण्डूक्या३ सु सं गम इमं स्व१ग्निं हर्षय १४

ऋ. १०. १७ त्वष्टा दुहित्रे वहतुं कृणोतीतीदं विश्वं भुवनं समेति। यमस्य माता पर्युह्यमाना महो जाया विवस्वतो ननाश ॥ १ अपागूहन्नमृतां मर्त्येभ्यः कृत्वी सवर्णामददुर्विवस्वते। उताश्विनावभरद्यत्तदासीदजहादु द्वा मिथुना सरण्यूः ॥ २ पूषा त्वेतश्च्यावयतु प्र विद्वाननष्टपशुर्भुवनस्य गोपाः। स त्वैतेभ्यः परि ददत्पितृभ्योऽग्निर्देवेभ्यः सुविदत्रियेभ्यः ॥ ३ आयुर्विश्वायुः परि पासति त्वा पूषा त्वा पातु प्रपथे पुरस्तात्। यत्रासते सुकृतो यत्र ते ययुस्तत्र त्वा देवः सविता दधातु ॥ ४ पूषेमा आशा अनु वेद सर्वाः सो अस्माँ अभयतमेन नेषत्। स्वस्तिदा आघृणिः सर्ववीरोऽप्रयुच्छन्पुर एतु प्रजानन् ॥ ५ प्रपथे पथामजनिष्ट पूषा प्रपथे दिवः प्रपथे पृथिव्याः। उभे अभि प्रियतमे सधस्थे आ च परा च चरति प्रजानन् ॥ ६ सरस्वतीं देवयन्तो हवन्ते सरस्वतीमध्वरे तायमाने। सरस्वतीं सुकृतो अह्वयन्त सरस्वती दाशुषे वार्यं दात् ॥ ७ सरस्वति या सरथं ययाथ स्वधाभिर्देवि पितृभिर्मदन्ती। आसद्यास्मिन् बर्हिषि मादयस्वानमीवा इष आ धेह्यस्मे ॥ ८ सरस्वतीं यां पितरो हवन्ते दक्षिणा यज्ञमभिनक्षमाणाः। सहस्रार्घमिळो अत्र भागं रायस्पोषं

शुद्धिः पूर्वसमाप्तितः सदृशयोर्योगेग्निमर्द्धं सूतिका
त्रिस्थैवं मृतजन्मनोर्मृतवशाद्बल्पयोर्दीर्घतः ।
अल्पास्यश्चाविनाधिकाद्दशादिनीं गच्छेद्दशाहागमः
पूर्वस्याल्पदिने यदि द्विदिवसाद्घुद्धयेत्प्रभाते ऽयहात् ॥ ५

उत्पन्ने त्रिदिनं मृतेप्युपनयादूर्ध्वं समानोदके
पुत्रे चैवमनौरसेऽन्यपितृजे प्रेते तथा सोदरे ।
मातृभ्रातृपितृस्वसृश्वशुरतत्पत्न्यार्त्विगाचार्यतद्—
भार्या-तत्सुतयाज्यशिष्यगृहसंप्राप्तेषु वा ज्ञातिषु ॥ ६

पित्रोस्तास्वसृजेषु तत्सुतपतिष्वन्योन्यतः पक्षिणी
स्यादेकाध्ययनेपि सा गुरुसुहृद्भूपस्वसुर्य्वहः ।
स्पृष्ट्वारित्न त्रिदिनं दिनं तु विरसेऽबुध्या प्रवाचामकौ
शिष्टं भोक्तरपेक्षाशुद्ध्यधिकं मोहाद्दिनं चापादि ॥ ७

सद्यः स्यान्नृपकारुदासभिषजां कृत्येष्वमात्यस्य वा
कष्टापत्सु च पूर्वमप्यभृतमस्वोद्वाहोत्सवादिष्वपि ।
कृच्छ्रादिव्रतगृहाश्रमेषु वसतां प्रेते यतौ निन्दिते
गोप्रायादिभिरिच्छतां च मरणे तत्रापि वंध्ये ऽयहम् ॥ ८

निर्हारे मृतवन्मृताकरहिते त्रीण्यन्यवासे दिनं
सज्योतिस्तु बहिर्भृतौ द्विगुणितं धर्मे सचैलाप्लवः ।
रोदे स्नानमनस्थि वाचमनकं हीनेषु रात्र्याप्लवौ
शूद्रे तु त्रिदिनं निशाप्यनुगतौ वह्न्यादियुक्तं च तत् ॥ ९

क्षत्रे द्वादश विंशतिस्त्रिंशि निशाः त्रिंशच्च शूद्रे क्रमाद्—
विप्राद्द्वित्रिचतुर्गुणा वयसि सच्छूद्रे तु पञ्चाक्षुरे ।
प्रत्ताकीसुताशिष्यदासभृतका भर्त्रादिवद् बान्धवे
हीने स्वं लघु वा तदीयमधिके शूद्रैः समाः सङ्कराः ॥ १०

The text of the आशौचदशक here printed is based on three mss. from the Deccan College collection (now at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona), viz. No. 216 of 1879–80 copied in *samvat* 1539 (1482 A. D.), No. 196 of 1884–1887 copied in *samvat* 1578 (1521 A. D.) and No. 85 of 1895–1902 copied in *samvat* 1780. All these mss. contain the *bhāṣya* of Harihara, which ascribes the work to विज्ञानेश्वर. In the first ms. the commentary on the first three verses is wanting. I intended at first to give explanations in Sanskrit of these verses (as p. 308 will indicate) but owing to considerations of space I omitted the Sanskrit explanations.

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(N. B. This Index deals with pages 1-727 only. As the list of tīrthas from p. 730 onwards is arranged alphabetically, no entries from these pages are included in this Index, except in very rare cases for special reasons. When the name of a person or work occurs both in the body of the book as well as in the foot-notes on the same page, only the page is entered and nothing else).

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